European Football and Collective Memory

Edited by

Wolfram Pyta and Nils Havemann

European Football and Collective Memory

Football Research in an Enlarged Europe

Series Editors:
Albrecht Sonntag, Professor and Director of the Centre for European Integration, ECCSA School of Management, France
David Ranc, Assistant Professor at the Centre for European Integration, ECCSA School of Management, France

Titles Include:

Basak Alpan, Alexandra Schwell and Albrecht Sonntag (*editors*)
EUROPEAN FOOTBALL, NATIONAL IDENTITY AND SPECTATORSHIP

Ramon Llopis-Goig
SPANISH FOOTBALL AND SOCIAL CHANGE
Sociological Investigations

Football Research in an Enlarged Europe
Series Standing Order ISBN 978–1–137–37972–6 Hardback
978–1–137–37973–3 Paperback
(*outside North America only*)

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and the ISBN quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS, England

European Football and Collective Memory

Edited by

Wolfram Pyta and Nils Havemann
University of Stuttgart, Germany

palgrave
macmillan

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2015 978-1-137-45014-2

First published 2015 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

ISBN 978-1-349-49695-2 ISBN 978-1-137-45015-9 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9781137450159

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Typeset by MPS Limited, Chennai, India.

Contents

List of Figures and Tables

Figure

Tables

Notes on Contributors

Editors

Wolfram Pyta is Professor of Modern History at the University of Stuttgart, Germany. He has published widely on European and German history, from the Seven Years' War to the history of the Bundesliga. In 2008 he was awarded the 'Landesforschungspreis für Grundlagenforschung des Landes Baden-Württemberg' (State Research Prize for Basic Research of the Federal State of Baden-Württemberg). He is a leading member of the FREE consortium responsible for 'Football and Collective Memory'.

Nils Havemann is a Research Fellow in the Department of Modern History at the University of Stuttgart. His main research interests focus on the history of sports, economic history and the history of the German Empire.

Contributors

Seweryn Dmowski recently completed a doctorate on the contemporary political history of Poland at the Faculty of Journalism and Political Science, University of Warsaw, Poland. His research focuses on the interrelations between football, contemporary politics and modern society. He is founder of and co-lecturer on two monograph-based courses on football for students at the University of Warsaw.

Borja García-García is Lecturer in Sport Policy and Management at Loughborough University, UK. He teaches modules on sport management and sport governance at Loughborough's School of Sport, Exercise and Health Sciences. His main research interests are the study of European Union sports policy and the governance of professional sport. He has published extensively in international peer-reviewed journals such as the *Journal of European Public Policy* and the *Journal of European Integration*. He has also co-edited a collective book on the transformation of European football. He is one of the leading members of the FREE Project consortium.

Michael Groll is Professor of Sport Management and Sport Politics at the FHM University of Applied Sciences in Cologne. He has held management positions in sports marketing and editorial positions in sport

business journalism. He received his doctoral degree in 2004 for a work on transnational sport politics.

Geoff Hare, now retired, was formerly Head of School of Modern Languages at Newcastle University, UK. He has published extensively on sport and the media and on the history of sport in France, including *Football in France* (2003, edited with H. Dauncey) and *The Tour de France, 1903–2003* (2003). His main current research interest is the influence of James Gordon Bennett Jr. on sport and sports journalism in Europe.

Markwart Herzog is Director of the Swabian Academy of Irsee, Germany. He received his PhD in philosophy in 1995. His research interests include football during the Nazi era and the history of women's football. He is a founding member of the German Academy for Football & Culture, Nuremberg.

Clemens Kech studied English Literature, Linguistics, and History at Connecticut College, USA and the University of Stuttgart, Germany, from which he graduated in 2012 with a thesis entitled 'The Heysel Stadium Disaster and its Symbolic Value in Europe's Collective Memory'.

Ramón Llopis Goig is Associate Professor in Sociology at the University of Valencia, Spain, where he teaches sociology of sport as well as social research methods. His research interests include gender issues, national identity, mass media, consumption and globalisation in sport, with a particular emphasis on football. He has published a collection of papers on the globalisation of football in Europe and Latin America entitled *Postnational Football* (2009) as well as numerous articles about the sociology of sport in both mainstream and specialist journals.

Agustín Martín is a staff writer at Spanish sports newspaper *Diario AS*, where he has been working in different capacities for more than a decade. He is a specialist in Spanish football history.

Jean Christophe Meyer teaches at the University of Strasbourg, France. His PhD thesis was entitled 'Television Broadcast Football and its Reception by the Press in France and Germany (1950–1966): The Completion of the "Great Stadium", a Conveyor of National and European Identity'. His current research interests are focused on the history of French television, the history of German sports journalism and the history of Franco-German relations.

Jürgen Mittag is Head of the Institute for European Sport Development and Leisure Studies at the German Sport University Cologne, Germany.

He earned his PhD from the University of Cologne in 2000. Since then, he has held positions at the University of Cologne and Ruhr-University Bochum.

David Ranc is Assistant Professor in European Studies at the Department of International Relations, École Supérieure des Sciences Commerciales d'Angers (ESSCA), France. He holds a PhD in International Studies from the University of Cambridge, UK. His doctoral thesis has been published by Manchester University Press under the title *Foreign Players and Football Supporters*.

Tobias Werron is Lecturer/Assistant Professor at the University of Lucerne, Switzerland. He has written on globalisation and world society theory, media sociology and the sociology of sport. He is currently working on a book on the sociology of competition. His recent publications include 'On Public Forms of Competition', *Cultural Studies – Critical Methodologies* and 'Wie ist Globalisierung möglich?' ('What Makes Globalisation Possible?'), *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* (together with Bettina Heintz).

1
Introduction: Football Memory in a European Perspective

Wolfram Pyta

The missing link in the European integration process

The historiography of European integration has traditionally mainly dealt with the *forces profondes* in politics, economy and the world of ideas that have led to the formation of the European Union (EU) in its present shape (Bitsch and Loth, 2007; Loth, 2008). Historians specialising in political ideas and political philosophy, as well as sociologists from the social constructivist school of thought, have scrutinised the roots and fundaments of the integration process. Therefore, the discursive origins of the European institutional arrangement belong to the favourite issues of researchers who take a close look at the history of contemporary Europe (Risse, 2004; Hörber, 2006). With the advent of the European single market and the introduction of a common currency, increased emphasis has been laid on the study of the economic factors of European integration (Thiemeyer, 2010). And since the 1990s, the discipline of European Studies has known a significant 'Europeanisation turn', with a strong focus on the analysis of the processes through which European political dynamics are interiorised in policy-making or preference formation at the national level (Ladrech, 1994; Börzel, 1999; Featherstone and Radaelli, 2003; Ladrech, 2010).

One conclusion that the increasingly diverse research strands on all aspects of top-down and bottom-up dynamics of European integration and their rich publication output seem to agree upon is that the 'missing link' in an overall remarkably successful integration process is collective identity. Cultural sociology has shown that successful community building must produce practice-relevant patterns of meaning (Giesen, 1999; Giesen and Eder, 2001), and there is no doubt that the European project does not seem to have produced such patterns of meaning. Statements on

the lack of a 'European demos', the insufficiency of 'European narratives' or of the absence of a genuine European 'public sphere' for want of genuinely European political parties or pan-European media have even entered the mainstream of political discourse and have become conventional wisdom in speeches and editorials.

What research on European integration has mostly neglected or underestimated, however, are the often unintended social and cultural practices that have contributed and are contributing to give the European project the dimension of a cultural community project. It is perfectly possible, especially given the present severe crisis of the EU, that it is precisely such practices, experienced and internalised in everyday life outside the realms of politics and economy, that may lend genuine stability to the European project beyond institutional action.

The research in this book on the collective memory of European football not only adopts a change of perspective but also applies a conceptual refinement. It concentrates on 'Europeanisation' in the sense of those soft forces which provide cultural substance to the integration process (Risse, 2004, pp. 166–171; Demossier, 2007, pp. 58–62). Methodologically, this means that such 'soft' Europeanisation processes are described with a historical and systematic approach which has proven its effectiveness in the humanities and social sciences. This approach is used by qualitative-oriented cultural sociologists, by political scientists who are aware of historical developments and, quite naturally, by cultural historians. Against this backdrop it is not surprising that all scientific contributions to this book also use this approach. They reveal that historians, political scientists and sociologists can build up productive cooperation, particularly in analysing Europeanisation processes.

Competing identity layers

European community building has always had to compete with two other cultural codes: the concept of nation and the concept of 'the West' or a Western hemisphere.

The concept of nation is by no means an outdated model of community creation that reached its peak in the nineteenth century. Even after 1945, it has continuously proved its strong capacity to forge collective identity. In all European states the nation continues to be the primary framework of allegiance and a major instance of socialisation. As a result, it both overlaps and partly blocks the construction of a European identity (Dell'Olio, 2005).

The relationship between the construction of a European identity and the recourse to a universalistic code is not free of tension either. The reason is that universalistic values as they were put down, for example, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are clearly based on assumptions, norms and beliefs that are rooted in Western, or transatlantic, culture or 'civilisation'. They are transatlantic in the sense that they have their foundations both in the cultural heritage of Europe and in norms and traditions that became sustainably effective in the USA and were, due to the cultural hegemony of the USA after 1945, successfully exported to all parts of the world, including of course Europe. It is therefore difficult to claim that there are European core values which, from a normative point of view, would be substantially different from Western values (Grillo, 2007, pp. 72–73; for a master narrative on German history, cf. Winkler, 2006).

Consequently, the construction of a genuine European identity is a very ambitious project which is made even more difficult by other factors. The EU as the organisational core of the European project has not succeeded in providing its institutions with a symbolic added value. Like all democratically legitimised institutions, they would have a significant symbolic potential if they were able to condense political and cultural guiding principles that underpinned their creation (Melville, 2001) or to corroborate their legitimacy by efficient staging or self-projection of their actions (Pyta, 2011). Moreover, the construction of specific temporality will always be successful if institutions manage to create a founding myth about their own origins. But unfortunately, Europe is miles away from the ability to create such a founding myth which would be the historical fundament or pillar of Europeanisation (Mayer and Palmowski, 2004, p. 580).

As a result, European institutions seem to be both unwilling and incapable of providing any appealing offers pertaining to the affective dimension of citizenship. They do not touch European citizens emotionally and therefore fail to induce the crucial patterns of identification that are summed up in the Aristotelian notion of *philia* and that are considered essential for the sustainable functioning of the polity. One of the reasons for this lack of visibility and symbolic power of the European institutions is the complicated multilevel system of the EU, where a large number of players compete for decision-making power and public attention. Another reason is the strong focus of the European institutions on economic and financial issues since the construction of the European Single Market and the introduction of the common currency. As a result, the institutions of the EU have been

unable to challenge the 'emotional monopoly held by the nation-state' (Sonntag, 2011). As Ernest Renan famously said in 1882, 'a Zollverein is not a fatherland' (Renan, 1996).

Football in European memorial culture

Collective myths and narratives need to be rooted in a shared memory. Given the incapacity of the EU to produce a binding common narrative, it is not surprising that a genuine European memory culture does not exist.

For a long time it was assumed that an increasingly converging, mutually acceptable interpretation of National Socialism and the Holocaust could become the most important historical-political element on which a European post-war narrative or identity could be founded. However, this assumption, or hope, was very much a Western European one. The experience after the collapse of the communist dictatorships in Central and Eastern Europe shows to what extent memory cultures in Europe are still framed nationally. For the states of the former Eastern Bloc, the historical-political debate on the experience under communist rule clearly had a higher priority than remembering the National Socialist crimes (Bauerkämper, 2012). Furthermore, the question must be asked as to whether a 'negative memory' drawn from the experiences with dictatorships of different sorts can actually be an appropriate and suitable base for a cultural European identity of Europe (Bauerkämper, 2012, p. 393). Historical-political discourse that is overloaded with normative moral exhortations has at best limited social impact and at worst contributes to turning Europe into a continent of a plurality of 'painful pasts' (Mink *et al*., 2007). It is therefore advisable to explore less normative cultural practices with regard to their potential of producing pan-European narratives.

Football is one of the practices that fit well into the recent research agenda of 'Europeanisation of life worlds' (Niemann, Garcia and Grant, 2012, p. 5). The reason for the growing research interest in football is the fact that it is a cultural phenomenon which gives expression to configurations of meaning in a very practical way (Pyta, 2006, p. 2). Among all kinds of sport, football has by far the biggest power for community building because this game is solidly anchored as a classical spectator's sport and as a form of popular culture that has become premium media content. As a result, when we are looking for cultural practices that are a very important part of daily life for a vast majority of Europeans, football imposes itself as a revealing object of study (Mayer and Palmowski, 2004, pp. 581–582).

In other words, football is a trans-European cultural practice that was not artificially conceived by marketing strategists with the aim of promoting the European project on the cultural level. But does football's community-building potential actually target Europe as a level of identification? Is it not much more powerful in providing space and opportunity for the consolidation or celebration of national and regional communities? Is football not, in a rationalised world of closely linked states and economies, one of the last remaining 'playgrounds' on which individuals can release and display patriotic emotions in the public space? These questions show that it is far from certain whether football, whenever it serves as projection screen for identity construction, actually also contributes to European identity.

In order to explore this question more thoroughly, it is necessary to identify criteria against which football's contribution to European identity construction can be assessed. One of the most promising conceptual approaches in this respect is the theory of collective memory, which is now well established in the cultural sciences (Assmann, 1992; Ricoeur, 2000; Giesen, 2004; Assmann, 2006). Since communities are founded on the construction of collective images of history, the fundamental question is whether there is, or is not, a shared football memory on a distinctly European level.

It was the French historian Pierre Nora who first pointed out that shared memory requires communicative focal points. Particularly in times of mass media and communication overload, such points of reference are necessary memory landmarks that attract attribution of meaning by their symbolic and communicative capacity (Bauerkämper, 2012, pp. 41–52). Nora named these memorial reference points *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) and he included in this concept not only geographical place, but also persons, events, monuments or even pieces of art that have the potential to become bearers or supports of collective memory (Nora, 2001).

Hence, the main research question that underpins the different chapters of this book is: are there *lieux de mémoire* which have been established by European football and which have become the object of attributions of meaning with a genuinely European dimension? Spontaneously, one might be tempted to give a negative answer, as the overwhelming majority of potential candidates seem to be firmly owned by national discourses of memory.

Take, for instance, the former Wankdorf-Stadion in Bern, where the German national team won its first World Cup in 1954, which seems to be a purely national site of memory. The same applies to 17 October 1973,

when the Polish national team qualified for the 1974 World Cup against the 'mother country of football' in Wembley (Blecking, 2012). Or to the Andalusian city of Seville, which hosted to the legendary World Cup semi-final between France and Germany in 1982 and whose name has become a meaningful *lieu de mémoire* in French national memory.

European sites of football memory do not impose themselves. They are not marked in red on the map. And they suffer from the tendency of traditional historiography to favour so-called 'high culture' over popular culture. Even the editors of the commendable book on 'European sites of memory' (*Europäische Erinnerungsorte*), an ambitious initiative of 1,000 pages in three volumes with over 120 entries by authors from over 15 countries, could not – or did not want to – identify any football sites of memory that would have been so unambiguously European as to be included in their collection (den Boer *et al*., 2012).

In other words, the identification of genuinely European sites of memory from the international history of football is a demanding endeavour: just as the simple addition or juxtaposition of national memories does not lead to the formation of a European commonality, transnationality is not the same as Europeanness (König, 2008, 22).

The transformation of football through the media

There is a consensus in academic research that collective memory is always the result of a successful communication process. If football events are to be attributed a genuinely European meaning, they must necessarily have been made the objects of a Europe-wide communication process. They need to have become transnational media events (Dayan and Katz, 1992; Couldry, Hepp and Krotz, 2010).

As mentioned above, it is difficult to claim that there is today a European public sphere. And even if one accepts the hypothesis that a European public sphere 'is still in the stage of emergence' (Kaelble, 2010, p. 37), one would have to admit that this emerging sphere is an unstructured and uninstitutionalised one. What then could be an indicator that would enable us to maintain the thesis that there is a common communicative space across Europe that is capable of producing truly European media events?

If we consider the public sphere as an observatory sphere, in which the public is the anonymous observer that functions as a monitoring instance (Trenz, 2005, pp. 46–51), we have to acknowledge that football is a particularly privileged field of pan-European discourse. Hardly any other object in everyday life is characterised by the same dynamics of

observation: since the European cup competitions have put 'Europe' on the football agenda in the 1950s, mass media in all European countries report on European football with increasing intensity and sense of detail. Although empirically documented studies are still awaited, there are clear signs that suggest that media coverage about football contains increasing references on Europe since the mid-1950s, which corresponds to the findings of empirical studies on the Europeanisation of national media coverage on EU policies (Peters, 2007, pp. 298–321).

It was particularly club teams from countries whose national teams had not won major titles over decades that succeeded in attracting large interest and media coverage across Europe, eventually becoming distinctly 'European football institutions', such as the top teams of the Spanish *primera division*, Real Madrid and FC Barcelona. These clubs were trendsetters for professional football and were celebrated on the European scene. Similarly, in the 1970s, the Dutch top clubs Feyenoord Rotterdam and Ajax Amsterdam represented top-quality football underpinned by a new, exciting football philosophy, which the European competitions spread across European media, while the domestic Dutch *Eredivisie* had only little interest abroad, even for the sport-interested audience in neighbouring West Germany.

Like all sports, football possesses a two-dimensional character: it pertains both to a culture of presence and a culture of meaning (Gumbrecht, 2004). This means that football events build communities for a limited period of time during a performative act: a stadium is the space in which spectators on the terraces and players on the pitch come together for an intensive and dynamic interaction (Alkemeyer, 2008). But a football match is not limited to such performative acts. Once it becomes the object of large media coverage, being transformed into texts, images and sounds, it goes beyond immediate performance and enables an unlimited audience to take part in the event without having been at the same time in the same space. The match thus opens up to hermeneutic processes of attribution of meaning: its media actors, in their capacity as television commentators, radio reporters or print journalists circulate interpretations and explanations of football events.

At the same time, the viewers of these television programmes, the audience of these radio broadcasts and the readers of the print articles are by no means passive recipients, but are perfectly able to give their own responses to propositions of interpretations provided by the media. The dynamic interaction between producers and recipients of football media coverage possesses a proper aesthetic dimension which may not be elaborated further in this text. It would rather be the task of literature

or media studies to scrutinise the implications and consequences of such aesthetic transformations. It is clear that there is a huge difference between acquiring meaning in a purely discursive manner by reading a text and being exposed to the expressive power of a live broadcast on the radio or the real-time images on television (Axter *et al.*, 2009).

The role of football reporting

Up to the present day, there is no systematic research on the question of if and how sports journalists steer and influence the attribution of meaning to football events (although the recent PhD dissertation by Jean Christophe Meyer, who also contributes to this volume, is a very instructive first step towards such research).

Journalists participate in the circulation of interpretations of major football events in various formats. They do so in writing explanatory texts for print media, in producing live reports during radio broadcasts about a match that remains invisible to the audience, in commenting live from the stadium television images that all viewers can see themselves and in providing additional information by detaching their own regard from the cameras and casting an autonomous look on the pitch.

Writing and speaking about football is in most cases a dynamic interaction of texts, sounds and images. The radio reporters of the 1950s had often been trained in classical sports journalism, which required competences in both writing and speaking. In German sports journalism, for instance, reporters traditionally had the tendency to use a language that as pure text was already able to inspire the imagination of the recipients (Eggers, 2004, pp. 85–107).

Even on television, still a very young medium in the 1950s, reporters had often had training in radio reporting. They also tried themselves as writing journalists sometimes. Due to this polyvalence and their sensitivity to the differences between the media, they often limited themselves to commentating on the match events on the pitch in an explicitly sober manner and putting their expertise, rather than their emotions, to the forefront. The BBC in particular was known to be committed to this reporting style, and its perfect embodiment was Kenneth Wolstenholme, the authoritative voice for football in Britain for over 30 years.

In his contribution to this volume, Jean Christophe Meyer compares how Geoff Hurst's legendary 'Wembley Goal' from the 1966 World Cup final was commentated on in France and England. He thus highlights

how two different reporting traditions collide. The French commentator Thierry Roland, who was also to become the national voice of football for four decades in his country, albeit still at the beginning of his career in the 1960s, did not hold back with critical comments directly addressed to the referee team. Moreover, he seized the occasion of the final to once again state that the English team had allegedly been favoured throughout the tournament. Wolstenholme's commentating, in comparison, was characterised by subtle restraint. But it is precisely for this reason that the matches commentated upon by this gentleman reporter have been deeply engraved in English football memory. The manner in which he commentated upon the last moments of the match, just before the fourth goal scored, again, by Geoff Hurst, when the first celebrating spectators had started to invade the pitch – 'Some people are on the pitch. They think it's all over', immediately followed by Hurst's goal, which cleared the last doubts about who was the winner and his elegant conclusion 'It is now. It's four' may justifiably be considered a brilliant example of 'powerful communicative poetics' (Boyle and Haynes, 2009, p. 76).

Within German memorial culture, the four consecutive screams of radio reporter Herbert Zimmermann – 'Tor! Tor! Tor! Tor!' – when Helmut Rahn scored the winning goal in the 1954 World Cup final against Hungary are of primary importance. This landmark in the history of radio broadcasting made the event accessible even for those Germans who had little interest and knowledge about football. This sequence of the broadcast has since unfolded such an imaginative power that the national Museum of the History of the Federal Republic (*Haus der Geschichte der Bonner Republik*) found it worthy of having a prominent display in its permanent collection (Eggers, 2004; Pyta, 2006, p. 11).

As these examples suggest, there is evidence that football discourse in both written and oral form has made its entry into collective memory – if only at the national level so far. As long as the European media landscape is still structured on a national basis, a European Kenneth Wolstenholme is not likely to emerge. There is no *lingua franca* in which a European football event could be communicated in a uniform manner. On the other hand, this diversity of media coverage of football across Europe also has an interesting advantage: if research was able to show that football journalists actually do attribute meaning to European football events in a similar manner, this kind of convergence or homogeneity of reporting would provide evidence for the existence of a truly European discourse.

The Europeanisation of football competitions and football fandom

The constitution of European sites of football memory requires a specific form of competition at the European level. There is no European League similar to national leagues, which would be composed by the best European clubs. The organisation of the European cups has always been structurally differently from the 'series principle' used across the national leagues, according to which the same number of points is awarded for each match and the champion is the team having won the highest number of points at the end of the season. At the European level, the tournament format, similar to national cup competitions, is applied: apart from a relatively recently introduced group stage, European cup matches have always been played according to the 'knock-out' principle in home and away games, leading to a final which alone decides on the winner (Werron, 2013, pp. 52–57).

As Tobias Werron shows in his contribution to this volume, this tournament system has had two crucial advantages for the Europeanisation of football. First, it gives teams from politically and economically peripheral regions in Europe access to European football's centre stage. A European League would inevitably have resulted, after a few years, in a de facto closed league of the richest clubs, making it impossible for weaker national leagues to make their representatives participate. This in turn would have considerably diminished the distinctively European appeal of the European cups, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s for the countries under Soviet influence, for whom the European club competitions represented a unique opportunity to participate without restriction in a major pan-European event (Sonntag, 2008, p. 250; see also Jürgen Mittag, Chapter 3 in this volume). Second, the knock-out tournament format creates media highlights. It makes sure that the significance of the matches is differentiated and that media interest is focused on the last, decisive matches. The finals become privileged highlights and ideal objects of media coverage. It is therefore not surprising that they managed to emerge as transnational media events.

Studies on fan behaviour also indicate that the Europeanisation of football competitions has had an impact on the European awareness of hardcore supporters. The first empirical studies on Manchester United supporters (King, 2000) provide evidence for the fact that such fans nowadays consider the European scene the real test for the quality of their team. Rather than the Premier League and the matches against

teams such as Fulham or Norwich, their yardstick is the matches against Real Madrid or Bayern Munich. Moreover, the impact factor of football tourism ought not to be underestimated; nowadays, it is taken for granted that thousands of fans travel with their team through Europe and become familiar with major European cities.

From their beginnings, the European club competitions formed a close alliance with the mass media. Launched by the leading French sports daily *L'Equipe*, they quickly became premium content for television. Since its inception in 1955, the European Champions Clubs' Cup became an essential element of television programmes in many European countries. This was facilitated by the fact that with Eurovision, a European format had been made available that made it possible to simultaneously transmit television images to all associated broadcasting institutions. The response to the Champions Clubs' Cup was overwhelming, especially to the final, which became a kind of performance show of European football, presenting the new standards set by the best teams. Spectators flocked to see the final and television reported live. For a long time these European Cup finals were the only matches that were transmitted live on a large scale, and due to this positioning as exceptional, almost monopolistic events the finals of the 1950s and 1960s became engraved in the collective memory of the football community across the continent.

In his brilliant contribution to this volume, Geoff Hare provides a revealing case study of the final breakthrough of Europe-wide television coverage that occurred with the European Cup final in Glasgow on 18 May 1960. By means of a dense media analysis, Hare demonstrates to what extent this match was attributed European meaning by the spectators of the host nation. The simple fact that among the 127,000 spectators, more than 90 per cent were Scottish, showing a keen curiosity for continental football as represented by the incumbent champions Real Madrid and their challengers Eintracht Frankfurt, provides evidence for the European dimension of the game. The Glasgow final became the first full-fledged European football media event, and it reveals the existence of a hidden discourse on genuinely European meanings and values: the victory of Real Madrid is not only explained by the outstanding quality of their players; rather, 'Europe' stands for professionalisation of training, for technical progress that goes beyond the sports realm. The Glasgow final has engraved itself so deeply in the memory of its contemporaries and the following generations that it can claim the status of a *lieu de mémoire*.

Football stadia as *lieux de mémoire*

This applies even more to an event which at first sight does not seem to be appropriate for European community building: the outburst of violence before the European Champions Clubs' Cup final between Liverpool FC and Juventus Turin at the Heysel Stadium in Brussels on 29 May 1985. Thirty-nine spectators, mostly Italians, died after Liverpool hooligans invaded their section of the Stadium. This catastrophe, today often simply referred to as 'the Heysel disaster', stirred a Europe-wide debate which was remarkable insofar as the vast majority of comments across the media spectrum, from television to print media, took the same tone. Hooliganism was not identified as a specifically English problem, but as a sign of increasing brutalisation that was understood as a kind of rupture in civilisation.

In the present volume the contribution by Clemens Kech elaborates that the discursive processing of the Heysel disaster was based on a European discourse, namely the idea that 'barbarians' prone to violence were waging war against the values of European civilisation. It is true that this interpretation was linked with a problematic regard on football fans in general, who were put under general suspicion of vandalism. But the understanding that gained acceptance at this moment in the mid-1980s was essentially the idea that the Heysel disaster violated a civilisatory code which was regarded as a cultural core of what 'Europe' stood for. It was believed that this civilisatory heritage of Europe was being threatened by criminals who abused football to satisfy their archaic impulses for raw violence.

There is reason to believe that this interpretation was made possible by the fact that in the mid-1980s the Cold War ensured that there were no armed conflicts in Europe. The continent was thus no longer used to experiencing violence and only the civil wars in the former Yugoslavia at the beginning of the 1990s recalled that in Europe, too, genocidal practices were not a thing of the past. This renewed experience of raw violence may have contributed to a discursive re-coding of the Heysel disaster in the collective memory around the turn of the century. 'Heysel' now epitomises the failure of security arrangements at big football events.

This example shows that such a *lieu de mémoire* grounded in football history remains open to interpretative changes over time. Its symbolic significance is reflected in the fact that Belgium seized the occasion of Euro 2000 to change the tainted name of the stadium: Heysel became *Le Stade du Roi Baudoin*. May 2015 will mark the thirtieth anniversary of the

Heysel disaster. This date will be a good occasion to verify whether the trick of renaming the stadium can erase or at least weaken the collective memory of one of European football's darkest hours. It is particularly spicy that the current UEFA President is none other than the player who scored the decisive goal for the winning team of Juventus Turin in the 1985 final, which after a long delay finally kicked off: Michel Platini.

In the search for European sites of football memory, stadia are the most obvious candidates for several reasons. First, in a performative perspective, the stadium is the stage where the physical interaction between spectators and players happens. The stadium is not an interchangeable place – like the theatre, a stadium is a distinctive location which creates through its architectural design the conditions for experiencing a match in unity of space. The irreductible spatiality of a stadium experience contributes essentially to the creation of a unique atmosphere in which a spark emanates from the crowd to the players on the pitch, thus producing an overwhelming experience of community (Dinçkal, 2013). Therefore, stadia need to be designed according to principles of architectural and urban planning that transform them into temples of experience (Jessen and Pyta, 2012).

Second, for the media it is also important that a stadium provides an appropriate space for a football event capable of creating the impressive atmospheric backdrop that is necessary for emotional television images. The most excited reporting cannot camouflage the dreary scenery of an empty stadium. Only a stadium that is designed according to the needs of the spectators is an ideal stadium for television.

Are there then football stadia in Europe that have become the scene of magic moments of European football history and thus possess the potential of being European sites of memory? Spontaneously Wembley Stadium in London comes to mind, host to several unforgettable international matches, such as the first home defeat of the English team against the famous Hungarian squad in 1953, the World Cup final of 1966 with the legendary 'Wembley Goal', or the semi-final of Euro 1996 with the dramatic penalty shoot-out. But these matches, even if remembered across various countries, have not provided Wembley with any specifically European meaning. Wembley is a place that is an anchor point for national football memories. As Jean Christophe Meyer's contribution to this book demonstrates, the famous 'Wembley Goal' and the ensuing discussion of whether or not the ball had crossed the goal line did not raise much interest even in France, the neighbouring country of both finalists. Wembley has thus remained an essentially national site of memory – for English football, of course, as a privileged venue for international games

and 'sanctuary' of the annual Cup finals, but also for German football, with regard to mythical matches against the motherland of football that took place in this stadium in 1966, 1972 and 1996.

It might be more promising to explore the European dimension of stadia in which specifically European football history was written – stadia that were marked on the map of European football as hosts of unforgettable events in European club competitions. Research on this topic is not very advanced, but the contribution to this volume by Borja García-García, Ramón Llopis-Goig and Agustín Martín opens avenues for future research. Their findings justify the assumption that the stadium of Real Madrid meets the requirements of a European site of memory. This stadium, named after the Club President and patron Santiago Bernabéu, was the first to be especially designed for European competitions, since only the appearance of the European top teams could fill the then biggest stadium in the continent with a capacity of approximately 120,000. From this point of view, the Bernabéu Stadium was indeed a genuine European stadium. It contributed significantly to the dominance of its home club, which won the first five consecutive European Champions Clubs' Cups. Its intimidating monumentality paralysed the visiting teams and facilitated the rise to the European Football Olympus of Real Madrid, which previously had a relatively mediocre historical record in the Spanish league.

The chapter by García-García, Llopis-Goig and Martin opens a series of six case studies in this volume that explore the European dimension of football memory. These include the already-mentioned contributions on the 1960 European Cup final in Glasgow (Geoff Hare), the 'Wembley Goal' of 1966 (Jean Christophe Meyer), and the Heysel disaster (Clemens Kech), as well as two additional contributions by David Ranc, who assesses, in his chapter on George Best, the European dimension of this 'hero of the 1960s' and outstanding player of his generation, and by Sewerin Dmowski, who drafts a typology of transnational football sites of memory that emerged behind the Iron Curtain. These case studies are preceded by three more conceptual chapters on how exactly football games are remembered (Tobias Werron), the role of UEFA and its competitions during the Cold War (Jürgen Mittag), as well as a tentative typology of sites of memory in the field of sports in general and football in particular (Michael Groll). The volume is concluded by Markwart Herzog's inventory of the numerous rituals and practices of memorial and sepulchral culture that are specific to football.

The present volume does not claim to provide a definitive answer to the question whether the Europeanisation of football has led to a

collective memory that has a distinct European dimension. Rather, it represents a first attempt to approach this fascinating topic and a call for further research in the field.

References

Alkemeyer, T. (2008) 'Fußball als Figurationsgeschehen. Über performative Gemeinschaften in modernen Gesellschaften', in G. Klein and M. Meuser (eds), *Ernste Spiele. Zur politischen Soziologie des Fußballs* (Bielefeld: Transcript), pp. 87–111.

Assmann, A. (2006) *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit. Erinnerungskultur & Geschichtspolitik* (Munich: Beck).

Assmann, J. (1992) *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (Munich: Beck).

Axter, F., Jäger, J., Sicks, K. and Stauff, M. (eds) (2009) *Mediensport. Strategien der Grenzziehung* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink).

Bauerkämper, A. (2012) *Das umstrittene Gedächtnis. Die Erinnerung an Nationalsozialismus, Faschismus und Krieg in Europa seit 1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh).

Bitsch, M.-T. and Loth, W. (2007) 'Europena Institutions and Political Integration', in W. Loth (ed.), *Experiencing Europe. 50 Years of European Construction 1957–2007* (Baden-Baden: Nomos), pp. 103–123.

Blecking, D. (2012) 'Das Wunder von Bern 1954 und Wembley 1973. Ein Spiel schreibt Nationalgeschichte', in H. Hahn and R. Traba (eds), *Deutsch - polnische Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 3 (Paderborn: Schöningh), pp. 415–429.

Boer, P. den, Duchhardt, H., Kreis, G. and Schmale, W. (eds) (2012) *Europäische Erinnerungsorte 1. Mythen und Grundbegriffe des europäischen Selbstverständnisses* (Munich: Oldenbourg).

Börzel, T. (1999) 'Towards Convergence in Europe? Institutional Adaptation to Europeanization in Germany and Spain', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39(4), pp. 573–596.

Boyle, R. and Haynes, R. (2009) *Power Play: Sport, the Media and Popular Culture* (Edinburgh University Press).

Couldry, N., Hepp, A. and Krotz, F. (eds) (2010) *Media Events in a Global Age* (London: Routledge).

Dayan, D. and Katz, E. (eds) (1992) *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).

Dell'Olio, F. (2005) *The Europeanization of Citizenship: Between the Ideology of Nationality, Immigration and European Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate).

Demossier, M. (2007) 'The Political Structuring of Cultural Identities in the European Union', in M. Demossier (ed.), *The European Puzzle: The Political Structuring of Cultural Identities at a Time of Transition* (Oxford: Berghahn), pp. 49–66.

Dinçkal, N. (2013) *Sportlandschaften. Sport, Raum und (Massen-) Kultur in Deutschland 1880–1930* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck).

Eggers, E. (2004) *Die Stimme von Bern. Das Leben von Herbert Zimmermann, Reporterlegende bei der WM 1954* (Augsburg: Wißner).

Featherstone, K. and Radaelli, C.M. (eds) (2003) *The Politics of Europeanization* (Oxford University Press).

Giesen, B. (1999) *Kollektive Identität* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp).

———. (2004) *Triumph and Trauma* (London: Boulder).
Giesen, B. and Eder, K. (eds) (2001) *European Citizenship. National Legacies and Transnational Projects* (Oxford University Press).
Grillo, R. (2007) 'European Identity in a Transnational Era', in M. Demossier (ed.), *The European Puzzle: The Political Structuring of Cultural Identities at a Time of Transition* (Oxford: Berghahn), pp. 67– 82.
Gumbrecht, H.U. (2004) *Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey* (Stanford University Press).
Hörber, T. (2006) *The Foundations of Europe: European Integration Ideas in France, Germany and Britain in the 1950s* (Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften).
Jessen, J. and Pyta, W. (eds) (2012) *Stadt – Fußball – Stadion* (Forum Stadt: Esslingen).
Kaelble, H. (2010) 'The European Public Sphere', in R. Frank, H. Kaelble and M.-.F Lévy (eds), *Building a European Public Sphere* (Brussels: Peter Lang), pp. 21–40.
King. A. (2000) 'Football Fandom and Post-national Identity in the New Europe', *British Journal of Sociology*, 51(3), pp. 419–442.
König, H. (2008) 'Statt einer Einleitung: Europas Gedächtnis. Sondierungen in einem unübersichtlichen Gelände', in H. König, J. Schmidt and M. Sicking (eds), *Europas Gedächtnis. Das neue Europa zwischen nationalen Erinnerungen und gemeinsamer Identität* (Bielefeld: Transcript), pp. 9–37.
Ladrech, R. (1994) 'Europeanization of Domestic Politics and Institutions: The Case of France', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 32(1), pp. 69–88.
———. (2010) *Europeanization and National Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
Loth, W. (2008) 'Explaining European Integration: The Contribution from Historians', *Journal of European Integration Theory*, 14(1), pp. 9–26.
Mayer, F.C. and Palmowski, J. (2004) 'European Identities and the EU – The Ties that Bind the Peoples of Europe', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 42(3), pp. 573–598.
Melville, G. (ed.) (2001) *Institutionalität und Symbolisierung. Verstetigungen kulturel-ler Ordnungsmuster in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Cologne: Böhlau).
Meyer, J.C. (2012) 'L'offre télévisée de football et sa réception par la presse en France et en RFA (1950–1966): l'édification du "Grand stade", vecteur d'identité nationale et européenne' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Strasbourg).
Mink, G. *et al*. (eds) (2007), *L'Europe et ses passés douloureux* (Paris: La Découverte).
Niemann, A., Garcia, B. and Grant, W. (eds) (2012) *The Transformation of European Football: Towards the Europeanisation of the National Game* (Manchester University Press).
Nora, P. (ed.) (2001) *Rethinking France. Les Lieux de Mémoire* (University of Chicago Press).
Peters, B. (2007) *Der Sinn von Öffentlichkeit* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp).
Pyta, W. (2006) 'German Football: A Cultural History', in A. Tomlinson and C. Young (eds), *German Football: History, Culture, Society* (London: Routledge), pp. 1–22.
———. (2011) 'Demokratiekultur: Zur Kulturgeschichte demokratischer Institutionen', in D. Lehnert (ed.), *Demokratiekultur in Europa. Politische Repräsentation im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau), pp. 23–45.
Renan, E. (1996 [1882]) *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* (Paris: Imprimérie Nationale).
Ricoeur, P. (2000) *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli* (Paris: Seuil).

Risse, T. (2004) 'Social Constructivism and European Integration', in A. Wiener and T. Diez (eds), *European Integration Theory* (Oxford University Press), pp. 159–176.

Sonntag, A. (2008) *Les identités du football européen* (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble).

———. (2011) 'False Expectations: The Counterproductive Side Effects of the EU's Use of Political Symbols', in S. Lucarelli, F. Cerutti and V.A. Schmidt (eds), *Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy in the European Union* (London: Routledge), pp. 115–130.

Thiemeyer, G. (2010) *Europäische Integration* (Cologne: Böhlau).

Trenz, H.-J. (2005) *Europa in den Medien. Die europäische Integration im Spiegel nationaler Öffentlichkeit* (Frankfurt: Campus).

Werron, T. (2013) 'Die Liga: Entstehung, Funktionen und Schwächen eines Konkurrenzmodells', in W. Pyta (ed.), *Geschichte des Fußballs in Deutschland und Europa seit 1954* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), pp. 51–83.

Winkler, H.A. (2006) *Germany: The Long Road West. Vol. 1: 1789–1933* (Oxford University Press).

2

How are Football Games Remembered? Idioms of Memory in Modern Football[1]

Tobias Werron

Introduction

A single football game, it can be argued, means almost nothing. As a spectator, we experience football games as meaningful events only because we are able to draw from past experiences with thousands of games and are skilled in interpreting each game in the light of past and future games. Taking this insight seriously, the question 'How are football games remembered?' moves right at the centre of the puzzle of what has made modern football such a fascinating experience for millions and millions of people. Arguing from the point of view of a historical sociologist, the following chapter takes this question as an opportunity to make characteristics of modern football explicit that are often taken for granted in the empirical literature. In the parlance of the phenomenological tradition, my goal is to make seemingly natural characteristics of modern football questionable, observable and intelligible. To achieve this goal, the chapter presents a historical-sociological research perspective that draws attention to the constitutive role of memory in modern competitive sport and, on this basis, identifies *idioms of memory* that determine the range of our imagination about competitive football today.

The argument is presented in three steps. The first section ('Memory in modern competitive sport') introduces a communication theoretical concept of memory in modern competitive sports. It argues that the modernity of modern competitive sport should not be reduced to modernisation criteria such as equality, bureaucracy, specialisation, rationalisation, quantification or record-orientation (Allen Guttmann), or on its ability to produce 'excitement in unexciting societies' (Norbert Elias/ Eric Dunning). Rather, it should be conceptualised as an autonomous

realm that has developed since the mid-to-late nineteenth century based on a new capacity of combining the experience of contests (as single events) with the experience of continual comparisons of these contests in the public discourse (as series of events). Against this backdrop, the first section closes with a sketch of a sociological concept of memory in modern competitive sport, which defines memory as the capacity of connecting past and future in the present, and distinguishes between a reductive and a projective function and between statistical and narrative elements of memory. The next two sections then show how football, as a modern sport, takes part in this logic. The second section ('Idioms of memory in modern football') contends that a football game, like any contest, provides four distinct entertainment potentials (achievement, contingency, presence and identification), which are reflected in four typical idioms of memory in modern football: (1) the idiom of performance; (2) the idiom of contingency; (3) the idiom of events; and (4) the idiom of partisanship. Drawing on examples from the daily football discourse, it is shown how these idioms frame our talking and writing about competitive football today. The last section ('Idioms of memory and the modernisation of modern football: historical implications') then makes use of this typology in order to show that it may also help to make new sense of the early history of modern football, particularly regarding the standardisation of rules and new forms of competition such as the league system. The chapter concludes with a short summary and a brief outlook on further research questions suggested by this analysis.

1. Memory in modern competitive sport

The kind of football that captures the public imagination today is part of a phenomenon, modern competitive sport, which is hardly older than 150 years. What makes modern competitive sport unique when compared to its historical predecessors? In the sociology of sports and historical sociology, the best-known answer to this question was probably given by Allen Guttmann, who pointed to characteristics such as secularity, equality, specialisation, rationalisation, bureaucracy, quantification or record-orientation to distinguish modern sports from older or related competitive cultures (e.g. Guttmann, 1978). Another line of thinking has focused on the role of modern sports in the overall civilisation process, explaining its emergence and spread in modernity with its ability to provide 'excitement in unexciting societies' (Elias and Dunning, 1986; Bette and Schimank, 1995). These theories, however, as

insightful as they are in many respects, tend to deflect the attention from more subtle continuities and discontinuities in modern competitive sport. Whereas a focus on modernisation criteria such as quantification or record-orientation tends to underestimate that in modern sports, too, all contests are also experienced as unique events, a focus on the 'excitement' provided by single contests tends to neglect how this excitement is transformed or influenced by characteristics like quantification and record-orientation. For these complementary reasons, the existing theories have trouble making sense of the very simultaneity between the continuous attraction ascribed to single contests on the one hand and the discontinuity associated with quantification, record-orientation and other modernisation criteria on the other.

In my view, this impasse calls for an alternative theory of modern competitive sport, based on the assumption *that in modern sports all contests are embedded in continual communication about contests* that creates a particularly modern relationship between single contests on the one hand and spatially, temporally and socially universalised comparison of contests on the other (for a detailed account, cf. Werron, 2010a). Thus, modern competitive sport is historically unique in that it consists of two layers of meaning: the contests themselves and the integration of these contests into continual public comparisons. This view integrates the major insights of the different strands of thinking on modern competitive sport quoted above. While stressing the 'excitement' provided by single contests, it also stresses that in modern sports, all contests are embedded into universal horizons of comparison, and that the integration of these two levels of competitive meaning is facilitated by a new kind of public memory.

This approach sheds new light on many historical occurrences in the history of modern sport. In particular, it makes it easier to understand why the technological and sociocultural conditions of modern competitive sport first came together in the late nineteenth century, pointing, among other things, to the transformative role of an alliance that developed between the telegraph network and the sporting press since the mid- to late nineteenth century that allowed for the almost instantaneous comparison of performances across spatial distances (Werron, 2010b). In my view, it is a major historical-sociological insight that this spatiotemporal reconfiguration of the communication about contests also inspired the creation of more obvious modern innovations, such as the standardisation of rules (Vamplew, 2007), series and league systems (Werron, 2013), the rise and spread of formal organisations (particularly associations, e.g. Eisenberg, 2006), the institutionalisation of world championships in a variety of sports in the late nineteenth century

(Eichberg, 1984) or the new concept of 'record' (Mandell, 1976; Parry, 2006) – rather than just the other way around. I will return to this historical point in the final section of this chapter, using the example of modern football.

A major systematic consequence of this view is that it moves the concept of memory into the centre of our understanding of modern competitive sport. In everyday language, we tend to understand memory as the capacity of remembering the past more or less effectively. Sociologically, it can be more usefully defined as the *present capacity to selectively remember the past in order to connect past and future* (cf. Luhmann, 1996). This concept stresses that all social remembering takes place in a present social context, which implies that memory is not only about the past – it is a social system's capacity of anticipating the future on the basis of select past experiences *in the present*. Against this backdrop, two basic functions of memory can be distinguished: memory reduces the past to the information required in this present context (reduction function) and it uses this information to project expectations regarding probable and less probable, desirable and less desirable future events (projection function).

Let me illustrate this abstract concept with a scheme widely used in the sports discourse: a league table, or, as the American sports language would have it, somewhat more accurately, a standing. The table/standing *reduces* all the past games of the ongoing season to their results, documenting only wins and losses, scored and conceded goals, counting points (according to the number of victories and draws) and ranking the teams according to the number of points, goal differentials, etc. Less obviously, perhaps, the selective view of the past as represented in the standings also invites speculation about the future development of the league competition and the future chances of particular teams, such as the probable outcome of the championship, race for participation in the European club championships or the risk of relegation. In other words, the table is a quantitative device that can be used to tell compelling stories about an ongoing season by reducing the past and projecting the future. In this regard, it is an ideal illustration of the reductive and projective capacity of memory. It is also a good example of the constitutive role that memory plays in modern competitive sports, since just as a table would not make much sense without the organisation of a modern league system that guarantees a continual flow of games, the reverse is also true: we were hardly able to even understand a league competition without a tool like the league table that allows us to scan the past in order to make sport-specific sense of the future.

As the example of the league table already shows, when applying this concept of memory to sport, it is useful to distinguish two basic structural elements of memory: first, *narrative or qualitative elements*, such as the story of a heroic performance of a team/player, of a contested event (such as the Wembley goal) or of an impressive or disappointing performance that occurred in an earlier part of the season and is considered relevant for the anticipation of upcoming games. Football, like any sport – but football, I suppose, in particular – is a gigantic web of narratives about past games that are constantly retold in the present to make sense of upcoming games; second, *quantitative elements* or *statistics* (statistics, of course, not in technical-scientific terms, but as a discursive means of reducing the past to numbers), including simple categories such as game results, goals scored, number of substitutions, yellow and red cards, and more sophisticated ones such as assists, scoring chances, average number of touches of the ball, and schemes like tables or rankings that arrange and visualise such data. The relationship between these two types of elements seems to be mostly (not always – for exceptions, see below) complementary. Numbers help to tell compelling stories, stories help to make sense of numbers, and both help to make sense of past and future contests.

2. Idioms of memory in modern football

Now, how can these conceptual ideas – the embedding of single contests in the continual comparison of contests as the main characteristic of modern competitive sport, the distinctions between reductive vs. projective functions, narrative vs. statistical elements of memory in modern football – help to identify idioms of memory that are constitutive of our imagination of modern football today? Originally, my answer to this question is based on an extensive historical analysis of the emergence of modern baseball and football in the late nineteenth century, which, of course, cannot be repeated here in detail (cf. Werron, 2010a). My main point here, however, is a systematic one that can be just as effectively exemplified with quotes from today's football coverage. Building on a formal analysis of a football game as a contest, I propose to distinguish four idioms of memory in modern football, each of which can be further divided into two sub-idioms, depending on whether the point of reference is single contests or the continual comparison of many contests over temporal and spatial distances.

Let me start with a brief formal analysis of a football game. Basically, a football game can be defined as a contest, which in turn can be defined

as a comparison of performances that takes place at a certain place and point of time. For third parties, this form invites four distinctive types of experience (cf. Werron, 2005):

1. *the achievement dimension*: we can direct our attention to the performance of the participants, asking, for instance, which team has won or lost in a particular game, which team has played better in that game, which team is the best team of the season, which player is the best of all time, etc.;
2. *the contingency dimension*: we can direct our attention to the *uncertainty of the process* leading to the distinction between winners and losers, asking: which team is going to win? How might a specific incident, such as a goal, a substitution or a red card, affect the further course of the game? How might the fact that a team has changed the coach or acquired a new player affect the further success of the team?;
3. *the presence dimension*: we can also focus on the present event as such – the sensual atmosphere and beauty of the game, for example, but also the significance and relevance of the event, which can be considered from immeasurably high (e.g. the World Cup final or the Champions League final) to very low (a local friendly between two lowly amateur teams);
4. finally, *the identification dimension*: our interest can be based on identification with a team or a player, which may be inspired by more occasional circumstances (e.g. sympathy with an underdog), but also by long-term partisanship with a club or player.

All of these entertainment potentials are associated with distinct idioms of memory, which together form the language of modern competitive football. The following sections will briefly explain and describe each of these idioms.

2.1. *Achievement: the idiom of performance*

The first entertainment potential of contests, achievement, is associated with an idiom of memory that can be called the idiom of performance. When speaking or writing in this idiom, contests are interpreted in order to generate criteria for the evaluation of performances. This idiom is at the very heart of modern sport, since, as stressed in the preceding sections, in modern sport achievement is not only a matter of winning or losing in a particular contest, but of comparisons of many contests, irrespective of spatial and temporal differences, and thus consistent performances

over longer periods of time. Accordingly, two sub-idioms of performance can be distinguished, depending on whether the respective schemes deal with single contests or with the comparison of many contests: *the idiom of victory and defeat* and the *idiom of legends and long-term achievements*.

The idiom of victory and defeat

Regarding single games, the idiom of performance provides a repertoire of schemes to observe that, and explain why, a particular team won or lost a game, from the simple documentation of results to more complex qualitative and quantitative narratives of success and failure that make it possible to come up with explanations for why some athlete or teams have won a particular game. The most basic, and probably most indispensable, elements of this idiom are *scores and results*, such as 'VfL Wolfsburg – Bayern Munich 0-2', '55% possession of the ball' or '3 vs. 12 scoring chances'. This kind of schemes is particularly suited to illustrate what I called above the reduction function of the memory of football: its ability to reduce a complex past to a few relevant data.

Recorded in post-game reports, such data can then be built into more complex explanations of the outcome of single games. Of these, three typical forms seem to be particularly interesting: first, *statistical explanations of success and failure* in single games, such as 'Team X won because it created more scoring chances' or 'Team Y won because it had a higher percentage of possession of the ball'; second, partly building on and partly contradicting such explanations, there are *narrative explanations of success and failure*, such as 'Team X won because it defended brilliantly' or 'Team Y won because it played with greater cohesion and urgency'. The significance of the distinction between statistical and narrative explanations becomes evident in the (not so rare) cases when the statistics at hand are not considered sufficient to explain the outcome of a game. For these cases, the football discourse has invented formulas that could be summarised under the title *narrative overruling of statistics*, represented in a formula such as 'Team X won, and deservedly so, because it converted its few chances with ruthless efficiency'. Such formulas, which, if taken seriously, tend to virtually exclude the possibility of undeserved victories (or losses), point to a preference of the football discourse for achievement, and against luck, as the primary explanation of success and failure. For the same reason, the memory of modern football reacts with great sensitivity to all kinds of injustices – wrong calls by a referee, losses in penalty kicks, etc. – that lead to the defeat of a team that might have deserved to win.[2] 'Shall the best team win', however, remains the mantra of the idiom of performance, which is ironically reflected in a statement attributed to the German international Lukas Podolski: 'That's football: sometimes the better team wins.'

The idiom of legends and long-term achievements

The preference for achievement is also reflected in the second sub-idiom of performance, the idiom of legends and long-term achievements, which emerges from the comparison and evaluation of many games, and many performances in these games, rather than single games or performances. Like all idioms, it can be spoken in two different accents: narrative or statistical. The *statistical evaluation of long-term achievements* takes the information collected in the statistical evaluation of single games (goals scored, assists given, minutes played, possession of the ball, tackles won/lost, etc.) and uses them either to count the same kind of performances over the stretch of a longer series of contests (e.g. goals scored in a season or career) or to turn them into more sophisticated statistical devices that make sense of a player's or team's long-term achievements by means of comparing them with the long-term achievements of others (league tables, statistical averages, records, etc.).

Similarly, the *narrative evaluation of long-term achievements* consists of stories of legendary teams, players, games, passes, goals, etc. that reduce the past to events that are considered particularly important – more important, at least, than the many past events, players or teams of the past that rarely resurface in the football discourse again. The power of the idiom of long-term achievement lies in its ability to combine statistical and narrative evaluation in order to create powerful stories and debates on questions such as: 'Who is the greatest scorer of all time, Gerd Müller or Lionel Messi?' and 'Which team is currently the best team in England, Europe or the world?' Such debates, too, can lead to tensions between narrative and statistical arguments: should the mere number of scored goals decide who is the best player or team, or should more narrative criteria such as the presence on the pitch, leadership qualities and beauty of play or strength of opponents also be taken into consideration? Since such questions can be debated passionately and indefinitely, they make the long-term idiom of achievement a particularly solid source of entertainment.

2.2. *Contingency: the idiom of anticipation*

The role of luck or coincidence, and the fact that it is often only reluctantly acknowledged in the idiom of performance, points to the second idiom of memory in modern football: the idiom of anticipation. This idiom is associated with the uncertainty of the outcome of each contest rather than with the results or the quality of the performances as such. It reflects (and makes it possible) that contests can be experienced as exciting processes precisely because the result cannot ever simply be concluded from past performances and because the skill shown in past

games does not guarantee success in future games. In this idiom, past performances are used to distinguish more or less probable outcomes, that is, to project future expectations that are meaningful precisely *because they can be disappointed by the actual outcome*. Again, two sub-idioms can be distinguished along the lines of single contests and long-term comparison: *the idiom of suspense* and *the idiom of constant speculation*.

The idiom of suspense

The idiom of suspense deals with particular football games as processes with an uncertain outcome, starting with questions such as: which team will win this game? How might an incident – a goal, a substitution or a red card – affect the course of the game? The idiom of suspense is mainly used in live coverage in order to make sense of ongoing events and to instil the experience of the game with suspense, as in '0-0 in overtime and two minutes to go – what a nail-biter!'. This idiom, too, can take different forms, depending on whether the view of the past is primarily framed in qualitative or quantitative terms. *Qualitative narratives of probability* use observations regarding the current progression of the game to draw conclusions regarding the probability of future events (e.g. 'considering the way team X plays at the moment, they should score at any moment'), whereas *quantitative narratives of probability* do the same on the basis of statistical information (e.g. '73% possession of the ball – it seems only a matter of time until they score the first goal'). For this idiom to work as a source of entertainment, a game has to be close enough to warrant such short-term speculation. However, there is a kind of vocabulary that seems to help to sustain a kind of game-related suspense even in seemingly hopeless cases: *narratives of short-term miracles* that point to the possibility of very unlikely events ('0-4 and 20 minutes to go – the game seems to be lost, but nothing is impossible!'). The essence of this variant of the sub-idiom of suspense was perfectly captured by an American sports columnist: 'That's the great thing about sports, when you hope for something improbable to happen, and 499 times out 500, it never happens ... and then there's the 500th time, and for God's sake, it's happening' (Simmons, 2003).

The idiom of constant speculation

An even more important source of entertainment-by-contingency in modern football – and probably the most under-rated and under-investigated of all the idioms discussed here – is what can be called *the idiom of constant speculation*. This idiom connects multiple past games with an interest in possible outcomes of multiple future games, creating a sort of suspense

that can be sustained quite independently from the suspense of single games. For instance, when a game is virtually decided, implying that the idiom of suspense no longer helps (say, 6–0 with ten minutes to go), we can start speculating about what the outcome of the game tells us about the future chances of both teams. Does the victory make the winning team a title contender? Will the coach of the losing team be fired? How will the losing team react to this terrible loss in the upcoming games?

Within this idiom, again, there are *narrative forms of speculation* ('how will ongoing conflicts between coach X and player Y affect the next game?'; 'after all the ups and downs during the season, will they finally get over the hump?'; 'how will the addition of player X help their offensive play?', etc.) and *statistical forms of speculation* ('only five teams have held the class with such a point deficit with X matches to go – will club Y be the next?'; 'they have lost the last three games despite having more than 60% possession of the ball – will they be more efficient in the upcoming games?'). A particularly interesting variant of the latter are *record races*, where the performances of teams or players are compared with historical performances, anticipating the possible eclipsing of some major achievement (e.g. Lionel Messi in 2012 approaching and finally reaching the goal record by Gerd Müller from the 1970s; a scorer who approaches the goal or assist record of a league, etc.). Such vocabulary, of course, also allows for the *mixing of idiom of suspense and long-term statistical speculation* (e.g. 'only X teams in Y years have come back from a 0-4 deficit – will Sweden pull it off?').

On the flip-side, and as an indirect proof of the importance attributed to the experience of long-term contingency, there is a variant of this idiom that could be called the *vocabulary of boredom*, used in situations where even the most creative speculators have difficulties in imagining an uncertain future: 'Bayern Munich is the pest of this season. The championship is all but decided with 13 match days to go. The Bundesliga faces the most boring second half of the season ever.' Such quotes serve as a reminder that deficiencies on the level of long-term anticipation can only partially be compensated by other entertainment potentials. Today, we seem to be addicted to our constant speculation about football just as much as we appreciate the greatness of performances, the success of 'our' teams or the atmosphere and meaning of events. Considering the obvious significance of this idiom, it is surprising that it has rarely been noticed in the history and sociology of modern sport.

2.3. *Presence: the idiom of events*

The idiom of events is a means of finding fascination in the presence of a football game as a passing event. As an event, a game has to be

experienced in the here and now, has to be watched and felt 'live'. This idiom, too, can take two different forms, depending on whether the respective schemes refer to the event as such or to the meaning of the event in comparison to other events. The first sub-idiom can be called the idiom of beauty and atmosphere, while the second can be called the idiom of great events.

The idiom of beauty and atmosphere

Concerning single contests, we can speak of a 'great game' with regard to the flow and beauty of the contest beyond more technical aspects of successful performance or open outcomes. In this language, sport is close to art, and the rhetoric used is a largely aesthetic one. Similarly, we can draw on this rhetoric to emphasise the singularity of an event or the atmosphere of a game as created by the genius loci and the fans. Thus, this sub-idiom seems to come in three typical forms: first, *aesthetic narratives* that point to the beauty or ugliness of a game, or some performance in the game (e.g. 'the game had a great flow from start to finish', 'what a beautiful combination!', etc.); second, *narratives of singularity* that emphasise the uniqueness of the event as such ('an unforgettable night of football', 'a game unlike any other we ever witnessed before' or, vice versa, 'this game will be forgotten soon'); and, third, *narratives of atmosphere* ('the fans in the stands created an overwhelming atmosphere'; 'La ola', etc.), the latter being indirectly reflected in a famous word by Eduardo Galeano: 'Nothing in the world is more empty than an empty stadium.'

The idiom of great events

The idiom of events, however, can also focus on defining the meaning, importance and relevance of an event *in comparison to other events*. For instance, the World Cup final is considered as immeasurably important, whereas a local friendly between two lowly amateur teams might not be called an event at all. Both games are part of the world of football, but their significance is worlds apart. This idiom also seems to come in three typical versions: first, *narratives of formal competitive meaning* that point to the status of a game within the framework of an official form of competition, e.g. with regard to the final of a cup competition, the final game-day of a league competition, a World Cup game, a relegation game, etc.; second, *narratives of informal competitive meaning* that define the significance of an event independently of its formal status in the competition, e.g. a 'derby' between local rivals (Rangers vs. Celtic; Arsenal vs. Chelsea, Dortmund vs. Schalke, etc.), the 'last game' of a legendary player or coach, the possibility of

'revenge' for a team after a disgraceful defeat, etc. Finally, there are *narratives of popularity* that define the meaning of an event depending on the interest it finds with the audience, such as 'the most popular sports event in the world' (World Cup), a game between 'two of the most popular clubs worldwide' (Real vs. Barca), etc. All these formulas allow for the identification of significant events independently of the quality of the performances, the uncertainty of the outcome or the affiliation with certain teams or players. And in view of the growing popularity of the World Cup final, the European Championship final or the Champions League final, it seems that the idiom of great events has succeeded in creating a new, 'eventhusiastic' kind of audience, even among parts of the population that do not show much interest for football during the rest of the year.

2.4. *Identification: the idiom of partisanship*

The last idiom, the idiom of partisanship, is associated with the entertainment potential of identification. This idiom seeks entertainment by identifying with some team or player, or against some other team or player, thus partly disconnecting the interest in football from the quality of the performances, the uncertainty of the outcome and the significance of the event. Again, two sub-idioms can be distinguished, depending on whether the focus is on single games or on the comparison and evaluation of many games. The first can be called *the idiom of occasional side-taking* and the second *the idiom of fandom*.

The idiom of occasional side-taking

The first sub-idiom of partisanship refers to contest-related forms of partisanship, which seem to come in three distinct forms: first, *betting partisanship*, that is, identification that follows the decision to place a bet on a certain team, player or event. This is a significant form, particularly since it can encourage short-term identification with teams without any other kind of familiarity or affiliation (e.g. with a team in the second Chinese league that you have placed a bet on). Second, there is *situational underdog-partisanship* that encourages side-taking for a supposedly weaker team in a particular competitive situation (e.g. for a fourth league team against a first league team in a cup competition or for all teams against the currently leading club of the league). Finally, there is *situational anti-partisanship* that encourages side-taking *against* a team or player, often based on some perceived misbehaviour (e.g. after a hard foul). All of these forms are based on ad hoc reasons for identification that are, and normally remain, restricted to a particular game.

The idiom of fandom

There is, however, a sub-idiom of the idiom of partisanship, the idiom of fandom, that generates partisanship beyond specific games, constituting long-term relationships between clubs and players on the one hand, and parts of the audience on the other. This idiom also comes in three typical forms. First, there are *narratives of livelong loyalty*, e.g. on the basis of fan hymns, colours, flags and other memorabilia, fanzines and fansites, etc. This idiom is at the basis of the modern role of the 'fan', that is, a supporter who tends to rank his or her allegiance to a certain club or national team above all other possible reasons to find interest in a football game. The pivotal word here is 'loyalty', since the relationship of a fan with his or her club special is defined by the fact that it does not – or should not – depend upon the success of the team. On the contrary, according to this idiom, a 'real fan' is someone who is loyal to the team particularly when things go bad. Thus, this idiom can only develop over longer periods of time, in which each club has to endure its ups and downs, season after season, allowing the fans to commiserate with the long-term fate of the club. Other narratives of fandom point to particular aspects of the loyal fan relationship. In particular, there are *narratives of anti-partisanship* that constitute long-term rivalries between particular teams/clubs (Celtic vs. Rangers, Schalke vs. Dortmund, etc.), and *star narratives* that constitute attachments with particular players, maybe even irrespective of the club for which they play. Since the idiom of fandom can establish lifelong relationships, it tends to have an existential flavour about it.

2.5. *Overview: idioms of memory in modern football*

Table 2.1 Idioms of memory in modern football

I	**II**	**III**	**IV**
Achievement: the idiom of performance	Contingency: the idiom of anticipation	Presence: the idiom of events	Identification: the idiom of partisanship
1 The idiom of victory and defeat	3 The idiom of suspense	5 The idiom of beauty and atmosphere	7 The idiom of occasional side taking
2 The idiom of legends and long-term achievement	4 The idiom of constant speculation	6 The idiom of great events	8 The idiom of fandom

3. Idioms of memory and the modernisation of football: historical implications

The preceding sections have presented the idea that the memory of football consists of a number of idioms – four idioms and eight sub-idioms – that shape our range of imagination about competitive football today. Obviously, the most passionate and knowledgeable of football fans will be able to speak all of these idioms equally fluently and mix them in ways that can make it seem as if every fan speaks his or her own language, for instance, by preferring some kind of performance, narratives, style of play, teams or players. However, as this analysis should have shown, the vocabulary to create our own football language is limited and somewhat predictable when seen in the historical context of modern competitive sport. The final section of this chapter will try to show that this typology can also help to improve our understanding of how the football discourse is connected to other characteristic structures of modern football such as standardised rules and modern forms of competition.

The standard account of the history of football in the second half of the nineteenth century might be summarised as follows. In the 1850s to early 1860s, football pioneers from English public schools and colleges, particularly from the London and Sheffield region, became increasingly interested in playing against each other. For this purpose, they founded the Football Association (FA) in London in 1863, which laid down the first rules of 'association football', the game (only) played with feet, in contrast to rugby, the game played (also) with hands (Dunning and Sheard, 1979; Harvey, 2001). To promote the popularity of the new game, the FA invented and organised the first major cup competition in the history of sports, the FA Cup (1871), and one of the first league systems, the Football League (1888). Since 1878, it also co-organised the first 'internationals' between English and Scottish national teams. Based on these innovations, football grew popular and the rules of the game diffused, first around England and then, with the help of enthusiastic British football missionaries, around the world (Guttmann, 1994; Eisenberg, 1997).

Such standard accounts of the history of football point to the late nineteenth century as the formative period of modern football, drawing attention to the fact that the main characteristics of modern football that are still with us today emerged during a relatively short timespan in this period. However, the standard accounts rarely directly address the question why the interest in trans-local rules and modern forms of

competition consolidated in the mid- to late nineteenth century of all times, rather than earlier or later. In this regard, historians are mostly content with assuming that this interest somehow arose at that time and that the FA, by standardising the rules and organising new competitions, successfully promoted the popularity of the game.

The lack of interest in this question is all the more conspicuous considering the results of recent scholarship on early modern sports, which has pointed, among other things, to the existence of a highly popular 'commercial sporting culture in Britain' in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which was already highly organised, consisted of many different sports, including early forms of football, and was 'commercialised', since betting, or 'gambling', played a central role in it (cf. Harvey, 2004). In a sociological perspective on the modernisation of football, this research is significant because it implies that the novelty of modern football should not be equated with its popularity or the degree of organisation as such. There were earlier and similarly popular, and organised, forms of football. So, what exactly changed in the mid- to late nineteenth century?

My thesis is that from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, based on a new alliance that developed between the telegraph network and the sporting press, a new kind of public talking and writing about football developed that also enabled and affected the modernisation of competition structures. In contrast to earlier forms of football, which were embedded either into betting cultures and/or elite social circles (e.g. the football played in and between public schools), the new form was based on public comparisons of temporally and spatially distant games *that created a partially autonomous interest in football performances for their own sake*. It encouraged the diffusion of rules and the introduction of new forms of competition, which in turn allowed for the further refinement of this discourse and for the emergence of modern sports as a relatively autonomous social sphere (cf. Werron, 2010a, Chapter 3). In this transformation, the idioms of memory described in the preceding sections played constitutive roles, which can be demonstrated both with regard to the standardisation of rules and the formation of new forms of competitions. Let me make this point clearer by taking a closer look at the emergence of these structures since the mid- to late nineteenth century.

The standardisation of rules is normally attributed to the activity of the FA. The actual process, however, was more complex (for the details, cf. Harvey, 2005). After having laid down the rules in 1863, the FA remained more or less passive in the following decades, accepting an active leadership role in the national surveillance of the rules no sooner

than the mid- to late 1880s. The FA started organising the FA Cup in 1871, which soon became an annual event. In the 1870s and 1880s, however, there existed numerous other county associations around Great Britain that organised their own cup competitions, often with their own rules (with Sheffield being a particularly large and influential rival association). Only in a piecemeal process that stretched roughly one and a half decades between 1870 and 1885 did the other county associations successively, and voluntarily, adopt the FA rules. Thus, the role of the FA as a rule administrator in the early years of football should not be overestimated; rather, the question is: what made the national rules and the FA Cup competition so attractive that the county associations chose to adopt the rules of the FA in the 1870s and 1880s?

The growing attractiveness of the national rules and the appeal of the national cup competition can be explained when considering that the modern idioms of memory emerged during these decades and transformed the ways in which football games were perceived. The technological basis for this process was provided by a number of new transport and media technologies, particularly an alliance between the telegraph network and the sporting press, which was established in Great Britain between the 1840s and 1860s (cf. Wenzlhuemer, 2013, pp. 163–210), which sparked an enormous expansion of the sporting press in general and of sporting evening papers and 'football specials' (at Saturdays) in particular (cf. Mason, 1980, p. 192). Even more importantly, the combination of electric media and an expanded sporting press allowed for the instantaneous coverage of multiple games around the country, almost irrespective of spatial distances.

In football's memory, this 'great transformation' was reflected in three major innovations. First, it induced nationwide comparisons of performances that triggered an interest in teams that could rightfully be called the best teams in England or Great Britain at a certain point of time, inducing, among other things, an interest in the idea of a national 'champion'. In that regard, the football discourse began to transcend the localised betting cultures or elite middle-class cultures of the 1850s and 1860s, and approached what was called above 'the idiom of legends and long-term achievement', that is, a way of writing and talking about football performances that connects multiple games in an overall national or even global discourse. Second, the daily writing about football produced a steady stream of speculation about future games in light of past games, infusing the football coverage with 'the idiom of constant speculation'. And, third, by observing and construing rivalries between local clubs within a regional or national horizon of comparison, it also encouraged 'the idiom of fandom', which provided

local newspapers and audiences with the ability to identify with their local sides and against all other clubs in the country.

Against this background, the piecemeal adoption of the London rules by the regional associations during the 1870s and 1880s can be interpreted as a logical reaction to this new comparative perception of football games in the sporting press. It reflected an eagerness of regional clubs to be included in this national sphere of comparison. This implied the adoption of the FA rules, since sticking to different rules would have meant not being able to play against, and not being comparable with, other teams around the country – and thus not being included in this national horizon of comparison. Probably the most significant consequence of all this transformation was a fundamental change in the understanding of what counts as a great sporting achievement: whereas the older understanding of a champion was restricted to a 'champion du jour' (Laurans, 1990), that is, an athlete/team that beat another athlete/team on a specific day, the new understanding is statistical at heart, since it is based on comparisons of performances in many games and over longer periods of time. To arrive at this new understanding, all football games, to borrow Benedict Anderson's (1998) felicitous term, had to be understood as manifestations of a 'seriality': as members of a category that makes it possible to see them as basically identical, and thus comparable, events ('a football game').

The Football League, introduced in 1887/1888, was the culmination of these developments on the level of competition (for a more detailed version of this argument, cf. Werron, 2013), since the league system not only expressed the idea of a 'champion' in a new competitive format but also redefined the quality of a champion as the ability to collect the highest number of points during a complete season. Conversely, and equally importantly, this implied that the champion club could lose a number of games, given its winning more games than the other clubs of the league (Leifer, 1995). In other words, the league system defined the quality of the performance of football teams as a matter of long-term achievement rather than spectacular victories or losses in single games, and thus redefined it in a basically statistical manner. By guaranteeing a constant flow of events week by week, the league system also fuelled the logic of constant speculation that had been established in the football press at the time, while the inclusion of the leading clubs into one national championship race fuelled the possibility of describing and experiencing the games in the idiom of fandom. In all of these respects, the league system reflected the preferences of the modern football discourse that had matured in the 1880s and still shape football's memory today.

After the stabilisation of league competition, the meaning of other competitive formats changed too. The FA Cup took on the role of a knock-out competition where the event-character of single contests is celebrated, where underdogs can dethrone favourites and which makes it possible to celebrate one particular game – the final – as a spectacular 'great event'. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, although still largely in a national context, all the main structural characteristics of modern football had been established: the characteristically modern idioms of memory that embed single games in the experience of long-term achievement, constant speculation, fandom and great events; standardised rules that allow for the comparison of performances across temporal and spatial distances; and tailor-made forms of competition such as league systems and cup competitions that match the way of perceiving performances suggested by the modern idioms of memory.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented a framework for the analysis of main characteristics of modern football. From a historical-sociological point of view, it developed a typology of *idioms of memory* that determine the range of our imagination about competitive football today and showed how this typology can be used to make new sense out of modern forms of competition since the mid- to late nineteenth century. It argued that modern competitive sports is historically unique in that it consist of two layers of meaning – the contests themselves and the integration of these contests into 'a sport' – which are integrated by a particularly kind of public memory. To analyse the interplay of the two layers of meaning, memory was defined as a social system's capacity of connecting past and future in the present by reducing the past to presently available information (reduction function) and by projecting possible/probable future events (projection function). Applying this concept to football, it was argued that a football game, like any contest, provides four distinct entertainment potentials, which are reflected in four types of idioms (and eight sub-idioms) of memory in modern football: (1) the idiom of performance (victory and defeat, legends and long-term achievement); (2) the idiom of contingency (suspense, constant speculation); (3) the idiom of events (beauty and atmosphere, great events); and (4) the idiom of partisanship (occasional side-taking, fandom). Finally, drawing on research on the early history of modern football in the mid- to late nineteenth century, it was shown how this typology helps to make new sense of the other characteristics of modern football, particularly

the standardisation of rules and new competition formats such as the league system. On this basis, I would like to suggest three particularly promising paths for future research.

Football and the media: stressing the constitutive role of the public memory of modern football, this research perspective draws attention to the relationship between the history of football on the one hand and the history of (mass) media on the other. Since its early days, the main structures of modern football, such as standardised rules or the league system, were a reflection of changes in the ways in which football games are perceived in the public writing and talking about football, reacting particularly to an alliance of electric real-time media and sporting press that was first established with the introduction of the telegraph network in the mid-nineteenth century. Building on this analysis, promising research questions could be: how do pre-contest coverage (or previews), coverage of present contests (or live coverage) and post-contest coverage (or recaps and game reports) work together to create and change the idioms described above? What are the typical discursive operations that have developed since then and how have they changed in the past 150 years? How do they relate to other contributions to the football discourse, such as books and sites on tournaments, player careers, the history of clubs or associations, (auto-)biographies, fanzines or novels about players or fans? How are they coupled to other means of creating prestige in football such as official awards like the European Ballon d'Or or the World Player of the Year award?

Football in the world of sports: this perspective may also provide a new framework for comparisons between different sports. It implies that sports can differ from each other not only in terms of their rules or organisational structures but also their 'memorial culture', that is, their particular combinations of idioms of performance, contingency, presence and identification. Such comparisons may start from the observation that the football discourse seems to have some characteristics that distinguish it from a number of other popular sports, namely a *narrative bent*, since it uses relatively few statistics when compared to US sports or track-and-field sports, a *conservative bent*, since the relatively few rule changes and relatively stable competitive structures in football ensure the long-term comparability of performances and a particularly intense historical awareness (somewhat similar to baseball, but different from American Football or basketball) and a *global bent*, since the strong position of FIFA and the popularity of the World Cup encourage a worldwide discourse about football and global comparisons between teams, clubs and players. Detailed comparisons

between the memories of different sports may help to determine how these characteristics have developed over time, how they are related to different structures of competition and how they have changed in recent decades.

Recent trends in world football: against this background, a last promising path for future research could be the in-depth analysis of more recent trends in the ways in which football games are remembered. Four recent developments seem to be particularly interesting. First, there seems to be a *statistical trend*: an increasing usage of statistics such as player ratings, possession of the ball, etc., that seems to approach the intensity and expansiveness of statistics in US sports such as baseball or basketball. Second, there is what could be called a *visualisation trend*: new usages of pictures and videos in television and the Internet (video archives, slow motion, visual analytics) allow for new combinations of statistical, narrative and visual elements (see e.g. Stauff, 2010). Third, an *'eventualisation' trend*: an increasing focus on the atmosphere in stadiums and the role of fans in the creation of atmosphere ('La Ola', elaborate choreographies by ultras groups, etc.), which is also reflected in the football discourse. And, finally, a *regionalisation trend* that is firmly rooted in the universal ambitions of modern football, but has taken a specific direction in the last few decades, leading to an increasing prominence of continental competitive structures (the European Champions League, financial fair play, etc.) and encouraging comparisons on a regional as opposed to only a national or global scale – without, however, contradicting the global ambitions of modern football. Rather, it seems that the reconfiguration of football's memory combines these trends (quantification, visualisation, 'eventualisation' and regionalisation) in order to further fuel the global expansion and popularity of football as a world sport. The view on modern football outlined in this chapter may help to refine the analysis of these trends in a broad historical-sociological perspective.

Notes

1. With many thanks to Nils Havemann and Wolfram Pyta for their invitation to the FREE conference 'European Football and Collective Memory' in Stuttgart, 2013, for which the first version of this chapter was written. The presentations and discussions at this conference also considerably helped to improve the final version of the chapter.
2. Many thanks to Albrecht Sonntag, who suggested this argument on the role of 'injustices' in the football discourse to me at the FREE conference 'European Football and Collective Memory' in Stuttgart, 2013.

References

Anderson, B. (1998) 'Nationalism, Identity, and the Logic of Seriality', in B. Anderson (ed.), *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World* (London: Verso), pp. 29–45.

Bette, K.-H. and Schimank, U. (1995) *Doping im Hochleistungssport* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp).

Dunning, E. and Sheard, K. (1979) *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players* (Oxford: Martin Robertson).

Eichberg, H. (1984) 'Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte des Leistungsbegriffs im Sport', in H. Kaeber and B. Tripp (eds), *Gesellschaftliche Funktionen des Sports* (Darmstadt: Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft), pp. 85–106.

Eisenberg, C. (ed.) (1997) *Fußball, soccer, calcio. Ein englischer Sport auf seinem Weg um die Welt* (Munich: DTV).

———. (2006) 'Der Weltfußballverband Fifa im 20. Jahrhundert. Metamorphosen eines "Prinzipienreiters"',*Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 54, 209–230.

Elias, N. and Dunning, E. (eds) (1986) *Quest for Excitement* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell).

Guttmann, A. (1978) *From Ritual to Record* (New York: Columbia University Press).

———. (1994) *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Columbia University Press).

Harvey, A. (2001) '"An Epoch in the Annals of National Sport". Football in Sheffield and the Creation of Modern Soccer and Rugby', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 18(1), pp. 53–87.

———. (2004) *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793–1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate).

———. (2005) *Football: The First Hundred Years. The Untold Story* (London: Routledge).

Laurans, G. (1990) 'Qu'est qu'un champion? La compétition sportive en languedoc au début du siècle', *Annales ESC*, 45, pp. 1047–1069.

Leifer, E.M. (1995) *Making the Majors* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).

Luhmann, N. (1996) 'Zeit und Gedächtnis', *Soziale Systeme*, 2, pp. 307–330.

Mandell, R.D. (1976) 'The Invention of the Sports Record', *Stadion*, 2, pp. 250–264.

Mason, T. (1980) *Association Football and English Society 1863–1915* (Brighton: Harvester, 1980).

Parry, J. (2006) 'The Idea of the Record', *Sport in History*, 26, 197–214.

Simmons, B. (2003) 'An Apostle of Basketball Jesus', http://proxy.espn.go.com/espn/page2/story?page=simmons/030425 (date accessed 30 October 2014).

Stauff, M. (2010) 'Leistungsvergleich und Emotionalität. Die mediale Präsentation von Fußball', in A. Ziem (ed.), *Fußball als Leitdiskurs?* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg), pp. 241–265.

Vamplew, W. (2007) 'Playing with the Rules: Influences on the Development of Regulation in Sport', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24, 843–871.

Wenzlhuemer, R. (2013) *Connecting the Nineteenth-Century World: The Telegraph and Globalization* (Cambridge University Press).

Werron, T. (2005) 'Der Weltsport und sein Publikum. Weltgesellschaftstheoretische Überlegungen zum Zuschauersport', in B. Heintz, R. Münch and H. Tyrell (eds), *Weltgesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius), pp. 260–289.

———. (2010a) *Der Weltsport und sein Publikum. Zur Autonomie und Entstehung des modernen Sports* (Weilerswist: Velbrück).

———. (2010b) 'World Sport and its Public: On Historical Relations of Modern Sport and the Media', in U. Wagner and R. Storm (eds), *Observing Sport: System-Theoretical Approaches to Sport as a Social Phenomenon* (Schorndorf: Hofmann), pp. 33–59.

———. (2013) '"Die Liga". Entstehung, Funktionen und Schwächen eines Konkurrenzmodells', in W. Pyta (ed.), *Geschichte des Fußballs in Deutschland und Europa seit 1954* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), pp. 51–83.

3

Negotiating the Cold War? Perspectives in Memory Research on UEFA, the Early European Football Competitions and the European Nations Cups

Jürgen Mittag[*]

Introduction

Conflicts considering East–West relations and the clashing systems of the Cold War have been of crucial interest not only to the study of general history, but also to the historiography of sport (see, from a general perspective, Wagg and Andrews, 2007; Gygax, 2012; from a German perspective, Balbier, 2006; Malz, Rohdewald and Wiederkehr, 2007; Braun, 2008; Bertling and Mertin, 2013; and from a French perspective, Monnin and Monnin, 2008). Particular interest has been dedicated to the history of boycotts (Pfeiffer, 1987; Hulme, 1988; Lanz, 2011) and the use of sport by the state in international relations (Mangan, 2003).

However, it has been widely ignored by academia so far that what has been prevalent was not only hostile views of the competitiveness of national (sport) systems, an emphasis on national rivalries and the feelings of opponent collectiveness of nations, but that there were also repeated instances of cooperation and rapprochement – even if conflicts are to some extent pacified through a 'civilised' excitement within the sporting context (Elias and Dunning, 1993).

Modern sport not only perpetuates hostility between nations, but also fosters cooperation and supports reconciliation (Giulianotti, 2004; Hough, 2006; Kidd, 2008). But this perspective of sport – especially in view of football – has thus far only been partially illuminated within a European context (Horak and Reiter, 1991; Schulze-Marmeling, 2000; Krüger, Teja and Trangbaek, 2001). This is especially true in the light of the links between recent European history and the study of European

integration (Levermore and Budd, 2004; Hüser, 2006; Eisenberg, 2007a) which in recent decades has begun to place a stronger emphasis on the social dimension of the European integration process with its integrative institutions and communication processes (Dülffer, 2001; Kaiser and Starie, 2005; Loth, 2005; Meyer and Kaiser, 2013). Obviously, it is impossible to narrate the history of football in – and beyond – the different nation states of Europe without any reference to the European dimension of its development, be it the tendencies for transnational mobilisation and popularisation disseminated from Great Britain, the 'hegemonic' position of European international teams or, in recent history, the mammoth revenues of European clubs, which are achieved through the European Cup competitions in particular (Holt, 2007). Undoubtedly teams, clubs and players constitute local, regional and national identification among spectators and fans (Guilanotti and Williams, 1994; De Waele and Husting, 2008). However, identity formation also has a clear European dimension which widely surpasses national borders and might also play a role in the creation of a European memorial culture.

Against the backdrop of these introductory remarks, this chapter will refer to the question of how far the Cold War has been negotiated by football and its framework. In this context it addresses three aspects in a more detailed manner. First, how and when did European football reach its European dimension? This question addresses in particular the role of institutions and competitions at a European level. Second, what trajectories have laid the foundations for an increasingly European and transnational orientation, which, apart from conflicts and disputes, characterises European football? And, third, to what extent have these developments contributed to a collective consciousness establishing a framework which we can identify as the collective European football memory or legacy?

Collective memory is a representation of the past that is fabricated in the present. It is the result of a process in which many elements interact. According to Claus Leggewie and other authors, a collective European-wide memory is constituted primarily by the Holocaust and other conflicts and crises such as the First and Second World Wars or the Cold War (Judt, 2005; Troebst, 2005; Leggewie and Lang, 2011). This chapter will broaden this perspective by arguing that sport-related institutions and sport competitions with a high media profile have also played a particular role not only in the development of European football, but also in the creation of a collective European memory. These key questions will consider both friendly and hostile relationships in European football. Based on a number of case studies, these topics will

be explored within the following three areas in particular with regard to the period from the 1950s to the 1970s: UEFA as an institution, the first club competitions at the European level after the Second World War and the creation of the European Nations Cup.[1]

1. Conceptual considerations on memory research

The by now widely ramified debate on public memory is marked by numerous different strands, which show a significant level of variation. From Maurice Halbwachs to Aleida Assmann, via Pierre Nora and Josef H. Yerushalmi, all scholars working on memory and history underlined their differences (Yerushalmi, 1982; Nora, 1989; Halbwachs, 1992; Assmann, 2006). At least two strands will be highlighted in the following discussion: on the one hand, a phase of remembering can be noted from the mid-1970s onwards, which is mostly mirrored in an increasing number of pieces of research on the meaning of 'places of remembrance', such as monuments, memorial days, films, (educational) literature, museums and memorials, and also in political festivities, symbols, myths and signs.

The French sociologist and social psychologist Maurice Halbwachs provided essential suggestions in the 1930s for the category of 'collective memory' by referring to the relationship between individual memory and collective memory shaped by society. According to Halbwachs, the societal relativity of subjective memory showcases the lines of differentiation between individual and collective or social remembrance. Building on the studies of Halbwachs, who is regarded as the founding father of social and cultural studies of memory, the term 'memory' was complemented by the two key categories of 'communicative' and 'cultural' memory. The first is related to remembrance – a term that is widely used as synonymous with memory in this context – as an actually or verbally conveyed experience of individuals or groups in the sense of social interaction and is limited to a timeframe of about three generations after the time of the event, while 'cultural memory' can be understood as a 'construct transcending the ages'. In this context, written testimony is to be mentioned alongside images and rites that stretch over several generations. Historical research has managed to incorporate these two categories of the treatment of remembrance or memory in cultural studies and their respective perspectives and frameworks to large parts, but not without exercising essential critique on them (Cornelißen, 2003; Wolfrum, 2010). Apart from the socio-psychological impulses of the study on collective memory, the debate about genocide

and crimes against humanity or human rights has also been of crucial importance to the interest in public memory and caused a so-called memory boom. Whilst a culture of forgetting and displacement was predominant until the 1980s, now there is a vast number of publications concerning National Socialism, the Second World War, concentration camps, Shoa, forced labour and expulsion, as well as work about further dictatorial and unjust regimes throughout the world. The use of history for political purposes – this means the political measures taken immediately after the change of a system or regime – in particular constitutes an intersection between historical and social perspectives. In the field of sport there has so far only been limited work on memory culture. In recent times, however, this topic has attracted some interest, and studies such as those by Markwart Herzog or Michael Krüger have referred to the category of memory as well as the question of how the memory of sport should be dealt with (Wieting, 2001; Herzog, 2013). In the sense of a 'second history', these studies are less concerned with historical events and structures than with the conditions under which they were passed on and the way in which subsequent generations have formed the ideas about this past.

2. UEFA and the institutionalisation of football at the European level

The examination of the Cold War and the process of overcoming it in Europe require attention being paid to common institutions as well as the role of the media. As in general in the field of sport, institutions can be described as permanent, social institutions, which are geared towards the preparation, making, implementation and control of binding decisions. Thus, an institution like UEFA can be seen as a centre of a collective, specific system of rules and norms. This definition is a result of the social sciences' growing interest in the emergence and efficacy of institutions, which has been noticeable since the end of the 1980s. Approaches such as neo-institutionalism or new institutionalism with different varieties, such as the actor-centred institutionalism, have been developed under the concept of 'rediscovering institutions'. As opposed to traditional institutionalism, neo-institutionalism contains both the examination of formal institutions and informal organs (Peters, 1999; Scharpf, 2000). This not only leads to a wider recognition of a broader spectrum of environmental aspects, but also to that of the societal context.

While the foundation of FIFA has already been the subject of detailed research (Eisenberg *et al.*, 2004), academic studies on the history of

UEFA still represent a desideratum: until recently, more or less the only two books on this topic have been published by UEFA itself – issued respectively in the context of the organisation's twenty-fifth and fifieth jubilees. These two publications document in particular the position and perception of the actors involved (Europäische Fußball-Union, 1979; UEFA, 2004). In addition to legal and political science-oriented studies (Barcelo, 2007; Mittag, 2007a; Parrish and Miettinen, 2008; Tokarski *et al*., 2009; Kerth, 2011), a number of historical studies have recently been issued that broaden the scope of knowledge on European sport development. In the last decade the origins as well as the development of the European team tournaments have attracted academic interest (Mourlane, 2011; Quin, 2013; Vonnard, 2014). In addition, the question of the potential of football and sport to foster collective European identity has been considered (Sugden and Tomlinson, 1997; King, 2003; Nunes and Valério, 2008; Sonntag, 2008; Maumon de Longuevialle, 2009; Gasparini and Polo, 2012; Mittag and Nieland, 2013).

While South America already witnessed the foundation of a continental association (CONMEBOL) as early as 1916, there had been no attempts to establish a similar organisation in Europe until much later. This is generally explained by the fact that FIFA was dominated by Europe, its headquarters have been located since 1932 in Zurich, and it was always overseen by presidents from European member associations (Dietschy, 2013). Furthermore, in 1954 four out of the five FIFA vice-presidents were also European. However, the Second World War changed the structure of football in the same way that it did with many other aspects of states and society. Until then, football had been shaped by the Europeans in FIFA, but now Europe's importance found itself in significant decline. The South American football association was able to present itself as a powerful interest group, which was increasingly successful in implementing its ideas as opposed to the European associations. Furthermore, many new states gained FIFA membership, due to the process of decolonisation among other reasons. Consequently, the number of nations affiliated to the World Football Association grew from seven founding members to 79 members in 1954 – to the extent that the European nations were outweighed by sheer numbers (Eisenberg, 2007b). Hence, the FIFA Congress held in Rio de Janeiro in 1950 marked the beginning of an increased interest in the foundation of a European continental association, especially since voices calling for a European championship and European clubs' competitions gradually grew louder, and it became increasingly obvious that the growing number of tasks could no longer be centrally administrated by FIFA.

The first European initiatives were started by a West European triumvirate around Ottorino Barassi (President of the Italian FA), José Crahay (Secretary-General of the Royal Belgian Football Union) and Henri Delaunay (Secretary-General of the French FA). The respective impact of the individual actors is seen differently depending on the source and perspective. On 27 May 1952 these three pioneers presented a first draft for a European Football Union to those 13 European associations that had taken up an invitation to attend a meeting in Zurich in May 1952 and one month later another one in Paris. However, the initiative at first provoked little response. It was only after FIFA had met for an unscheduled congress in Paris in November to decide upon the statutes for the foundation of continental associations, and after the road had been paved by further informal meetings, that the decisive milestone to the establishment of UEFA was taken on the eve of the 1954 World Cup. After an official meeting on 15 April 1954 held in Paris (with only Czechoslovakia and Hungaria taking part from the Eastern countries), on 15 June 1954 a common umbrella organisation for the European football associations 'of a shape to be determined' was agreed upon (Bangerter, 1979; Quin, 2012). The board that was to specify further details and the legal framework included one Eastern European representative, Gusztáv Sebes from Hungary, who coached the Hungarian Golden Team between 1949 and 1956 and for some time simultaneously acted at Deputy Sport Minister for his country (Hadas, 1999).[2]

The 'Union of European Football Associations', as UEFA was known as of late October 1954, was legally established as a confederation. The 31 individual member associations maintained their sovereignty and apart from elections, UEFA's decisions at first had a rather advisory character.[3] It was not until a change of statutes in 1961 that the decisions of UEFA became legally binding for its members. The first official UEFA Congress, which took place on 2–3 March 1955 in Vienna, proved how difficult these initial structures made it to agree upon common viewpoints. For a start, the newly established UEFA failed to reach consensus on the implementation of a European championship, which initially had been one of the prime incentives for the foundation of a continental association, although only some members supported this idea.

Apart from the European championship project, the implementation of club competitions and other contests, such as the international youth tournament, was part of UEFA's task during its early period. Furthermore, UEFA also named the 'maintenance of the sense of community and the unity, the defence of the interests of the 34 member states, their leagues and clubs' as its objectives. In addition, there are a variety of other

functions executed by UEFA which should be noted – amongst other things, the generation of revenues, which, after the self-rescue of the at first notoriously skint UEFA, enabled the support of financially weak national associations and even clubs; the regulation of the TV market, especially after the 1960 EBU agreement on broadcasting zones, the extent of the coverage, the right for information and reimbursement; the attempts to establish a fixed calendar for international fixtures and European club competitions; the project of a coaching course for national managers, which had been initiated by Gusztáv Sebes and was continued by Stanley Rous; the advancement of European football through workshops and conferences for managers and referees; and the improvement of pan-European communications through the publication of a quarterly bulletin. To cap: UEFA has become a key actor in the structuration of European football (Schotté, 2014).

In conjunction with the broadening of the functions, there was a differentiation of UEFA's structures. While the number of members remained relatively stable – only Poland (1955), Turkey (1962), Cyprus (1962) and Liechtenstein (1974) joined during the first 25 years[4] – UEFA personnel underwent a significant change as the match operations and revenues increased during the 1960s. At first, the General Secretariat was run by volunteers, but it began to employ staff from 1956 onwards. However, until the late 1950s this included only one full-time employee and even in the early 1960s it was only made up of a full-time secretary-general and two assistants, In the 1970s there were only nine to ten employees until UEFA finally accounted for 18 full-time employees in four main departments in 1979.

During its first and second decade, the organisation had just three presidents. These presidents came entirely from Western or non-aligned countries: Ebbe Schwartz from Denmark (1954–1962), Gustav Wiederkehr from Switzerland (1962–1972) and Artemio Franchi from Italy (1973–1983). None of the organisation's presidents came from an Eastern European country. However, Sándor Barcs from Hungary acted as interim President between the death of Wiederkehr and the election of Franchi (1972–1973). The same applies for the position of secretary-general of the organisation: Henry Delaunay (1954–1955) and Pierre Delaunay (1956–1959) were officials from the French football association, while Hans Bangerter (1960–1988) came from Switzerland.

The tasks of the decision-making organs developed at a similar rate: the UEFA Executive Committee had already been significant during the foundation period, during which it was dominated by representatives from France, Belgium and Italy. With the entry of the Pole Leszek Rylski

(1956), the Czechoslovakian Ota Beck (1964) and the Russian Nikolay Ryashentsev (1966), UEFA developed stronger pan-European structures during its second decade. This was also mirrored by the fact that the sixth scheduled UEFA Congress in April 1962 took place in Sofia, which marked the first time that it took place in an Eastern European country. A telling example of the coexistence of East and West in UEFA is the presence of the German Democratic Republic (GDR). While the members of the International Olympic Committee did not admit the GDR until 1972, it had already become a member of UEFA in 1954. Interestingly, the first congress on German soil occurred not in West Germany, but in the East: on 28 April 1982 in Dresden. It was not until six years later that UEFA met in Munich.

The institutional development of UEFA indicates that the bodies of UEFA – despite the margins of the Cold War and two competing systems – have established from the very beginning at least to some extent a pan-European dimension. The reason for this is a rather pragmatic one. The main objective for the founding of a European umbrella organisation was the efficient representation of interests on the international stage and within FIFA. Hence, the founding in 1954 was the result primarily of sport-related factors and sport politics, and bears little impact on the political and economic integration of the continent. UEFA's main purpose was to serve and support the interests of its members: the national football associations. Against this backdrop, politically motivated interests had only a minor impact. Of course, the informal regional cooperation of associations – e.g. the 'British' associations, the Scandinavian associations, the state socialist associations and the Latin associations – in some cases played an important role. When Israel left the Asian Football Confederation in 1974, it was primarily the football associations from Eastern European that blocked its membership of UEFA. However, even this case does not reveal a clear East–West cleavage. In addition to the Eastern European associations, a number of Western European associations supported the veto against Israel.

In view of interest representation, the deliberate creation of transnationality was consequently also of minor importance. Apart from a limited number of pro-integration officials in UEFA and the national associations, hardly anyone promoted a specific support for the political idea of European integration. However, it can be concluded that within the bodies of UEFA, networks have been established that contributed to a deeper understanding of the different national traditions, that ensured the development of trust and mutual understanding and that offered a framework for a European-wide discussion about the arrangements for

(sport-related) communication and cooperation. Since these activities were restricted to a number of officials that acted behind closed doors, it is not surprising that up to this point they had only a limited effect on modern European memory culture.

3. The development of UEFA's club competitions

In contrast to other sports, the transnational football clubs' competitions did not begin to evolve until the 1920s, and then finally established themselves with a pan-European dimension in the 1950s (Schneider, 2004; Hesse-Lichtenberger, 2005; Mittag, 2007b; Vonnard, 2012). The establishment of the European pioneer competition in the 1920s, the Mitropa Cup, is closely tied to the popularisation and professionalisation of football after the First World War. By the 1920s, football had developed in most European nations into a mass phenomenon that transcended social classes. By the mid-1950s, however, it literally came to a race for pan-European club competitions in football: there were the traditional Romanic fill-in for the summer break, the Coupe Latine, and the revitalised Mitropa Cup in 1955, both competitions within a limited temporal and regional framework that were to be played out among the national champions. In addition, there was the Inter-Cities Fairs Cup, a commercially influenced competition, and a private European Champion Clubs' Cup mostly initiated by the engagement of the daily sports newspaper *L'Équipe*, later taken over by UEFA. The latter two were not limited to the summer break, but were scheduled for a longer timeframe and were the first to achieve a pan-European dimension.

The respective competitions received varied responses from the spectatorship. On the one hand, the traditional Mitropa Cup once again became the focus of the general public interest and during its second year of revival after the Second World War (1956), it could account for 100,000 spectators during both the final and the deciding match a few days later (Mittag, 2007b, pp. 156–160). On the other hand, the ideas about the European Champion Clubs' Cup were still very vague. Its first final on 13 June 1956 was able to draw a mere 38,000 to the Parc de Princes in Paris to watch Real Madrid win the competition. However, public interest shifted relatively quickly. Italy already declared its exit from the Mitropa Cup one year after its initiation and 22 national champions registered for the second edition of the European Champion Clubs' Cup. There were clear indicators of the increased importance of this pan-European competition.

This is also supported by the fact that as early as 12 September 1955, the German magazine *Kicker* voiced claims that in light of the European

Champion Clubs' Cup, a Europa league was 'by no means a utopian idea'. The German news magazine *Spiegel* stated (on 26 May 1965) that this European Cup had opened 'a European football market from Lisbon to Warsaw … within a few years', which had a significant potential for mobilisation: 'the most peripatetic football-tramps are the Germans', it stated in one of the first articles on European club football. 'In 1961 there were already 10,000 Germans accompanying the HSV to Brussels for a playoff match against Barcelona. In 1964 around 5,000 Germans – the largest group since the end of the war – even travelled to Eastern Europe, namely Prague, in order to support Borussia Dortmund against Dukla Prague. The supporters spend about half a million Deutschmark in the CSSR.' The Inter-Cities Fairs Cup also gained popularity after its structures had been reformed and from the 1970/1971 season onwards, it assumed the name 'UEFA Cup' and was administered by UEFA, which was already in charge of the European Champion Clubs' Cup. Due to the public interest in the European cup competitions, UEFA had already established a 'Cup Winners' Cup', initiated by the Austrian Alfred Frey, during the 1961/1962 season, but it never reached the same level of significance as its two older counterparts. While the single matches of the tournaments with its knock-out system had a clear European impact, the finals – consisting just of one match – displayed an orientation towards host countries with market economies.[5] Until 1972, the finals took place entirely in Western countries, while Belgrade, which hosted the 1973 final, was something of an exception. It took until the twenty-first century for a former communist country to be the venue: Moscow hosted the Champions League final in 2008.

What about the Cold War dimension of the tournaments? It must not be overlooked that during its first decades, UEFA saw itself in repeated confrontation with political obstacles, as the sporting competitions were overshadowed by the Cold War structures and political confrontations. A continuing challenge was the escape of players and officials who took the opportunity to leave their team during a stay in the West.[6] The following three case studies illustrate the relationship between football and political developments.

The first case study refers to the Hungarian team in the aftermath of '1956': two years after the foundation of UEFA, the 1956 invasion of Hungary by Soviet troops led to refugee movements, during which prominent footballers such as the captain of the legendary Hungarian team, Ferenc Puskás, and other stars, such as Zoltán Czibor and Sándor Kocsis, left their country in order to play for top teams – in fascist Spain of all places. Since the Hungarian FA was unable to oppose this

development within UEFA's framework, it prompted a FIFA match ban for the emigrants. In the following years, repeated attempts from players as well as fans to flee from the Eastern Bloc dampened the atmosphere at committee sessions and UEFA congresses, but never led to boycotts within UEFA. On the contrary, again and again UEFA succeeded in exercising a compromising influence on the national associations and general politics. This became apparent on several occasions, for example, when Real Madrid and JSD Partizan were scheduled to play in the Champion Clubs Cup at the turn of 1955/1956 and this fixture was carried out without any disruption, despite of the fact that diplomatic relations between Spain and Yugoslavia had been put on hold.

The second case study refers to '1968': the general international political climate and the Cold War also proved to be of a significant impact in 1968, when the breaking of the 'Prague Spring' required a partially controlled draw of the clubs' competitions as Western European teams refused to play in socialist countries. UEFA decided to distinguish between a Western and an Eastern competition in the first round. This subsequently caused the teams from Bulgaria, the GDR, Hungary and the USSR to withdraw from the competition. But while the French daily *L'Equipe* expressed complaints that some Western European teams benefited from the new draw, other statements revealed that UEFA managed to successfully keep the competition alive. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* expressed its disappointment with the political interference (7 September 1968): 'In sport Europe had already come particularly close. In this field, too, the political overheating of recent times seems to lead to new tensions.'

The third case study addresses the developments that took place in 1973. German–German fixtures also tended to be strained: one might remember the match between Bayern Munich and Dynamo Dresden in 1973, which was the first solely German fixture in the Club Champions' Cup, as well as the UEFA Cup clash between Bayer Uerdingen and Dynamo Dresden in 1986. The fact that only fans, who were deemed politically reliable GDR citizens, and Stasi employees were sent over to the class enemies for these matches, as well as for the 1974 World Cup, furthermore indicates the sensitive nature of these matches. In addition, the restrictions on Western journalists travelling to the GDR and the attitude of the Bayern Munich team, which launched an initiative to play the match in a neutral country and – after the proposal had been rejected – arrived in Dresden just a few hours before the match and left directly afterwards due to real or imagined dangers revealed the sensitiveness of these events.

In light of the development of a European dimension of football, a considerable dynamic can be recognised based on this brief historical summary. While football, in spite of its many aspects that transcend boundaries, was almost exclusively organised domestically during the early 1950s, in the middle of that decade, a network of competitions and common structures of a previously unknown density spread out across the whole of Europe. That many clubs' competitions emerged simultaneously alongside the foundation of UEFA in the 1950s, however, was not so much a politically charged process as due to the persistent commitment of individual actors. Looking for causes for the development of a pan-European dimension of football, these are mostly found within purely sports-related and economic motives. The increasingly professionalised clubs – be it in the West or in the East – recognised that a larger number of matches would also benefit their revenues. These were necessary because ticket sales accounted for the majority of the professional clubs' revenues, while the level of revenue from advertisements and TV licensing was far from today's quotas of annual turnover.

At this point, it is necessary to question whether the coverage of European cup competitions during this period caused an improved European consciousness or even a higher degree of European integration. Surely, the cup competitions led to pan-European sport communications. Looking at the timeframe between the 1950s and the 1970s, however, the degree of attention paid throughout Europe cannot be compared to that of the late twentieth and the twenty-first centuries. The important European cup matches attracted attention, but they never reached a level that could be spoken of as transnational or even European publicity. From these observations, it can be concluded that European club football did arouse significant interest throughout Europe, but only made a limited contribution to the establishment of a pan-European space for communication, which would be relevant for the emergence of a collective European consciousness or even European remembrance. Whether and to what extent football has changed the broader public's opinion on confrontation and rapprochement in Europe during the Cold War period can therefore only be verified very cautiously. Rather than mediated professional football, it was probably subsidiary forms of transnational cooperation of clubs at the local level or contacts established through city partnerships, international tournaments, friendships between fan communities and youth exchange programmes, which provided football with a European dimension.

4. The development of UEFA's European championships

With the exception of the British championship (the Home International Championship), which in 1883 had staged the world's first national team championship with the associations of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, the earliest transnational championship began with the football tournaments that were played in the Olympic Games from 1908 onwards (the first Olympic football tournament was held in 1900 as a demonstration only) (Dietschy, 2004). The practice of regional championships in Europe like those in Great Britain also gained adherents in Scandinavia, where from 1924 to 1977, a Swedish-dominated Scandinavian championship (the Nordic Championship) was played. Since it was impossible to obtain a majority in favour of the project of a European championship of national teams at the December 1926 FIFA Congress in Paris, Austria's football pioneer Hugo Meisl concentrated his plans on those countries in which professional football already dominated. At the same 1927 meeting in Venice where the Mitropa Cup was ratified, it was also agreed to establish a European tournament of national teams (Schulze-Marmeling and Dahlkamp, 2008; Mittag and Legrand, 2010). Both tournaments were designed from the beginning to achieve a financial surplus for the participating clubs and associations. Just two months later, on 18 September 1927, the first match of the so-called 'Švehla Cup' tournament was held in Prague between Czechoslovakia and Austria.[7] The tournament was formed as a series of two legs on a home and away basis, which stretched over a long period of time, so that the first tournament lasted from 1927 until 1930. Included amongst the participating nations were those who also took part in the Mitropa Cup, i.e. the four founding countries from the Venice meeting – Austria, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, later joined by Switzerland and Yugoslavia. According to contemporary press reports, the new tournament was well received by the fans, and the relatively high number of spectators all but guaranteed its financial success. Although the leading European football nations played in the Švehla Cup, the other nations of Europe expressed only limited interest in the tournament and almost totally neglected to give it any media coverage. Nonetheless, the tournament had imitators, and soon several similar region-specific tournaments were established, including the 'Baltic Cup', which was first held in 1928, and the 'Balkan Cup' in 1929. These tournaments, however, resulted in little more than regional interest and response.

During the period before the end of the Second World War, the concept of a European football championship was already present, if only in the thoughts and discussions of those involved, most notably in

the ambitions of Hugo Meisl and the Secretary-General of the French FA, Henri Delaunay. But the time was not yet ripe for a European-wide championship, though in South America there had already been a continental championship since 1916. This was due to some prevailing attitudes that were diametrically opposed not only to professional football, but also to technical restrictions – for instance, in view of travel times – and the resistance of FIFA, which was devoting itself entirely to the preparations required for the World Cup, whose success was at this time by no means certain.

The idea of a European cup for national teams was quickly seized upon by the member countries of the Mitropa Cup again after the Second World War. By 1948, a new tournament had begun with similar rules and timeframe to the Švehla Cup. The first post-war winner was Hungary over Czechoslovakia in 1953. A second round of the newly renamed 'Dr Josef Gerö Cup' was played from 1954 to 1960, but by then, it was already overshadowed by the establishment of UEFA.

The newly founded UEFA did not immediately succeed in organising a European championship, even though this objective was presented not only in the press but also in a statement by UEFA President Ebbe Schwartz as the central motivation behind its foundation. Only ten (other sources speak of 18) out of a total of 30 associations in attendance at the Vienna Congress supported holding a European championship, with a clear majority of supporters coming from Eastern Europe. In this context, the appointment of a commission to check and finalise the plans was at first the lowest common denominator that could be agreed upon. After Delaunay's death in 1955, his son Pierre followed in his footsteps and pursued the idea of a European nations cup. Pierre Delaunay was supported in his action by José Crahay and the President, Ebbe Schwartz. The proposal presented at the second UEFA Congress in July 1956 in Lisbon again received no majority, with many nations expressing reservations. It was argued that the international match calendar would be too full, the recently healed war wounds would be re-opened and the dangers of commercialisation would arise. Against this backdrop of criticism, Pierre Delaunay developed a new system for a single tournament played over two years with a short final stage, which he duly presented at a meeting of the UEFA Executive Committee in Cologne and then at the third UEFA Congress in Copenhagen on 28–29 June 1957. Delaunay once again met with renewed and strong criticisms. Those opposed to the idea argued that this new tournament would disrupt the preparations for the World Cup and would hinder the formation of new teams during the period between World Cups.

In addition, they did not want to give up on friendly matches, as this was a lucrative source of income for the national associations.

The limited support for a European championship is not only reflected in the results of the vote – 14 ayes and seven nays with five abstentions – at the UEFA Congress in Copenhagen in June 1957. In order to achieve the targeted number of 16 teams, the registration deadline had to be extended by another four months. Only by the UEFA Congress of 1958 in Stockholm had 17 of the 33 national associations in Europe finally joined the European Nations Cup. The heavyweights of the football world – such as Italy, England and Germany, as well as Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland – ultimately passed on the chance to take part. With only 15 votes to 13, the realisation of the first UEFA European Nations Cup came to pass (seven voted against and four did not vote).

The first tournaments of the European Nations Cup were dominated by teams from socialist countries.[8] The first final was between the USSR and Yugoslavia, while 11 out of 20 participants in the final rounds of the first three tournaments were teams from Eastern Europe. The political tension of this constellation is broadly mirrored in the German media. While the GDR – which was already taking part in the first tournament – was not called the German Democratic Republic in German newspapers, but the 'Zone' (see, for instance, in the *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6 April 1960), the reports on the USSR matches were rather marginal. It has to be taken into account that the first 'EURO' was a fairly small competition, the first final attracting only 18,000 spectators (Mittag and Legrand, 2010). Another three case studies may explore the impact of the Cold War for the European Nations Cup, as the UEFA European Championship was called during this time. They can be classified into two main types: boycotts and exclusions.

The quarter-finals of the first tournament were a particular stress test in 1959/1960. Although the two football associations of Spain and the USSR, countries with ideologically conflicting regimes, had agreed upon the details of this fixture, the Spanish government under General Franco issued a short-notice ban for the national team to travel to Moscow and play the USSR. UEFA, under the lead of Pierre Delaunay, suggested having the fixture moved onto neutral ground, a compromise that was accepted by Spain, but eventually failed due to the USSR's resistance. As a result, the Soviet team automatically proceeded to the final round in France, due to the opponents' withdrawal, and went on to claim the title (Heimann, 1979, p. 163).[9] No earlier than two years later, at a conference held in Bern, did UEFA hand out a punishment to Spain.[10]

Heavy political tensions were linked with the 1961 youth tournament since this event took place in Portugal, a country perceived as conservative, nationalistic and neo-colonial. As a consequence, the national teams from the GDR, Hungary and Yugoslavia skipped the competition shortly before the opening ceremony due to political objections made at rather short notice. The reaction of the Portuguese authorities followed instantly: Portugal refused visas for the GDR team of SC Motor Jena (renamed FC Carl Zeiss Jena in 1966) with Coach Georg Buschner to travel to Portugal to play the quarter-finals of the Cup Winners Cup in the 1961–1962 season against the Leixões Sport Club. As a consequence, the Portuguese team had to play both matches in the GDR.

The qualifier of the UEFA European Championship between Germany and Poland in the autumn of 1971, which was played in the stadium that had been built in the very same place that was deeply connected with the breaking of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, also raised tensions. As *Der Kicker* reported in its issue of 14 October 1971, while the match itself was not interrupted, the away supporters from the GDR, which had been cheering for the West German team, were confronted with accusations from the employees of the GDR's Ministry for State Security and the Polish state security. These and other East–West fixtures prove that sport during the Cold War era was not only an expression of the ideological rivalry of the systems. Even when states attempted to politicise sport in favour of their own ideology, UEFA succeeded in establishing a framework that would bypass political systems as well as building bridges on the pitch.

It is noteworthy that in European football – as much with the clubs as with the national teams – these tournaments which from the beginning took an inclusive pan-European view have proven to be very sustainable. Obviously smaller region-specific tournaments had their proponents, but robust and long-term public success had only been achieved by inclusive Europe-wide tournaments. Whereas certain matches in the European football tournaments – either at a club or a national level – were made into objects, time and again, for political disputes, the degree of political interference and attempts to use football as a means of pursuing a political aim have remained remarkably limited. The conspicuous can clearly be seen: while European integration had a decidedly Western European bias, European football was one of the few arenas during the Cold War in which bloc-spanning contacts would be openly maintained. In its first few decades, the European Championship had significant symbolic importance – particularly for the Eastern European teams, but also for countries such as Greece.

Since these countries had only a limited chance of winning the World Cup, they longed for a European Championship success as a historic milestone in their national footballing history. As such, the European Championship victory by Spain in 1964 was for a long time the only success for a nation 'spoilt' by the success of its famous clubs. At the European Championship in 1968, Italy ended a 30-year wait since its previous big victory by its national team, and in West Germany the 1972 victory was seen as the biggest victory by the national team since 1954. In view of this, European football in general and UEFA's European Championship in particular could be evaluated as a trajectory for collective memory, having the potential to contribute at least to some extent to a memory culture that transgresses national borders.

Conclusions: offers and constraints of European football memory perspectives

The first objective of this chapter has been to provide examples for the European dimension of football in view of conflicts and rapprochement. By means of these illustrations, it has been pointed out that the development of football – and also the process of communication on football – was prone to numerous influences during the Cold War era. While the professionalisation of (elite) sport increasingly managed to gain the upper hand, sport journalists did not feel limited by ideological forces and demands, which were scarce in the first place. When considering the question of whether there is a football-related negotiation of Europe's division by the Iron Curtain, one may identify at least a temporary triumph over the opposing sides of the Cold War through the institutions of UEFA and its competitions. It became evident that sport and football in particular began to gain a pan-European orientation. UEFA's ability as an organisation to thrive during the Cold War years can be explained by two factors: the popularity of football and UEFA's political neutrality. A limited representation in UEFA's governing bodies and an almost complete absence of the opportunity to be the hosts of major European football events did not deter Eastern European countries from participating in such a popular endeavour.

The second set of questions in this chapter referred to the trajectories which have laid the foundations for an increasingly European and transnational orientation. By the middle of the 1950s, a growing network of border-transcending structures and competitions within professional football had been formed. UEFA, which by means of competitions involving clubs and national teams provided football with a European dimension,

was the central driving force in this process. That this process became increasingly dynamic is first and foremost a product of the growing importance of European clubs' and teams' competitions, and later on also of the growing number of foreign players and managers in the domestic leagues. In addition, the impact of the technological evolution of satellite TV, which operated beyond domestic regulations and control, has to be taken into consideration. Combined with the foundation of new transnational media institutions in Europe, these impulses more or less caused the fall of the old system of domestic limitations and regulations. Football in particular can be considered a telling story for common features of a shared media culture revealing complex interdependences between East and West.

Though there is no doubt that the process of political integration in Europe has since the 1950s noticeably reinforced a general European consciousness, football, too, has become for Europe an increasingly important frame of reference, with the European Championship being more closely tied to socially, culturally and technically induced processes in a pan-European dimension. The framework of increasingly multifaceted processes of interdependence – consisting of structural links and mutual adoptions below and beyond the level of the nation state – is mirrored in football. Here, the media in particular acted as a decisive catalyst in establishing football's pan-European dimension. It is noticeable that the extent to which the media reported on the European Championship gave it an increased significance. In this regard it would appear that acts of Europeanisation and eventisation have mutually strengthened each other. Particularly after a format was found for the European Championship that could make it attractive both to a TV audience across the entire continent as well as to the spectators in the stadiums, and after an overarching framework was established and the atmosphere for the fans was given greater attention, the media also took increasing notice, which served to further boost the attractiveness and popularity of tournaments (Horne, 2010).

In view of European memory, an overall assessment reveals a different picture. Of course, it depends on the standpoint and on the scaling as to whether we can witness the development of a football-driven memorial culture or not. Against the backdrop of this chapter's empirical examples, at least some observations offer reasonable ground for establishing both individual and collective memory structures. Taking into consideration the developments that have fostered the evolution of a European public sphere, European consciousness and even European identity, we can also witness the first traces of European memory. Football has

gradually become a common key element in European culture, which has been reinforced by the media in view of the different European football competitions. Historiography has described television as a primarily national mass medium. The post-war decades, however, saw the emergence of transnational spheres of interaction. Football can be considered as a major facilitator of a European public sphere that can be applied both to West and East and it can be considered a motor that broadens the scope for new societal processes of communication.

UEFA in particular exercises an important function in the emergence of pan-European perspectives. Europe-wide cooperation was conducted within the framework of its institutional structures and its competitions as one of the places where this was done continuously and without being disrupted by major fundamental crises. It can be concluded that pan-European perspectives were not only shaped by political cooperation or inter-governmental diplomacy, but also that essential explanations for transnational societal rapprochement are to be sought and found within those seemingly apolitical networks and frameworks in which the understanding for differently orientated national traditions was aroused and the basis of a further process of integration was enabled.

Compared with national aspects of memory, the European dimension of football memory nevertheless remains limited up to the present day due to a number of reasons. There is still no overall European communication framework and no Europe-wide media; there is also the limited impact of sport officials, since there are hardly any reports on meetings of congresses or committee sessions. Moreover, there is not much popular literature on UEFA and its competitions, and there is also no specific debate on a *lieu de mémoire* for European remembrance.

Reflecting on this observation, a particular role might be dedicated to sport historians who are major stakeholders in the sport-related memory debate. Writing the history of twentieth-century's sport in Europe, historians have not just to focus on the sport-related confrontations and rivalries of the Cold War era, but must also analyse those structures and processes that have contributed to overcome the political, cultural, economic and even psychological constraints (Keys, 2006). This means, first of all, considering the complexity of the past and refusing a historical hermeneutic reduction to a simple confrontation between different nations. Second, it is a challenge for sport historians to reflect on the role of football as a means that transcends national divisions, thus reformulating the idea of a European consciousness. Against this backdrop, historians should, however, be aware of belonging to these memorial spaces precisely in order to achieve the necessary critical distance.

Notes

* The author wishes to thank Philippe Vonnard gratefully for his helpful comments and Anni Pekie for her text editing.

1. The UEFA European Championship has been held every four years since 1960. Until 1968 it was called the UEFA European Nations Cup.
2. On 22 June 1954, with the World Cup still underway, the 'group of European associations', as it was referred to at that point, elected the Dane Ebbe Schwartz as President.
3. Initially UEFA had 31 members: the national football associations of Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Saarland, Scotland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the USSR, Wales and Yugoslavia.
4. After the referendum in October 1955, the football association of Saarland ceased to be a member in 1957.
5. With the exception of the 1963–1965 period, the finals of the Inter-Cities Fairs Cup/UEFA Cup were played on a two-leg home-and-away basis.
6. Among the German defectors were popular football players and coaches such as Horst Assmy, Jörg Berger, Lutz Eigendorf, Rolf Fritzsche, Falko Götz, Norbert Nachtweih, Jürgen Pahl, Michael Polywka, Emil Poklitar, Rolf Starost and Dirk Schlegel. For more on this, see Braun, Wiese and de la Garza, 2011.
7. In Germany this tournament was known as 'Europapokal' or 'Europameisterschaft', in Italy as 'Coppa Internazionale', in France as 'Coupe Internationale Européenne', in Czechoslovakia as 'Mezinárodní Póhar' and in Hungary as 'Európa Kupa'.
8. The 17 participants were the football associations of Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, the German Democratic Republic, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Turkey, the USSR and Yugoslavia.
9. Other sources also shed light on the fact that Franco refused entry visas to some members of the Soviet delegation that was about to come to Madrid.
10. At the same conference, UEFA prohibited playing national anthems during club competitions. It was argued that competitions between nations should be left entirely up to national teams.

References

Assmann, A. (2006) *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit. Erinnerungkultur und Geschichtspolitik* (Munich: C.H. Beck).

Balbier, U. (2006) *Kalter Krieg auf der Aschenbahn – eine deutsch-deutsche Beziehungsgeschichte 1950–1970* (Paderborn: Schöningh).

Bangerter, H. (1979) 'Die UEFA einst und jetzt', in Europäische Fußball-Union (ed.) (1979) *25 Jahre UEFA* (Bern: UEFA).

Barcelo, L. (2007) 'L'Europe des 52: l'Union Européenne de football Association (UEFA)', *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, 55, 119–133.

Bertling, C. and Mertin, E. (eds) (2013) *Freunde oder Feinde? Sportberichterstattung in Ost und West während des Kalten Krieges* (Gütersloh: Medienfabrik).

Braun, J. (2008) '"Republikflucht" und "Fluchthelfer". Ein verdrängtes Kapitel deutsch-deutscher Sportbeziehungen', in A. Krüger and B. Wedemeyer-Kolwe (eds), *Vergessen, Verdrängt, Abgelehnt. Zur Geschichte der Ausgrenzung im Sport. Tagungsbericht der 10. Hoyaer Tagung zur Sportgeschichte vom 10. bis 12. Oktober 2008* (Berlin: Lit Verlag), pp. 106–116.

Braun, J., Wiese, R. and de la Garza, C. (2011) *ZOV Sportverräter. Spitzenathleten auf der Flucht. Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung* (Berlin: Zentrum Dt. Sportgeschichte).

Cornelißen, C. (2003) 'Was heißt Erinnerungskultur? Begriff – Methoden – Perspektiven', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 54, 548–563.

De Waele, J.-M. and Husting, A. (2008), *Football et Identités* (Brussels: Ed. de l'Université de Bruxelles).

Dietschy, P. (2004) 'Le football et les jeux olympiques (1896–1936)', in P. Milza, F. Jequier and P. Tétard (eds), *Le Pouvoir des Anneaux. Les Jeux Olympiques à la Lumière de la Politique 1896–2004* (Paris: Vuibert), pp. 161–181.

———. (2013) 'Making Football Global? FIFA, Europe, and the Non-European Football World, 1912–74', *Journal of Global History*, 8, 279–298.

Dülffer, J. (2001) 'Europäische Integration zwischen integrativer und dialektischer Betrachtungsweise', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 42, 521–543.

Eisenberg, C. (2007a) 'Die Entdeckung des Sports durch die moderne Geschichtswissenschaft', *Historical Social Research*, 2(3), 4–21.

———. (2007b) 'Metamorphosen eines Prinzipienreiters. Der Weltfußballverband FIFA im 20. Jahrhundert', in J. Mittag and J.-U. Nieland (eds), *Das Spiel mit dem Fußball* (Essen: Klartext), pp. 219–236.

Eisenberg, C., Lanfranchi, P., Mason, T. and Wahl, A. (2004) *FIFA 1904–2004. 100 Jahre Weltfussball* (Göttingen: Die Werkstatt).

Elias, N. and Dunning, E. (1993) *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell).

Europäische Fußball-Union (ed.) (1979) *25 Jahre UEFA* (Bern: UEFA).

Garcia, B., Grant, W. and Niemann, A. (eds) (2011) *The Transformation of European Football: A Case of Europeanisation?* (Manchester University Press).

Gasparini, W. and Polo, J.-F. (2012) 'L'Espace Européen du Football. Dynamiques Institutionnelles et Constructions Sociales', *Politique Européenne*, 36, 9–21.

Giulianotti, R. (2004) 'Human Rights, Globalization and Sentimental Education: The Case of Sport', *Sport in Society*, 7(3), 355–369.

Giulianotti, R. and Williams, J. (1994) *Game without Frontiers: Football, Identity and Modernity* (Aldershot: Arena).

Gygax, J. (2012) *Olympisme et Guerre Froide Culturelle. Le Prix de la Victoire Américaine* (Paris: L'Harmattan).

Hadas, M. (1999) 'Stratégie Politique et Tactique Sportive: Esquisse d'une Analyse Socio-Historique du Style de Deu de "l'Equipe d'Or" Hongroise des Années Cinquante', in H. Helal and P. Mignon (eds), *Football : Jeu et Société* (Paris: Institut national du sport et de l'éducation physique), pp. 85–99.

Halbwachs, M. (1992) *On Collective Memory* (University of Chicago Press).

Heimann, K.-H. (1979) 'Die Fußball-Europameisterschaft', in Europäische Fußball-Union (ed.),*25 Jahre UEFA* (Bern: UEFA).

Herzog, M. (ed.) (2013) *Memorialkultur im Fußballsport. Medien, Rituale und Praktiken des Erinnerns, Gedenkens und Vergessens* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer).

Hesse-Lichtenberger, U. (2005) *Flutlicht und Schatten. Die Geschichte des Europapokals* (Göttingen: Die Werkstatt).

Holt, M. (2007) 'Global Success in Sport: The Effective Marketing and Branding of the UEFA Champions League', *International Journal of Sport Marketing & Sponsorship*, 51–61.

Horak, R. and Reiter, W. (eds) (1991) *Die Kanten des runden Leders. Beiträge zur europäischen Fußballkultur* (Vienna: Promedia).

Horne, J. (2010) 'Material and Representational Legacies of Sports Mega-events: The Case of the UEFA EURO™ Football Championships from 1996 to 2008', *Soccer and Society*, 11(6), 854–866.

Hough, P. (2006) '"Make Goals Not War": The Contribution of International Football to World Peace', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 25(10), 1287–1305.

Hulme, D.L. (1988) 'The Viability of International Sport as a Political Weapon. The 1980 US Olympic Boycott', PhD dissertation, University of Michigan.

Hüser, D. (2006) 'Moderner Sport und Geschichte als Wissenschaft. Zur politischen, gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Verflechtung eines massenkulturellen Phänomens seit der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Neue Politische Literatur*, 51, 223–264.

Judt, T. (2005) 'Epilogue. From the House of the Dead: An Essay on Modern European Memory', in *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York: Penguin Books), pp. 803–831.

Kaiser, W. and Starie, P. (eds) (2005) *Transnational European Union: Towards a Common Political Space* (London: Routledge).

Kerth, G. (2011): *Opportunities and Boundaries of a Sport Policy in the European Union. Realities – Expectations – Visions* (Saarbrücken: Südwestdeutscher Verlag für Hochschulschriften).

Keys, B. (2006) *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).

Kidd, B. (2008) 'A New Social Movement: Sport for Development and Peace', *Sport in Society*, 11(4), 370–380.

King, A. (2003) *The European Ritual: Football in the New Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate).

Krüger, A., Teja, A. and Trangbaek, E. (eds) (2001) *Europäische Perspektiven zur Geschichte von Sport, Kultur und Politik* (London and Berlin: Tischler).

Lanz, J. (2011) *Zwischen Politik, Protokoll und Pragmatismus. Die deutsche Olympiageschichte von 1952 bis 1972* (Berlin: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Berlin).

Leggewie, C. and Lang, A. (2011) *Der Kampf um die europäische Erinnerung. Ein Schlachtfeld wird besichtigt* (Munich: C.H. Beck).

Levermore, R. and Budd, A. (eds) (2004) *Sport and International Relations: An Emerging Relationship* (London: Routledge).

Loth, W. (2005), 'Europa im Rückblick. 25 Jahre europäische Integration in historischer Perspektive', in W. Weidenfeld and W. Wessels (eds), *Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration 2004/2005* (Baden-Baden: Nomos), pp. 45–54.

Malz, A., Rohdewald, S. and Wiederkehr, S. (eds) (2007) *Sport zwischen Ost und West. Beiträge zur Sportgeschichte Osteuropas im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Osnabrück: fiber).

Mangan, J.A. (ed.) (2003) *Militarism, Sport, Europe: War without Weapons*, (London: Frank Cass).

March, J. and Olsen, J.P. (1989) *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics* (New York: Free Press).

Maumon de Longevialle, A. (2009) 'La Construction de l´Europe du Football', research paper, University of Strasbourg.

Meyer, J. H. and Kaiser, W. (eds) (2013) *Societal Actors in European Integration: Polity-Building and Policy-Making 1958–1992* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

Mittag, J. (2007a) 'Die Europäische Union und der Fußball. Die Europäisierung des Profifußballs zwischen Bosman- und Simutenkow-Urteil', in J. Mittag and J.-U. Nieland (eds), *Das Spiel mit dem Fußball* (Essen: Klartext). pp. 203–218.

———. (2007b) 'Europa und der Fußball. Die europäische Dimension des Vereinsfußballs vom Mitropa-Cup bis zur Champions-League', in J. Mittag and J.-U. Nieland (eds), *Das Spiel mit dem Fußball* (Essen: Klartext), pp. 155–176.

Mittag, J. and Legrand, B. (2010) 'Towards a Europeanization of Football? Historical Phases in the Evolution of the UEFA European Football Championship', *Soccer & Society*, 11(6), 709–722.

Mittag, J. and Nieland, J.-U. (2013) 'Auf der Suche nach Gesamteuropa: UEFA und EBU als Facetten institutioneller und medialer Betrachtung europäischer Sportgeschichte', in C. Bertling and E. Mertin (eds), *Freunde oder Feinde? Sportberichterstattung in Ost und West während des Kalten Krieges* (Gütersloh: Medienfabrik Gütersloh), pp. 208–229.

Monnin, E. and Monnin, C. (2008) 'Le Boycott Politique des Jeux Olympiques de Montréal', *Relations internationales*, 134(2), 93–113.

Mourlane, S. (2011) 'La Coupe Latine: Aspects Sportifs, Culturels et Politiques (1949–1957)', in D. Rey (ed.), *Football en Méditerranée Occidentale de 1900 à 1975* (Ajaccio: Ed. A. Piazzola), pp. 53–66.

Nora, P. (1989) 'Between Memory and History', *Représentations*, 26, 7–25.

Nunes, A. and Valério, N. (2008) 'UEFA: A Successful Pan-European Organisation During the Cold War, unpublished paper presented at the 2nd WISC Conference, Ljubljana.

Parrish, R. and Miettinen, S. (2008) *The Sporting Exception in European Union Law* (The Hague: TMC Asser Press).

Peters, G. (1999) *Institutional Theory in Political Science: The 'New Institutionalism'* (London and New York: Cassell).

Pfeiffer, R. (1987) *Sport und Politik. Die Boykottdiskussionen um die Olympischen Spiele von Mexico City 1968 bis Los Angeles 1984* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang).

Quin, G. (2012) 'Une Première Elite du Football Européen (1904–1956) ou les Prémices d'un Champ Footballistique Européen', UEFA Research Grant Programme report (unpublished).

———. (2013). 'La *Coupe de l'Europe Centrale* (1927–1938), une Compétition Internationale Oubliée ?', *Stadion. Revue Internationale d'Histoire du Sport*, 37(2), 285–304.

Robin, G. (ed.) (2011) *Football, Europe et régulations* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion).

Scharpf, F.W. (2000) *Interaktionsformen. Akteurzentrierter Institutionalismus in der Politikforschung* (Opladen: Leske und Budrich).

Schneider, E.W. (2004) *Vom Challenge Cup zur Champions League*, (Kassel: Agon Verlag).

Schotté, M. (2014) 'La Structuration du Football Professionnel Européen. Les Fondements Sociaux de la Prevalence de la "Spécificité Sportive"', *Revue Française de Socio-Economie*, 13, 85–106.

Schulze-Marmeling, D. (2000) *Fußball. Zur Geschichte eines globalen Sports* (Göttingen: Die Werkstatt).
Schulze-Marmeling, D. and Dahlkamp, H. (2008) *Die Geschichte der Fußball-Europameisterschaft* (Göttingen: Die Werkstatt).
Sonntag, A. (2008) *Les Identités du Football Européen* (Grenoble: Presses universitaire de Grenoble).
Sugden, J. and Tomlinson, A. (1997) 'Global Power Struggles in World Football: FIFA and UEFA, 1954–74, and their Legacy', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 14(2), 1–25.
Tokarski, W., Petry, K., Groll, M. and Mittag, J. (2009) *A Perfect Match? Sport and the European Union* (Maidenhead: Meyer & Meyer).
Troebst, S. (2005) 'Jalta versus Stalingrad, GULag versus Holocaust. Konfligierende Erinnerungskulturen im größeren Europa', *Berliner Journal für Soziologie*, 3, 381–400.
UEFA (ed.) (2004) *50 Jahre UEFA*, 2 vols (Nyon: UEFA).
Vonnard, P. (2012) *La genèse de la coupe des clubs champions. Une histoire du football européen (1920–1960)* (Neuchatel: CIES).
———. (2014) 'A Competition that Shook European Football: A Sociohistorical Study of the Creation of the Men's Football European Champion Clubs Cup (1954–1955)', *Sport in History*, 1–25.
Wagg, S. and Andrews, D. (eds) (2007) *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War* (London: Routledge).
Wieting, S.G. (2001) *Sport and Memory in North America* (London: Frank Cass).
Wolfrum, E. (2010) 'Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik als Forschungsfelder', in J. Scheunemann (ed.), *Reformation und Bauernkrieg. Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik im geteilten Deutschland* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt), pp. 13–47.
Yerushalmi, J.H. (1982) *Zakhor. Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press).

4

UEFA Football Competitions as European Sites of Memory – Cups of Identity?

Michael Groll

Introduction

Football moves the masses – not only in Germany, but in all of Europe. Football is the number one sport in many European countries. This chapter intends to focus not on viewing quotas, participation rates or the large-scale income generated by media and sponsorship deals, but instead on a rarely studied aspect: what makes a football match a site of collective memory? Which major events from European football created common associations and emotions for a national group, or Europeans as a whole, so that they became 'a point of crystallisation for national heritage' (Nora, 1995, p. 85)? In this respect, football matches can make a contribution to the formation of a national or European identity.

In order to fulfil the criteria for a site of memory, a major sports event must feature either a successful home team, coverage by the mass media, support from the audience and local population or all three. Maybe a new star is born, or sportsmen become heroes because of their achievements. But an event must also acquire a meaning that extends beyond sports. Take Sydney in 2000, for example: Cathy Freeman not only lit the Olympic Fire, she also won the gold medal in the 400 m sprint, which enthused the entire Australian population, including the Aborigines. This was an important step towards reconciliation between Australia and its indigenous population. Freeman came to embody a national myth and launched processes of identification. Her Olympic victory started something that went beyond the boundaries of athletic achievement, which was powerful enough to sweep away an entire nation.

Is there a similar phenomenon on a European level? In this chapter, we will try to describe the factors which turn a football event into a site of memory. In the theoretical section, we will examine the concepts of

a culture of remembering and sites of memory. The cultural semiotic model by Astrid Erll situates the concept of sites of memory within a larger context. Since collective memory is not conceivable without media, we will examine theories on important aspects of media of remembering. We will also take into account the manner in which information is concentrated in media, and how information in various forms of media is conveyed. The emphasis is on cultural narratives and the formation of legends rather than on live reporting from sports events. We will also focus on iconised photographs, on terms and descriptions which transcend into everyday language and, finally, on the ongoing depiction of past events in the media.

This examination will show why only few sports events have the potential to become a site of national memory. If a sport event succeeds in confronting the entire society with a question that has nothing to do with sports, if sport can kick off a larger debate on issues that go beyond sports, or achieve a consensus in society on a particular matter, then a sports event enters into the collective memory of an entire nation. This chapter will explore whether the European Football Championships in 1988 and 2004 can be classified as sites of national memory, and whether the same is true for the UEFA Champions League on a European level.

1. Culture of memory

Friedrich Nietzsche, Aby Warburg and Maurice Halbwachs are three pioneering researchers into processes of social memory. The term 'culture of memory' is first coined in their work (Cornelißen, 2010, p. 4). In Halbwachs' theory of collective memory, developed in the 1920s, he describes how individual memories are reconstructions that require a social framework of reference in the present (Moller, 2010, p. 3). An essential component of this idea is the fundamental difference between history and memory. Memory makes it possible that the past is not over, but still alive and effective in the present. 'Thus, memory does not illustrate change as history does – i.e. what distinguishes earlier from contemporary conditions – but on the contrary, what has remained constant throughout memorable time. According to Halbwachs, memory creates identity' (Engell, 2005, p. 62). Halbwachs' theoretical approach has been taken up frequently by other researchers, such as Pierre Nora for his concept of sites of memory. Jan Assmann also based his work on Halbwachs in order to distinguish between two modes of collective memory (communicative and cultural memory). These two modes

emphasise the cultural function of memory in the interaction between the group and the individual, as well as the importance of memory for identity per se.

For a larger group, memories are just as important as for individuals: 'The social environment in which an individual human being lives, constitutes the frame for form and content of common memories. Historical interpretations and patterns of perception derive from the interplay between individual and collective memory' (François and Schulze, 2001, p. 7). The individual cannot develop memory without a particular social context, and individual memories can only be understood within the framework of collective memory. A further level of interconnection is that between personal and collective memory on the one hand, and the perception of the past together with expectations for the future on the other. 'Individual memory is always marked by the social context, by common patterns of thought and interpretation, by a culturally specific reading of the past, which, in concentrated form, make up the collective memory of a group' (Pfister, 2003, p. 303). Every individual is embedded in cultural and social structures which are internalised by means of language and communication. Collective entities forming their own social context are, for example, family, friends, members of a club, party, social groups, etc. Similarly, a city, a region or even a nation provides a social context that makes a particular kind of collective identity possible.

Cornelißen (2010, p. 1) describes culture of memory 'as a general term for all conceivable forms of consciously remembering historical events, personalities and processes, be they aesthetic, political or cognitive in nature'. Cultural artefacts of memory include any kind of text, image, photograph, monument, building or symbolic or mythical forms of expression (Cornelißen, 2010, p. 2). Teichler (2007, p. 14) considers 'culture of memory' to be a collective term as well. Similar to Hockerts' approach (2002), Teichler sees it as a term that is not only for academic but also for public use: for instance, in memorial speeches, conservation projects, TV productions, newspaper articles, memorials and museums, but also monuments, inscriptions, street names, stamps, political symbols, flags, celebrations, marches and anniversaries. In sports, this mainly concerns medals, plaques, prizes and trophies. Teichler concludes that these forms of public remembering create a collective memory, but one which tends to simplify. This form of collective memory does not to take into account the complexity of historical developments. Here, we have the importance of the 'culture of memory' in functionalising the past for contemporary purposes, for any kind of group sharing a

collective memory (Cornelißen, 2010, p. 1). Erll (2011, p. 115) argues that individual cultures of memory rely on the collective memory, which may be described as the summary of all of these processes (organic, media- and institution-based) 'which are important for the reciprocal influences of past and present in socio-cultural contexts'. This helps to expand the term 'cultural memory' beyond meaning only the memory of a particular group, which may diverge from traditional historical interpretations. This is the definition in Halbwachs' or Nora's work.

2. Sites of memory

The concept of sites of memory can be traced back to Pierre Nora's study *Les lieux de mémoire* (1984–1992), which complements conventional historiography with memories from French history. Memory and history are, for Nora, opposite things: 'Memory is life itself: It is sustained by groups of living people and evolves continuously; it is open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting … History is the problematic and incomplete reproduction of what no longer is. Memory is always relevant and contemporary, a connection with the eternal present; while history is a representation of the past' (Nora, 1990, pp. 12f.). In this context, sites of memory are special records within the collective memory, which bring forth associations and emotions in a specific group of people. A site of memory can be any kind of material or immaterial unit of meaning, which has become, by human intent or simply the passing of time, a symbolic part of the memorial legacy of a social community (Konczal, 2011, p. 18).

According to Pfister (2003, p. 306), sites of memory represent not only material things, but also common experiences and emotions, triumphs and defeats, joy and sorrow, and the idea of a nation as a whole. The collective memory of a nation creates points of reference for people of the same national background. Sites of memory are 'anchors' of collective memory, which is why they are centrally important for the formation of nations themselves. Individual sites of memory provide the structure for the creation of a personal identity. Collective sites of memory, on the other hand, offer key points of continuation and connection over generations for individuals of a particular community. Sites of memory are thus elemental components of collective memory, which, in turn, can constitute essential characteristics of national identity.

Within collective memory, symbolic media make up the structure and fundament for long-term, inter-generational cultural communication. Symbolic media are also a useful means to build a sense of community

and identity. When asking ourselves who we are and what we identify with, we need tangible images or meaningful events (Scheuble and Wehner, 2006, p. 5). Certain national institutions (e.g. cultural establishments, national galleries and national museums, but also national sport teams) and cultural symbols (e.g. monuments, flags, hymns, literature, sports events and their insignia) are commonly used instruments for giving individuals of a particular community their identity and a feeling of togetherness. They satisfy basic social and emotional needs for orientation and identity. This system of symbolic media is particularly compatible with the concept of sites of memory.

Nora's concept of sites of memory was adopted by a number of other scholars, with certain modifications, and applied to other nations. At the time of writing, there are publications on thematically specific sites of memory in Italy, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Russia (see Konczal, 2011). However, the approach of the respective groups of researchers, and their ideas of how a site of memory should be defined, are, in some cases, widely divergent. Almost every project supervisor included historians and other experts in the discussion on which specific sites of memory should be taken into account and how they should be defined. The Austrian group, on the other hand, decided to hold a popular survey, in order to avoid academic preconceptions. In the Netherlands, sites of memory were defined as purely topographical points, which had advantages for the presentation in the media, but which prevented more abstract elements from being included (Konczal, 2011, p. 31).

In the academic studies on national sites of memory published so far, sports events were included as well. Matches from the Bundesliga (German Premier League) are listed, for example (Gebauer, 2001), as is the 'Turnbewegung' (gymnastics movement) (Pfister, 2001), the Tour de France (Ozouf, 1984) and the Giro d'Italia (Pivato, 1997). Jürgen Sparwasser's goal at the 1974 World Cup is also mentioned, as it was the winning goal from the GDR striker in the prestigious match against the West German team with its stars like Beckenbauer, Hoeneß and Müller. These events gave rise to a new approach in sports science that was taken up and developed by Mrozek (Rambling 2009), Pfister (Sydney 2000) and Spitaler and Lechnitz (Cordoba 1978) among others (see Table 4.1).

There is no set of criteria that researchers generally agree upon in order to define sites of memory. The arguments put forward for certain sites of memory are, in some cases, more convincing than others. Nevertheless, even a superficial analysis of these locations proves rewarding. Ten of the 16 sites of memory refer to sports events, either specific matches or sports competitions as an institution. The rest is difficult to categorise.

Table 4.1 Sites of memory in sports as described in the secondary literature

Sites of memory	Country	Source
Olympic Games Sydney 2000	Australia	Pfister (2003)
Football World Cup 1978 (Cordoba)	Austria	Spitaler and Lechnitz (1998)
Football World Cup 1974 (Sparwasser's goal)	GDR	Dieckmann (2009)
Gymnastics Movement	Germany	Pfister (2001)
Bundesliga	Germany	Gebauer (2001)
Rambling	Germany	Mrozek (2009)
Giro d'Italia	Italy	Pivato (1997)
Tour de France	France	Ozouf (1984)
Olympic Games Los Angeles 1932 (Swimming)	Japan	Niehaus (2011)
Olympic Games Tokyo 1964 (Design)	Japan	Traganou (2011)
Olympic Games Tokyo 1964 (Volleyball Women)	Japan	Tagsold (2011)
Football World Cup 2002 Japan and South Korea	Japan (local)	Takahashi (2011)
Rikidozan (Sumo Wrestling)	Japan	Thompson (2011)
Kōshien Stadium (Baseball-Team/ Baseball Game)	Japan	Kelly (2011)
Supo-kon Manga (Sport Comic)	Japan	Abe (2011)

Within the sports-related sites of memory, the success of a particular team or the contribution of a particular sportsman is usually important, such as the two goals scored by Hans Krankl in Cordoba in 1978 or the goal of Jürgen Sparwasser in the GDR's victory over West Germany. In some cases, the site of the match (Cordoba Stadium) is emphasised. We will look at this in greater detail later on. For now, let us examine collective memory and the importance of media for the establishment of sites of memory, in order to clarify this concept which remains somewhat foggy.

3. Model of collective memory and cultures of memory based on cultural semiotics

Erll (2011, p. 115) regards cultures of remembering as expressions of the collective memory. She presents her model of cultures of memory and of collective memory, taken from cultural semiotics, as an 'introductory

option for interested cultural scientists' (Erll, 2011, p. 109). It combines several different approaches, which will be reproduced here only in its most basic features.

The difference between collected and collective memory is an important starting point. It 'originated with Jeffrey K. Olick, who takes culture to be the sole framework for remembering in society. This involves public rituals, symbols and objects, with "culture" being the core of collective memory. Individual remembering is collected and aggregated in this context … According to Olick, this is subsumed by collected memory, because here, culture is a category of subjective association of meaning' (Moller, 2010). Thus, collected memory denotes the individual memory, with its social and cultural influences, while collective memory is 'the symbols, media, social institutions and practices by means of which society refers to the past. Metaphorically, it can be called "memory"' (Erll, 2011, p. 111). Erll also mentions that the approach to cultural memory of Jan and Aleida Assmann, and also Pierre Nora's concept of sites of memory, emphasise the scope of collective memory. Moller (2010), on the other hand, equates the communicative with collected memory and the cultural with collective memory. For reasons of space, the contradictions in this interpretation must be disentangled elsewhere. Erll (2011, p. 112) continues to describe collective memory as a general term, which covers a range of cultural, social, psychological and biological phenomena. Examples for this are traditions, archives, rituals and monuments. Further distinctions would be useful, as they would help to avoid a restrictive definition of memory. Statues and literature are not examples for collective memory, and neither are archives and universities. The first two can easily be taken as media of the collective memory, however, 'codifying information and encouraging processes of remembering or forgetting' (Erll, 2011, p. 113). Archives and universities, on the other hand, could be seen as institutions of collective memory, which 'make accessible, administer and mediate' information that deserves to be remembered (*ibid.*). This will be treated in greater detail in the section on the functions of various media of remembering.

The most important step in Erll's model is the metaphorical translation of the socio-psychological systems of memory: they move from collected memory (i.e. semantic memory, episodic and autobiographical memory) to the level of a culture of remembering. Erll draws on an approach to systematise collective memory from Cultural Studies. As a result, we have the cultural systems of memory, memory of cultural autobiography, memory of cultural semantics and various other cultural processes. With the help of all of these, 'the multitude of heterogenous

acts of memory on a social level may be distinguished in a meaningful way' (Erll, 2011, p. 119). The memory of cultural semantics represents information, facts and knowledge, including the principles by which it is organised. It also includes the media storing this information. According to Erll (2011, p. 120), the memory of cultural processes contains those acts of memory that are neither intentional nor conscious: 'The existence of cultural stereotypes and value hierarchies is not so much the result of a conscious effort of a society to pass on existing structures of knowledge, as the consequence of non-intentional continuation.' Acts of cultural autobiography are important episodes from the life, or the history of a community. These are recorded as stories which can be retold time and time again, thus contributing to the creation of a collective identity. Jan Assmann (1992) describes the most common variations of memory, cultural memory and communicative memory. Erll takes these into her own system of cultural autobiography, while she excludes sites of memory, since these are 'set before the narrativisation of "autobiography"' … Therefore, this is a kind of "memory of cultural episodes", which are not turned into coherent stories, but are concentrated into a form of symbolism' (Erll, 2011, p. 119). She contradicts herself, however, when speaking of collective episodic memory: 'Memories can become a collective autobiographic memory, when the separate experience of all members of a community is situated in the framework of a narrative which creates a specific collective identity' (Erll, 2011, p. 103).

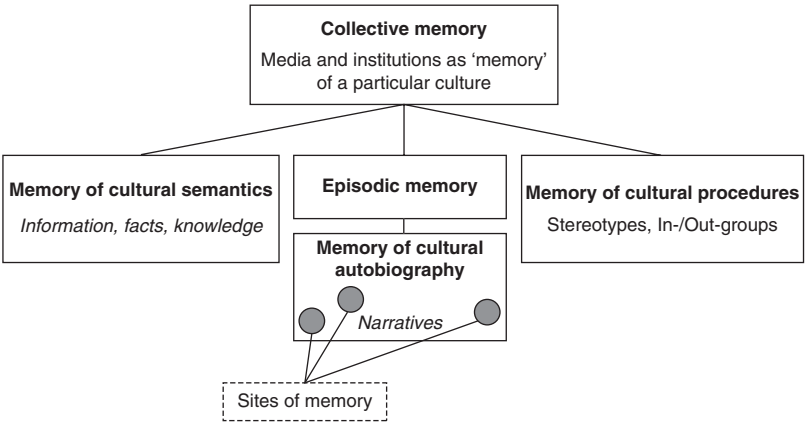

Figure 4.1 Location of sites of memory in the memory model of cultural semiotics (*Source*: author's diagram drawing on and deviating from Erll, 2011, p. 121)

This last statement can be supported with examples from sports. Already a brief glance at German sites of memory (François and Schulze, 2001), such as 'Made in Germany', 'We are the people' or the 'Völkerschlacht' ('Battle of the Nations' at Leipzig, 1813) show that sites of memory can represent coherent narratives. What is understood by a 'coherent narrative' is left to the individual reader. Figure 4.1 shows, deviating from Erll, the location of sites of memory within the memory of cultural autobiography. We will look at mediality as a key aspect of systems of cultural memory before we attempt to prove that sites of memory from the world of sports belong to the memory of cultural autobiography. This means that they could contribute to the formation of a collective identity.

4. The importance of media for collective memory

Media are crucial for the collective memory because they are 'neither an authority abstracted from the individual nor the result of biological mechanisms such as heredity' (Erll, 2011, p. 137). For this reason, media of whatever kind must communicate between the individual and collective dimension of memory. Only in this way can personal and collective memories exert their full effect on each other. The memories of a contemporary person can 'only become relevant on a collective level by means of representation and distribution in the media' (Erll, 2011, p. 137). Conversely, an individual can only access knowledge and values of a collective entity, which is larger than those groups and cliques an individual belongs to, through the media and communication. Media are everything but neutral. They do not only process information worth remembering, they often produce this information themselves. Erll (2011, p. 138) illustrates this with the example of historiography and 'elaborated national histories', which can only reach their level of detail and breadth in the form of a book.

Media have a paramount meaning in the context of memories and the collective memory, so we will examine them in closer detail. We will question the term 'medium' and the boundaries of its interpretation. Building on this, we will then introduce functions of media of memory and explore academic research into memory from the perspective of Cultural and Media Studies.

4.1. *Medium and media*

The problems with the term 'media' stem from its different levels of meaning. Most commonly, when speaking of media, we refer to the

experience people have with the latest achievements in information and communication technology. Here, medium is taken to signify a means of transferring a message between a sender and a recipient (Jelinski, 2011, p. 1). The second level of meaning draws on an abstract concept from media theory, separate from all concrete norms of media. Here, we notice that a medium is not a means to achieve something between two specific entities; instead, it is optional and exchangeable. One can employ this medium, but it is not vitally necessary by any means (Rückriem, 2010, p. 3).

The sphere of the media, in which the communicational transfer between two entities takes place, consists of an invisible system of information and communication (Rückriem, 2010, p. 5). It contains a whole range of possibilities, even utopias. Accordingly, it is wrong to call a computer, a photograph or a text a medium. A computer is only the material manifestation of the medium (*ibid*.). Information and communications systems, which impinge upon everything that is communicable, work universally and are system-oriented. For the medium in the field of collective memory, Erll (2011, p. 146) offers the definition of a 'compact term for memory and cultural studies', which also entails a material and social dimension. A medium becomes one of collective memory when it involves a social dimension. This can deal with the institutionalisation and functionalisation of media of memory. According to Erll (2011, p. 148), media of the collective memory need to be institutionalised, 'in order to secure the transfer to the next generation (canonisation, archives, school curricula, etc.)'. Even more important is the functionalisation of the medium of remembering in terms of culture of memory: its respective contexts do not only enhance the effect of media of memory, but also determine its nature. 'Grandparents and friends, aesthetic forms and literary subjects, stones and rivers can become, by connotation, media of collective memory within a specific culture of memory' (Erll, 2011, p. 149). Erll also distinguishes between creative functionalisation, in which media of memory are consciously created in order to trigger processes of remembering, and reception-oriented functionalisation, which describes how something can become a medium of collective memory if society considers a particular medium to be a mirror to the past.

4.2. *The function of memory media*

What are media of remembering used for and what are their functions? Erll (2011, pp. 151ff.) mentions three main functional aspects: storage, circulation and accessibility. Storage is the classic function of memory media: information of the collective memory is to be stored for when

it is needed. This is a struggle against the clock: a particular medium (a book, manuscript, etc.) must be preserved from organic disintegration. A further danger is that the codes required to read the information be forgotten over time. Media not only store and preserve, they are also supposed to circulate information from the collective memory. 'The function of circulation media is to synchronise large memorial communities, where face-to-face communication is no longer possible' (Erll, 2011, p. 151). Circulation media are first and foremost mass media, which can reach communities of memory over great distances – provided, of course, that the recipient is interested in receiving the information. In the case of sports events, circulation works very effectively. The highest viewing quotas worldwide are achieved by World Cups and Olympic Games.

Processes of memory are often triggered by places, objects, texts, etc. These particular triggers are known as 'cues'. There are media-based 'cues' on a collective level as well. Places or particular landscapes associated with specific interpretations of the past for a particular community, such as Waterloo or Verdun, are examples for such triggers. They function within the framework of a culture of memory. Thus, Nora's sites of memory are primarily 'cues' for collective memory (Erll, 2011, p. 152).

4.3. *Concentrating information in the media*

Certain media-related mechanisms and instruments play a central role in the process of remembering on a cultural level. Events are rendered culturally significant when processes of concentration take place in the media, with their various expressions such as iconisation, narrativisation, topisation, premediation and remediation (Maag, Pyta and Windisch, 2010, p. 12). In Erll's words (2011, p. 164): 'Concentrating information in terms or images are central mechanisms for establishing of sites of memory.'

Apart from the index and the symbol, according to Peirce, the icon is the third definition of a 'sign' which resembles a certain object (in the case of an *icon*, it is an image or a photograph) in the form of a symbol, such as a pictogram. The enhancement of pictorial meaning in the reality of media is confirmed in academic terms with the supersession of the *linguistic turn* (language-oriented cultural studies) by the *iconic turn* (image-oriented cultural studies). The concentrating and iconising process gives an image a different meaning, and sharper focus on this new meaning, in the form of a metaphor. A well-known example would be the photo of the victory ceremony of the men's 200 m sprint at the Olympic Games of 1968 in Mexico, which shows John Carlos and Tommy Smith stretching their black-gloved fists into the sky,

the famous 'black power salute' as protest against racism. This picture became an icon of the anti-racist movement.

The linguistic equivalent of iconisation is topisation: brief phrases or keywords (topos, pl. topoi) represent entire narratives, self-contained stories, but also generally accessible places. An example of topisation from sports would be from Maradona and his goal in the quarter-finals of the 1986 World Cup in Mexico. He explained his irregular goal, which enabled his team to enter the semi-finals, using the phrase 'the hand of God', illustrating his genius-like, hubris-prone personality. Further topoi (which, for reasons of space, cannot be treated separately here from metaphors and their variants, from stereotypes and other rhetorical techniques) from the field of sports are the phrases 'Elf Freunde müsst ihr sein', 'Rumble in the Jungle', 'Green Hell (Nürburgring)', 'Tour of Torture', 'The Cordoba Disgrace' or 'The Wonder of Cordoba', and 'Ping-Pong Diplomacy'. Sport fans will always associate specific stories and anecdotes with these expressions.

Remediation is, as Erll (2011, p. 166) suggests, the continuous translation of artefacts of memory into different forms of media. This mainly refers to objects of collective memory, which are discussed in a whole range of media. 'Remembering an ancient myth in a particular culture, a revolution or a hero is not so much drawn from what may be cautiously termed "the original" or "the actual events", but rather from a palimpsest of medial representations. Repeatedly representing this in various forms of media over decades or even centuries is precisely what makes a powerful site or object of memory for the collective memory' (*ibid.*). When objects of memory are present in different kinds of media, they serve as a basis for future representations. This process of cultural memory is called premediation and transcends boundaries of genre, with respect to media as well as journalistic themes. One example from sports would be winning the title at the Handball World Cup 2007 in Germany, generally referred to as the 'Winter Legend', as a parallel to the 'Summer Legend', the phenomenal World Cup in Germany in 2006.

How does the concentrating of information in the media affect sites of memory in the field of sports? Are they continuously diffused in the media and have they thus entered the realm of collective memory? A clear answer is hard to give, even if we draw on the examples of the German 'Turnbewegung' (gymnastics movement) in the early nineteenth century, the Tour de France and the Bundesliga. The motto 'Frisch, fromm, fröhlich, frei' of the 'Turnbewegung' describes a crucial period in the history of sports in Germany, and is well-known among the older generation. But whether this particular motto can secure

a place in the collective memory beyond generational boundaries is rather doubtful. For this to happen, it would have to have been constantly present in the media and transferred from one type of media to the next. In reality, this only happened on a rudimentary level. There is, of course, a multitude of publications on the topic, so a form of narrativisation has occurred. The motto itself is an example of topisation, and the logo of the German Gymnastics Union provides an abstract form of iconisation by combining the four 'F's of the German slogan graphically. Both remediation and premediation are almost entirely absent, however, apart from a shallow romantic production of the same title from the early 1970s.

Turning to sports events becoming sites of memory (the Bundesliga, the Giro d'Italia and the Tour de France), only the Tour de France can really count as a site of memory. For this, we need to emphasise the media-based aspects of the event. Certainly, the Bundesliga ensures high viewing quotas and it is undeniably one of the most important sports competitions in Germany. But are the magic moments of success not mainly tied to individual teams or matches? The Bundesliga itself is not an opponent to be overcome, it is the organisational framework which makes the competitions possible in the first place. The Tour de France, on the other hand, is not only exciting because of the fight between the teams or individual cyclists, but also because of the geographical challenges of the course. Even the participants who come in last deserve respect for overcoming these natural obstacles.

This problem does not feature in the Bundesliga, nor are there topisations such as 'Tour of Torture', with documentary films and reports. All of this points to the fact that the Bundesliga is, for many, an important part of their daily lives, but not an actual site of memory. To return to gymnastics, 'Frisch, fromm, fröhlich, frei' marks a significant phase in the history of German sports, but the slogan has not been passed on to the younger generation as a site of memory.

5. Major sports events as sites of memory

Cornelißen (2010, p. 1) states that culture of memory is a general term for all possible forms of consciously remembering past events, personalities or processes. In this light, sites of memory appear to be a particular selection of certain historical events, which have been inscribed in the collective memory. This gives them importance for national identity – provided this identity exists. We were able to answer the question of how something enters the collective memory

by means of constant media-based communication. For this, in turn, the concentrating processes of iconisation, narrativisation and topisation are essential driving factors, as are the diachronic mechanisms of remediation and premediation.

But when is a sports event so important that it triggers all of these processes in the media, which concentrate and condense certain kinds of information? Naturally, it must be more than the usual basics of popular sports today, which are covered by the mass media and watched by millions who hope for 'their' team's success. The viewers can identify with stars or sports heroes that may arise from these competitions, and can suffer or be exuberant with them. These are fundamental characteristics of a site of memory, but if these traits were sufficient, every single set of Olympic Games and every single European Championship, World Championship or World Cup would have to be considered a site of memory. We will argue that the interplay of mass media and the audience's response creates an atmosphere that reaches beyond the mere enjoyment of a successful sports competition and its basic components of 'popular sport', 'big event', 'stars', 'mass media coverage' and 'success'.

Within the context of the social reception of a sports event, topics are addressed which have nothing to do with sports, but rather with one's nation. Thanks to the distribution by the mass media, these topics acquire a significance of their own. Dealing with characteristics or distinguishing features of one's country lead to a central idea, which is then connected to the sports event. Take Sydney in 2000: the success of Cathy Freeman brought the strained relations between the white population of Australia and the Aborigines to the fore. In the early twentieth century, Aborigine children were forcefully removed from their parents and given to white foster families. These victims of an inhuman policy were later called the 'Stolen Generation'. The confiscation of entire territories by white settlers, on which the Aborigines had been living for centuries, was another case in point. The victories of Cathy Freeman, herself a native Aborigine, brought these internal Australian conflicts onto the world stage. When she ran her rounds on the track after her victory, she waved the Aboriginal as well as the Australian flag before the eyes of the world, which was interpreted as a sign of reconciliation. Reconciliation is the powerful guiding idea behind the Olympic Games, to which Freeman made a tremendous contribution. The organising committee adopted this idea and hired the band Midnight Oil for the closing ceremony. Midnight Oil showed solidarity with the Aborigines with their world hit 'Beds are Burning',

in which they called for the white population to accept responsibility for the past:

> The time has come
> To say fair's fair
> To pay the rent
> To pay our share.

6. UEFA European Championships as sites of memory

There are strong indications that the two Football World Cups 1954 and 2006 are sites of memory for Germany (Groll, 2014), but we will now turn our attention to the European Championships in Germany (1988) and in Portugal (2004). We will also include the UEFA Champions League as another potential European site of memory. The European Championship in Portugal was originally supposed to offer the older Portuguese players of the so-called 'golden generation', such as Rui Jorge, Fernando Couto, Luís Figo, Rui Costa, Nuno Gomes or Pauleta, one last major chance to win the title. This scenario was foiled by the Greek team, whose surprisingly strong defence carried it all the way into the final match with Portugal – and to victory. All the while, the Greek team under Otto Rehhagel was considered an extreme outsider: 'Greece are to major tournaments what Humpty Dumpty was to all the King's horses and all the King's men – nothing but a minor irritant which self-destructs on request' (*The Guardian*, 2004). The difficulties in preparing for the Olympic Games in Athens were gnawing at the self-confidence of the nation. 'In 2004 the country was in crisis – the government faced criticism on all sides over its preparation for the Athens Olympics, with the Olympic Committee poised to relocate to Sydney' (Barrett, 2012).

However, this turned out to be the perfect setting to launch the media machinery after the Championship victory. Topisations emphasising guaranteed success were easy to be found: the nicknames 'Angel of Greece' for the goal-scorer Angelos Charisteas, and 'Rehakles', with reference to Herakles, or 'King Otto', for the coach of the German national team Otto Rehagel are still in people's minds today. These catchphrases were embedded in the narrative of the hardworking underdog, who can achieve victory thanks to his prowess, strategy and passion: 'The squad contained few exceptional players, but seemingly achieved the impossible through hard work, determination and a single vision, united behind manager Otto Rehhagel. The country went wild, and the returning champions were greeted as heroes by the ecstatic country. The

Prime Minister, Kostas Karamanlis proclaimed: "Greece is on the lips of everyone in the world who follows this mass and magical sport called football." Karamanlis further implored the nation to unite and complete the Olympic preparations, saying: "These boys taught us a lesson as to what Greeks can do when we really believe in something"' (Barrett, 2012). And the newspaper *Kathimerini* wrote after the final: 'Our national soccer team's epic achievement in the European soccer championship in Portugal is a lesson that fortune not only smiles on the brave but also on those who put up a passionate fight and work systematically and steadily to achieve their aims' (*BBC Sport*, 2004).

There is much to be said for the European Football Championship in 2004 being characterised as a site of memory for Greece, since the usual media products, such as books, film documents, stamps and songs such as 'Sikose to, to Gamimeno' ('Can´t Wait to Lift up the Trophy') keep the memory of this event alive. The aura of national achievement is associated with this, as a central idea detached from sports. That said, the concentration of information in the media does not compare to the extent that occurred when West Germany won the World Cup in 1954. The main idea behind the Greek victory is not particularly original, since it applies to any form of unexpected success of smaller, outsider teams.

There were different preconditions for the Netherlands winning the European Championship in Germany in 1988. The quintessential elements for labelling a sports event a site of memory are all there. The popularity of football, the coverage by the mass media, the success of the team and the contribution of stars such as Marco van Basten, Ruud Gullit and the coach Rinus Michels. In this case, too, victory sparked a whole series of media productions, including books, film documentaries and honorary ceremonies. Coach Rinus Michels was honoured as 'Officer in the Orange Order' and Captain Ruud Gullit was appointed 'Knight in the Orange Order' by Queen Beatrix. Apart from this, the topos 'En goed stel' is still present, from when the TV commentator Theo Reitsma said, after the team accepted the trophy: 'Ja, dit is en goed stel, hoor' ('Yes, this is a good bunch, isn't it'). The catchy phrase 'Allemachtig prachtig 88' ('Mighty magnificent 88'), as well as the song 'Wij houden van Oranje' by André Hazes remain popular to this day.

But this was not the only European or World Championship success that fans had long been waiting for. Given their excellent performance, their team, so the fans felt, deserved to win. Victory was only a question of time. Winning the semi-final in Hamburg against Germany was equally important, as there was still a score to settle from the lost World Cup final in 1974. The German occupation during the Second

World War 'had become a Dutch trauma, which set the behavioural and emotional patterns for entire generations. One expression of this was a new sense of rivalry in football' (Eichler, 2012, p. 2). This came to the fore most visibly in the semi-final of the European Championship in 1988. 'The match was, in short, a romanticised version of the war. Since the venue was Hamburg, it was also a symbolic reversal of the German invasion of 1940: an orange-clad Dutch Army drove its cars into Germany and defeated the population there. People in Holland sang: "In 1940 they came/In 1988 we came"' (Kuper, 2011). Rinus Michels, the Dutch coach, summarised the importance of the game: 'We won the tournament, but we all know that the semi-final was the real final.' Taking rivalry, or even revenge, to be the guiding principle beyond sports for the Netherlands in 1988, this event can be read as a Dutch site of memory.

7. The UEFA Champions League as site of memory?

Can the European football matches of UEFA or, specifically, of the UEFA Champions League be granted the title of a European site of memory? The Bundesliga can be taken as a model, which Gebauer (2001) as an institution lifted to the rank of a German site of memory. Already in the course of his own article, though, he calls this into question. Examining the elemental components of a site of memory, the Champions League fulfils these criteria. It is the most important football competition in Europe and functions as a model for competitions in other continental leagues. It is marketed professionally, generates the highest international viewing quotas and offers a stage for the best football players of the world. Since its introduction, the Champions League developed into a valuable brand, whose logo and anthem have become widely recognisable.

This aside, football fans have become real experts with respect to European clubs, leagues and players. Accumulating knowledge on European football (semantic cultural memory) is not the same, however, as coherent narratives which are collectively important from the European point of view (memory of cultural autobiography). Thinking of characteristics of media coverage, the narratives, topoi, iconisations, re- and premediations are almost exclusively geared towards individual football clubs, not to the European competition as a whole. This focus is understandable, since the Champions League is broadcast by private and public TV channels, which have the national audience and market in mind. There are also studies, essays and documentaries on the history of UEFA, the Champions League and the European Championships,

only that these are historically relevant rather than important for the process of remembering.

For UEFA, there is no key idea which goes beyond the limits of football, which is essential for an event to become a site of memory. This is also due to the national focus of the media coverage. In the end, we can conclude that the UEFA Champions League is not a pan-European site of collective memory. Nor is there one which focuses on the UEFA European Championships, since for these, the above ideas apply just the same. But this is not a fault – quite the contrary. The UEFA competitions may not be sites of memory per se, but they are still an institution of everyday culture. They provide a frame of reference, within which national sites of memory can be created, as described earlier. Which other European institution can make this claim?

Conclusion

This chapter placed the concept of sites of memory in a wider context, drawing on the model of collective memory and culture of memory, taken from cultural semiotics. According to this interpretation, sites of memory are part of the collective memory, which includes symbols, media, institutions and rituals that connect society with the past. Sites of memory can be located within the memory of cultural autobiography, if we assume that collective memory works along the lines of individual memory. This metaphorical notion of memory consists of memory media, which can store, process and access memories. These three functions represent different kinds of memorial media. Storage occurs in oral, written, image or digital form in (online) archives, libraries, museums or other institutions. Mass media are important for the distribution of information. Today, online media revolutionise the methods by which cultural practices of remembering are spread, just as the invention of the printing press did in earlier centuries. Examples for access media are monuments, buildings, public squares or other symbolically concentrated manifestations which have the potential to trigger certain memories.

So far, among the many sites of memory listed in the secondary literature, only 13 are from the field of sports. This leads us to the question of how a sports event becomes so important that it can secure a place not only in the collective memory of sports enthusiasts, but also in society as a whole. The nature and scope of distribution in the media is a deciding factor. The usual chain of causality is: the more important a sports event is, and the more successful the sportsmen of a participating country, the

more extensive the coverage in the media. But we were able to show that a second chain of causality is just as important for sites of memory to arise in the field of sports: this can only occur when a victory in sports is linked with a question, development or attitude relevant to society as a whole. To understand this process, it is useful to employ the media techniques of narrativisation, topisation and iconisation, as well as re- and premediation. These address a range of different aspects of an event and support the formation of a narrative, because the more aspects of an event are treated by the media, the more the 'historical texture' of a site of memory is intensified. Even though the football matches of UEFA are not pan-European sites of memory, they may turn into ones on a national level, as occurred in the championships in Germany in 1988 (for the Netherlands) or in Portugal in 2004 (for Greece).

References

Abe, I. (2011) '"It was October 1964, When I Met the Demon for the First Time": *Supo-kon* Manga as *Lieux de Mémoire*', *Sport in Society. Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics*, 14(4), 518–531.

Assmann, J. (1992) *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck).

Barrett, M. (2012) 'Plagued by Problems in Football and Society, is Euro 2012 Greece's Beacon of Hope?', www.sportingintelligence.com/2012/06/07/plagued-by-problems-in-football-and-society-does-euro-2012-offer-greece-a-beacon-on-hope-070602 (date accessed 5 November 2014).

BBC Sport (2004) 'Greece Welcomes Back Squad', http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/hi/front_page/3866949.stm (date accessed 5 November 2014).

Cornelißen, C. (2010) 'Erinnerungskulturen, Version: 1.0', *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, 11 February, https://docupedia.de/zg/Erinnerungskulturen?oldid=75513 (date accessed 5 November 2014).

Dieckmann, C. (2009) 'Sparwassers Tor', in M. Sabrow (ed.), *Erinnerungsorte der DDR* (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck), pp. 351–362.

Eichler, C. (2012) 'Niederlande gegen Deutschland. Die Hassliebe', www.faz.net/aktuell/sport/fussball-em/deutsches-team/niederlande-gegen-deutschland-die-hassliebe-11781966.html (date accessed 5 November 2014).

Engell, L. (2005) 'Jenseits von Geschichte und Gedächtnis. Historiographie und Autobiographie des Fernsehens', *Montage / AV*, 14(1), 60–79.

Erll, A. (2011) *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen. Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: Metzlersche J.B. Verlagsb).

François, E. and Schulze, H. (eds) (2001) *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* (Munich: Broschierte Sonderausgabe).

Gebauer, G. (2001) 'Bundesliga', in E. François and H. Schulze (eds), *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* (MunichL Broschierte Sonderausgabe), pp. 450–468.

Groll, M. (2014) 'Von Wundern und Märchen – Fußball-Weltmeisterschaften und andere Sportgroßveranstaltungen als Erinnerungsorte', in J. Mittag and M. Groll, *Sportgroßereignisse: Herausforderungen für die Sportpolitik* (Essen: Klartext Verlag).

The Guardian (2004) 'Greece. Everything You Need to Know, from the Guardian Guide', www.theguardian.com/football/2004/jun/07/euro2004.sport137 (date accessed 5 November 2014).

Halbwachs, M. (1985) *Das kollektive Gedächtnis* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp).

Hermanns, B. (2006) 'Denkmal', historicum.net: Medien und Kommunikation in der Frühen Neuzeit, www.historicum.net/no_cache/de/persistent/artikel/2552 (date accessed 5 November 2014).

Hockerts, H. G. (2002) 'Zugänge zur Zeitgeschichte. Primärerfahrung, Erinnerungskultur, Geschichtswissenschaft', in K. Jarausch and M. Sabrow (eds), *Verletztes Gedächtnis. Erinnerungskultur und Zeitgeschichte im Konflikt* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag), pp. 39–74.

Jelinski, O. (2011) 'A Means to an End. Über Medientheorie und -Kritik von Adorno bis Enzensberger', http://phase-zwei.org/hefte/artikel/a-means-to-an-end-100 (date accessed 5 November 2014).

Kelly, W. (2011) 'Kōshien Stadium: Performing National Virtues and Regional Rivalries in a "Theatre of Sport"', *Sport in Society. Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics*, 14(4), 482–494.

Konczal, K. (2011) 'Pierre Noras folgenreiches Konzept von les lieux de mémoire und seine Re-Interpretationen: eine vergleichende Analyse', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 1–2, 17–36.

Kuper, S. (2011) 'More Than a Game: The Dutch Viewpoint', www.fourfourtwo.com/features/more-game-germany-v-holland (date accessed 5 November 2014).

Maag, G., Pyta, W. and Windisch, M. (2010) *Der Krimkrieg als erster europäischer Medienkrieg* (Münster: LIT-Verlag).

Moller, S. (2010) 'Erinnerung und Gedächtnis, Version: 1.0', *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, 12 April, https://docupedia.de/zg/Erinnerung_und_Ged.C3.A4chtnis?oldid=75510 (date accessed 5 November 2014).

Mrozek, B. (2009) 'Zu Fuß auf dem Sonderweg oder Wandern als deutscher Erinnerungsort', *Merkur*, 719, 350–356.

Niehaus, A. (2011) 'Swimming into Memory: The Los Angeles Olympics (1932) as Japanese *Lieu de Mémoire*', *Sport in Society. Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics*, 14(4), 430–443.

Nora, P. (1990) *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis* (Berlin: Wagenbach).

———. (1995) 'Das Abenteuer "Lieux de Mémoire"', in E. Francois, H. Siegrist and J. Vogel (eds), *Nation und Emotion. Deutschland und Frankreich im Vergleich, 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandehoeck & Ruprecht), pp. 83–92.

Ozouf, J. (1984) 'Le tour de la France par deux enfants. Le petit livre de la République', in P. Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. 1 (Paris: Gallimard), pp. 291–321.

Pfister, G. (2001) '"Frisch, fromm, fröhlich, frei"', in E. François and H. Schulze (eds), *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* (Munich: Broschierte Sonderausgabe), pp. 202–219.

———. (2003) '"Share the Spirit" – Kollektive Erinnerung und ihre Inszenierung bei den Olympischen Spielen 2000 in Sydney', *Stadion*, 29 , 301–322.

Pivato, S. (1997) 'Giro d'Italia', in M. Isnenghi (ed.), *I luoghi della memoria. Personaggi e date dell'Italia unita, a cura di* (Rome-Bari: Laterza), pp. 333–344.

Rückriem, G. (2010) 'Mittel, Vermittlung, Medium – Bemerkungen zu einer wesentlichen Differenz. Vortrag im Graduiertencolloqium der Universität Potsdam am 30. 10. 2010', http://georgrueckriem.files.wordpress.com/2010/11/mittel-vermittlung-medium.pdf (date accessed 5 November 2014).

Scheuble, V. and Wehner, M. (2006) 'Fußball und nationale Identität', *Der Bürger im Staat*, www.buergerimstaat.de/1_06/identitaet.htm (date accessed 5 November 2014).

Schulz, W. (2011) *Politische Kommunikation. Theoretische Ansätze und Ergebnisse empirischer Forschung* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag).

Spitaler, G. and Lechnitz, F. (1998) 'Die Österreicher waren immer schon anders...', in M. Wassermair and L. Wieselberg (eds), *3:2 – Zwanzig Jahre Córdoba* (Vienna: Döcker), pp. 90–101.

Tagsold, C. (2011) 'Remember to Get Back on Your Feet Quickly: The Japanese Women's Volleyball Team at the 1964 Olympics as a "Realm of Memory"', *Sport in Society. Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics*, 14(4), 444–453.

Takahashi, Y. (2011) 'From National Event to Local Memory – World Cup 2002', *Sport in Society. Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics*, 14(4), 495–503.

Teichler, H.-J. (2007) 'Zur Erinnerungskultur im deutschen Sport nach 1945', *Historical Social Research*, 32(1), 13–23.

Traganou, J. (2011) 'Tokyo's 1964 Olympic Design as a "Realm of [Design] Memory"', *Sport in Society. Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics*, 14(4), 466–481.

5

The Contribution of Real Madrid's First Five European Cups to the Emergence of a Common Football Space

Borja García-García, Ramón Llopis-Goig and Agustín Martín

Introduction

Real Madrid won the first five tournaments of the European Champion Clubs' Cup (now formally known as the UEFA Champions League and to which we will refer hereinafter as the European Cup) between 1956 and 1960, contributing decisively to the competition's consolidation. The tournament's history started towards the end of 1954, when a journalist of the French sports daily *L'Équipe*, Gabriel Hanot, published an article arguing for the need to organise a competition that could bring together the champions of every European league. However, this was not an original proposal. Thirty years before Hanot's article, proposals for such a football competition were circulated among the game's ruling elite. Unfortunately, at that time the lack of a good transport infrastructure to travel through Europe discouraged the proposers, who instead turned their attention to regional supranational competitions, such as the Mitropa Cup or the Latin Cup.

These five European titles not only cemented the supremacy of Real Madrid on the pitch as a great football team, but they also contributed to the consolidation of the European Cup itself in the public's imagination. We also argue that given the expectations raised by Real Madrid's triumphs across Europe, these matches might have also contributed to the emergence of a European football space. Since 1955, Real Madrid occupied an ever-increasing space in the press across Europe. Real Madrid was then considered as the epitome of modernity in football.

This chapter aims to analyse the meaning of these five European Cup titles for the emergence and definition of a nascent European football space. Of course, we also question whether such a common space can be found. The chapter explores in depth the reasons behind Real Madrid's

enthusiasm for the new European competition. We also examine the social impact that Real Madrid's hegemony in the European Cup had in the context of Spain's international isolation during General Franco's dictatorship (1939–1975).

In order to achieve the above-mentioned objectives, the chapter relies on thematic analysis of selected publications in the Spanish and British press during those years. Moreover, we have also relied on a review of the academic literature on the role of Real Madrid during the Franco era, mainly the 1950s and 1960s. This chapter is part of wider ongoing research. In this research we examine the content of two Spanish dailies (*ABC* and *Marca*) and three British newspapers (*The Guardian*, *The Times* and the *Daily Mirror*). We searched these newspapers for content relating to Real Madrid on specific dates: the semi-final games (two legs) and the final of each one of the five years where Real Madrid won the European Cup. We searched for content the day of each match, the day before and two days after each of the matches. This chapter is a presentation of the findings obtained through thematic analysis of the data obtained as a result of these searches.

1. The context of the creation of the European Cup

In today's context of extreme difficulties for the European integration project, it is striking to observe the determination and vision of those who designed the European Cup just a few years after the end of the Second World War. Europe was a fragmented continent, divided between winners and losers, democracies and dictatorships, East and West. It was, moreover, a very weak public space (if it existed at all), where only some tenuous links through mass media (the European Broadcasting Union) or transport (development of commercial aviation) could be recognised.

The origin of the European Cup tends to be credited to Gabriel Hanot, an editor at the French sports daily *L'Équipe*. Hanot reacted to the headline 'World Champions' that the London press used to report on the victory of Wolverhampton Wonderers (Wolves) over Honved Budapest in a friendly match. Wolves' victory over their Hungarian rivals in the autumn of 1954 came against a backdrop of perceived decline of English football, hence the triumphalist headlines of the local press. Wolves, the current English League champions in 1954, defeated Spartak Moscow (4-0) and Honved (3-2) in friendly matches. This Honved team (whose skipper was Ferenc Puskas) provided most of the players for the Hungarian national team that dominated European football during the 1950s. Thus, victories over such potent rivals were greeted by the *Daily*

Mail and other newspapers with celebratory headlines that considered Wolves to be 'World Champions' as they had beaten the best teams in the continent (Relaño, 2005, p. 20; Ball, 2012, p. 120).

Hanot, having read the euphoric press reports, pointed out the need to create an official competition among Europe's best clubs. Building on Hanot's idea, Jacques Goddet argued for the need to promote 'a world championship, or at least European championship, for clubs that is wider and more inclusive than the Central European Cup and more original than the European Championships for national teams' (*L'Équipe*, 15 December 1954). Just a day later, the same French newspaper published an article written by Jacques de Ryswick where he presented his idea of a 'European clubs' championship', with the participation of 12 or 14 clubs that would play two-leg ties on weekdays in the evening (Bahamonde, 2002; González Calleja, 2010).

L'Équipe decided to disseminate and promote this idea among the most important European football clubs and sport newspapers. The idea was favourably received in Spain, where Real Madrid was enthusiastically supportive. It is curious to note that *L'Équipe* had also invited FC Barcelona to be part of its project. This was due to the fact that *L'Equipe* and *France Football* had two correspondents in Spain, one in Madrid and one in Barcelona. It was the newspaper's Barcelona correspondent, Carlos Pardo, who met with FC Barcelona officials. However, the club's secretary (a position akin to today's Chief Executive Officer) considered such a project unrealistic because he favoured a rebirth of a Catalan championship, a tournament that was played for a few years before the Spanish Civil War. The reaction of Real Madrid to *L'Équipe*'s proposal was quite the opposite of that of FC Barcelona. As Carlos Pardo himself explained in an interview to the Barcelona-based *La Vanguardia* in 2004, Real Madrid's secretary, Raimundo Saporta, was extremely positive about the idea. Indeed, Saporta, speaking on the phone, asked Pardo to fly to Madrid immediately to meet Real Madrid's chairman, Santiago Bernabéu, the club's treasurer and himself (Luque and Luna, 2004, p. 63).

It was at the beginning of 1955 when *L'Équipe* finally decided to go ahead and organise the tournament. Jacques Ferran, one of the editors, was in charge of drafting the competition regulations, which were then sent to the participating clubs for their consideration. Initially the proposal met with scepticism from both the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) and the International Federation of Football Associations (FIFA). In other words, the governing bodies of football at the global and the European levels both hesitated in supporting the competition, giving some mixed responses, perhaps in the hope that the

idea would fade away. However, both *L'Équipe* and the clubs involved pressed ahead despite the governing bodies' initially negative reaction.

Having seen the impetus of the emerging idea, FIFA proposed some alternative international club competitions, such as the rebirth of the Mitropa Cup – which had been suspended since 1939 – and a new tournament, the Inter-Cities Fairs Cup (the predecessor of the current UEFA Europa League, formerly known as the UEFA Cup). However, these proposals did not convince the main European clubs. Thus, FIFA decided to change strategy with the objective of gaining control of the new competition. It actually decided to support and authorise the tournament as long as it was organised under the auspices of UEFA and the participating clubs received authorisation from their national football associations. Moreover, FIFA requested the tournament's official name be changed to the *European Champion Clubs' Cup*.

The working group set up by *L'Équipe* and the participating clubs met for the second time in Madrid on 21 May 1955, which shows the importance of Real Madrid and Santiago Bernabéu for the project (Ball, 2012, p. 121). It was in this meeting that the clubs and *L'Équipe* accepted FIFA's suggestions. They also adopted the format, schedule and revenue distribution arrangements of the tournament, which was set up to start with 16 participating clubs (Relaño, 2005, p. 21). A few days later, UEFA took charge of the organisation of the competition following the format and the regulations adopted in Madrid. The European Cup was ready to start with the beginning of the new 1955–1956 season.

2. European integration and the European Cup

In a historical analysis, the creation of the European Cup could well be considered as another symptom of the emergence of discourses on the need for European integration in the aftermath of the Second World War. The Benelux Customs Union was created in 1947 and four years later the Treaty of Paris, setting up the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), was signed. These were the precursors of the European Economic Community and, later, the European Single Market. Thus, the issue of further European integration was clearly high up the political and public agendas during the first years of the European Cup (Bahamonde, 2002, p. 238). It is plausible to suggest that the general political context might have favoured the quick success of the European Cup.

There were a few precursors of the European Cup, but these competitions were of a more regional character within the continent. The lack of a solid transport and communications infrastructure was too

big a hurdle to overcome in terms of organising a truly pan-European competition in the first half of the twentieth century. However, competitions such as the Mitropa Cup or the Latin Cup, albeit more restricted in geographical scope, demonstrate the appetite for supranational club tournaments. The first edition of the Mitropa Cup was played in August 1927. It was a competition played by the best teams in Central Europe between August and November each year. The Latin Cup, on the other hand, was an initiative of the Spanish FA, bringing together the league champions of France, Italy, Portugal and Spain. The Latin Cup was played over a four-year cycle, each summer in one of the four participating countries (Relaño, 2005, p. 23).

Thus, the foundation of the European Cup can be seen as yet another symptom of the need to close the wounds created by two devastating wars on the European continent. One should not lose sight, however, of the fact that the main objective of such a competition was to decide, on the football pitch, the supremacy of one country over the others. There is a twofold dynamic in the creation of the European Cup: on the one hand, there is an undeniable integrating effort to create a supranational football competition; on the other hand, national championships were maintained and clubs represented their own national FA when competing in the European Cup. The resilience of the nation state in football terms is well portrayed in the well-established one member, one vote decision-making mechanism maintained by both FIFA and UEFA since their creation.

With the benefit of hindsight, it is very plausible to argue that the favourable climate towards European integration could have influenced the decision to create the European Cup. However, our content analysis of the press reveals no mention at all of the political agenda of the time. The thematic analysis reveals a total lack of reference to the European integration process. A possible explanation to this finding is methodological. It is of course possible that our search, which was quite restricted and focused on discourse around Real Madrid and particular matches, has missed the wider picture. However, it is necessary to recall that the main focus of this research (and this chapter) is the discourse and the perception of Real Madrid's victories. This chapter contributes to wider research within the FREE Project on collective football memory. Thus, references to the European integration process would need deeper references to the sociopolitical context of the time and, naturally, a wider research effort that is beyond the scope of this chapter. Finally, it is also necessary to point out that this chapter has focused on two countries (Spain and the UK) that were extremely peripheral to the European

integration process in the late 1950s. The UK only joined the European Communities in 1973 and Spain even later, in 1986. Moreover, during the late 1950s, Spain was politically isolated from the rest of Europe, as we will discuss in the following section.

Despite not finding any references to the European integration process in the press reports we have analysed, it is still possible to relate the creation of the European Cup to European integration. The creation of the European Cup can be seen as a group of clubs – with an advanced understanding of football for the time – that were willing to exploit the economic opportunities of the new competition. One should not forget that the distribution of income was one of the key decisions during the setting-up of the competition. Thus, the founding clubs of the European Cup can be conceptualised as the economic elite pulling together resources to create a bigger market for their product. This conceptualisation as an economic elite of course raises some similarities with the concept of neofunctionalism, as first formulated by Haas (1968) and Lindberg (1963). In football one finds the elite of another economic sector that is favourable to economic integration. In the case of football, however, it is not possible to identify the fully fledged dynamic of neofunctionalism, whereby economic integration in a particular sector will spill over to other related sectors. Indeed, even if the concept of a pro-integrationist economic elite, as defined by Haas, can be recognised in football, it is also undeniable that the final format of the competition is of an inter-governmental nature. Thus, in the creation of the European Cup, it is possible to identify the two competing arguments in the literature around European integration: on the one hand, the clear support of supranational structures (UEFA abd the European Cup); and, on the other hand, the resilience of intergovernmental structures as each national FA is represented by one team in the new competition.

3. Slowly overcoming Spain's international isolation

One of the main characteristics of General Franco's dictatorship in Spain was its complete international isolation. Initially it was the regime's own choice, through a policy of autarchy and total disdain of the external relations (Juliá, 2005, p. 90). This policy of isolation was deeply entrenched in the regime's ideology. Franco's regime tried to shape itself as an effective fusion of the authentic Spanish traditional values (tradition, monarchy and Catholicism) with a new fascist 'policy-making' style under the direction of General Franco (Juliá, 2011, p. 530).

However, General Franco's support of the Nazi-Fascist coalition during the Second World War suggests that he would have found very difficult to establish fruitful international relations even if he had tried. The United Nations rejected Spain's membership application in June 1945 and France closed its border with Spain. On 12 December 1946, the United Nations General Assembly passed a declaration recommending the severance of any diplomatic relations with Spain – a suggestion that was indeed followed by most countries except Argentina, Ireland, Portugal, Switzerland and the Vatican (Fusi, 2012, p. 231). Moreover, the UK maintained diplomatic and political pressure, demanding a transition towards a democratic monarchy in Spain (Di Febo and Juliá, 2005, p. 64).

After the end of the Second World War, Franco's regime refused American foreign aid because of its rejection of liberalism. Five years later, when France, Germany, Britain and Italy had already almost completely rebuilt their economies, it did receive this aid (García de Cortázar and González Vesga, 1996, p. 664). The initial isolation could not be maintained for long, not only because of the needs of the population, but also because numerous commercial and business sectors started to oppose the system of autocracy and interventionism. The regime responded to the external pressures of the summer of 1945 by accenting its Catholic and anti-communist content and reducing the fascist symbols of the uniforms and salutes (Di Febo and Juliá, 2005, p. 62).

In 1947 the idea began to take root that the policy of international isolation had strengthened Franco in Spain and that it had not served to facilitate national concordance. On the other hand, the USA took note of the geo-strategic importance of Spain and was impressed to observe Franco's virulent anti-communism. The Cold War increased Franco's value in the eyes of the USA. As a result of this change in perspective, in January 1948 the USA approved a proposal of the National Security Council to normalise relations with Spain. In February of that same year, France reopened its borders, and shortly after that, Britain, Italy and France signed commercial agreements with Spain. In August 1950 Spain was awarded the first of a long series of loans, and only three months later pressure from the USA caused the United Nations to lift the boycott it had imposed after the Second World War, when Spain was considered 'the last holdout of fascism' (Shaw, 1987, p. 162). In 1951 there was a remodelling of the ministerial cabinet which gave the more moderate wing of the regime more power, and changes began to appear in the commercial ambit.

In 1953, Spain signed an agreement that allowed the USA to have military bases and installations on Spanish soil. In exchange, the USA

granted Spain economic aid amounting to approximately $1 billion. Also in the same year, a concordat was signed with the Vatican, and two years later Spain entered the United Nations. The international isolation had ended and the regime began a new phase (Di Febo and Juliá, 2005, p. 65). It is true that in various European countries and in the Eastern Bloc there continued to be firm opposition to General Franco's regime, but the image of a backwards country under the repression of a military dictatorship gave way to that of a touristic destination with sun and beaches, flamenco, bullfights and, of course, exciting football games. Starting in 1955, Spain became a nation recognised by the international community, although certainly one without democratic legitimacy (Fusi, 2012, p. 232).

When in 1957 the European Communities started to put into effect their model of European integration, the most conservative ministers in the Spanish government reacted with their characteristic disdain and public negativity towards Europe. However, the technocrats, who had come to form part of the government, paid close attention to the process and to the opportunities that this integration would offer the Spanish economy. Europeanism entered the Spanish public opinion and by the end of the 1950s, 'Spaniards had the certainty that their destiny, in the short or long term, was none other than Europe' (García de Cortázar and González Vesga, 1996, p. 616). This conviction was installed permanently in the elites and, progressively, would extend to the middle classes and more active groups in urban areas. This 'support for Europe' could also be seen in the enthusiasm of Real Madrid for the European Cup, to which we will turn in the following section.

4. Key findings: Real Madrid and the emergence of a European football public space?

The previous section has provided a solid historical and political context to understand, on the one hand, the role of Real Madrid for the European Cup's early success and, on the other hand, the importance of the tournament and the club in Spain's geopolitical development after the Second World War. It is now time to turn to the presentation of the empirical research. In this section we structure our analysis along thematic areas consistent with our review of the written sources. This is not quantitative content analysis, but it should be understood as a scoping review and a discussion of the main relevant themes. For the sake of clarity, we have divided our findings into three main themes. First, we look at Real Madrid's enthusiasm for the creation of the European

Cup. The second theme relates to the reaction of the Spanish political authorities to Real Madrid's success. Finally, we have identified a third theme that relates to the on-field heroes themselves. Here we have found a clear admiration both in Spain and Britain for the skill and prowess of Alfredo Di Stéfano and Ferenc Puskas.

4.1. *Real Madrid's enthusiasm for the creation of the European Cup*

The directors of Real Madrid were no strangers to this process of cultural change in Spanish public opinion and when the French newspaper *L'Équipe* launched the proposal of a European Cup, the response of Real Madrid was quite enthusiastic. The President of the Spanish Football Federation, Juan Touzón, declared to a reporter from *L'Équipe* shortly after the idea of the European Cup was launched: 'I like this project a lot, and so does my friend Santiago Bernabéu, president of Real Madrid, with whom I am having conversations on the topic. Spain is willing to receive teams from all the European countries in its stadiums with a capacity for 100,000 spectators, including those behind the iron curtain' (Bahamonde, 2002, p. 239). But why? What were the reasons for Real Madrid's interest in the creation of a European Cup? What did the leadership see in this new European tournament that motivated them to participate so enthusiastically from the beginning?

When *L'Équipe* made the proposal for the European Cup at the end of 1954, Real Madrid was a team with a pretty mediocre sports record. With the exception of the victory in the 1953–1954 league, they had spent 20 years without winning any competition, and they had won fewer leagues than FC Barcelona (six), Athletic Club Bilbao (five), Atlético de Madrid (four) and Valencia CF (three) (Prados de Plaza, 2001, p. 162). However, two events produced changes in the club: the arrival of Santiago Bernabéu as Chairman in 1944 and the signing of Argentinian forward Alfredo Di Stéfano in 1953.

Santiago Bernabéu was originally a player and coach for Real Madrid. He had a law degree and, just after becoming President of the club, he surrounded himself with a professional team that included Raimundo Saporta, a man coming from basketball with a reputation as a tough negotiator (Simón, 2012, p. 113). He played a key role in signing up Alfredo Di Stéfano, as well as on many other occasions. Saporta was well-connected in high places, the bank and the news media (Prados de Plaza, 2001, p. 156; Ball, 2010, p. 112).

After being in charge of the club for a year, Bernabéu decided to finance the complete reconstruction of the Chamartín Stadium. The

reconstruction was finished in December 1947 and was re-baptised with his own name in 1955 (Ball, 2010, p. 112). Therefore, for Real Madrid, the European Cup was a project that would allow it to consolidate economic development in the form of the construction of a new stadium for 120,000 people, a capacity that at the time was double that of the stadium of Atlético de Madrid and triple that of FC Barcelona (Bahamonde, 2002, p. 243). Later events showed that the new stadium would become the club's totem. The 17 games that Real Madrid played there in the first five tournaments of the European Cup all ended with a Real Madrid victory by at least two goals (except on one occasion). Moreover, the visiting clubs and the press that accompanied them were always overwhelmed by the proportions of a stadium that was so monumental, full and dedicated to supporting its team (Bahamonde, 2002, p. 251). But Real Madrid's enthusiasm for the European Cup went beyond merely taking advantage of the new stadium. The club realised that the development of professional football satisfied economic and social needs that surpassed the possibilities generated by national tournaments. Real Madrid had already applied this type of reasoning between 1926 and 1928 when Spain debated the creation of a national football league (Bahamonde, 2002, p. 242). At that time, it argued that the recent adoption of professionalism required a reform of the geographical framework of the competitions, as its regional character limited the number of possible games to finance the increase in expenses stemming from professionalisation. This increase in expenses could only be compensated by going from the regional to the national sphere (Llopis-Goig, 2009, p. 49).

Having uncovered the reasons behind Real Madrid's support of the European Cup, this section now moves on to analyse the reaction of General Franco's regime to the club's victories in the new European competition.

4.2. *The Spanish authorities and the European hegemony of Real Madrid*

The consecutive victories of Real Madrid in the first five tournaments of the European Cup contributed decisively to the improvement of the image of Franco's Spain abroad, as pointed out by numerous academics and researchers of the period (Shaw, 1987; Fernández, 1990; Prados de Plaza, 2001; Bahamonde, 2002; González Aja, 2002; Ball, 2010; González Calleja, 2010; Viuda-Serrano, 2013). And this was true not only because of the five convincing European Cup victories, but also because of the results achieved against their rivals, their playing style and their capacity to overcome adverse scoreboards.

The government quickly detected that Real Madrid's victories could be useful to it, on the one hand, to increase the internal cohesion of a society that was going through great economic difficulties and, on the other, to project to the outside world the image of a nation of winners, worthy of being invited to return to the international scene (Ball, 2012, p. 117). After the signing of the agreement with the USA in 1953, the authorities quickly discerned the possibility of beginning to overcome the commercial and diplomatic isolation they had suffered, and the success of Real Madrid meant a magnificent materialisation of this tendency.

The Spanish football national team finished fourth in the 1950 World Cup in Brazil, but they did not get any further. The team did not even qualify for the World Cup finals in 1954 and 1958, as they were embarrassingly eliminated by Turkey and Switzerland, respectively. The image of the Spanish national team languished in the 1950s, at the very same time that Real Madrid reached its hegemonic position in European football.

This contrast between the contributions of the Spanish national team and those of Real Madrid became evident in 1960. The Spanish Football Association – at the insistence of the Council of Ministers – withdrew the national team from the quarter-finals of the inaugural European Cup of Nations in 1960 in order to avoid playing against the Soviet Union. This would occur only a few days after Real Madrid won its fifth European Cup in Glasgow and re-affirmed its leadership in Europe. The English press was very critical of the decision made by the regime: 'This act of arbitrariness and coercion with regard to the Spanish football players who wanted to play against the Soviet Union shows that Spain's fascist dictator trounces on the principles of the international Olympic movement and the international sports federations' (*The Times*, 26 May 1960).

The regime was completely aware of the importance of Real Madrid's triumphs in those years, and this is demonstrated in the words of José Solís, Secretary Minister of the Movement, to the players in October 1959. During a dinner that the club arranged for its players and the members of the Luxembourg Jeunesse d'Esch club – after a resounding Real Madrid victory of 5-0 – Solís stood up and said:

> You have done more than many embassies strewn across God's country. People who hated us, now understand us, thanks to you, because you broke down a lot of walls … Your victories are a true source of pride for all Spaniards, inside and outside of our country. When you go to your dressing rooms at the end of each match, know that all

> the Spanish people are with you and proudly accompany you in your victories, which set the Spanish standard so high. (Shaw, 1987, p. 18)

The Foreign Minister of the Government of Spain, Fernando María Castiella, went even further by considering the club as a true ambassador of the country: 'Real Madrid has, moreover, a sportsmanlike style and knows how to take the name of Spain throughout the world with the maximum decorum. Its players behave like true ambassadors by contributing with their actions to the prestige of our country' (*ABC*, 12 December 1968). It is not surprising that a few years later, the journalist Francisco Cerecedo would write, in a somewhat ironic tone, the following words: 'Without doubt, the three decisive events of the period from 1950 to 1960 were the signing of the Concordat with the Vatican, the pact with the United States, and the five European Cups. It can be said that Pius XI, Eisenhower and Bernabéu led Spain to become a full-fledged member of the international community' (Cerecedo, 1974).

4.3. *Di Stéfano and Puskas: the heroes of the five European Cups*

Of the 36 players who took part in the first five European Cups, eight were foreigners: Di Stéfano, Rial, Kopa, Santamaría, Domínguez, Puskas, Canario and Didí. The team had an indisputable leader, Alfredo Di Stéfano, the great catalyst of Real Madrid in the second half of the 1950s who played in 35 of the 37 matches of the five first European Cups. Di Stéfano joined the club in 1953. From the outset, he showed exceptional qualities for football. In addition to his style, ability and technical skill, he had an extraordinary physique that was manifested in both his speed and his capacity for resistance. But what made him unique and a player especially admired by his fans was the way in which he combined his tactical intelligence with an exceptional team spirit. The team revolved around his tactical ideas at the same time as he gave his all to his teammates and took charge of the playing field. He set the rhythm of the match and elaborated the strategy to follow in each of its phases. This was added to terrific effectiveness marking goals: he was the maximum goal-scorer of the team in the European Cup, accounting for 36 of the 112 goals scored by the team (Bahamonde, 2002, p. 252). In 1957 and 1959, the magazine *France Football* awarded him the Golden Ball for best European player of the year.

Another important addition was Puskas, who came to Real Madrid in 1958. His arrival formed part of a broader emigration of Hungarian players motivated both by political reasons and by economic aspirations. The majority of them had fled from Hungary after the failure of

the uprising of 1956, and they had a huge reputation as footballers. The Hungarian uprising of 1956 was immensely popular in Spain, due to its nature as a nationalist, anti-communist and perceived Catholic insurrection. Initially, the Spanish clubs faced numerous obstacles from FIFA in signing up these footballers, as a consequence of the protests of the Hungarian Federation, although they were later given permission. They were all granted Spanish nationality under the label of 'political refugees' and so some of them were even able to play with the Spanish national team itself (Shaw, 1987, p. 145).

Puskas had been the captain of the Hungarian national team that defeated England in 1953 and that unexpectedly lost the World Cup final in 1954. He was also the skipper of Honved Budapest. In November 1956, Honved left for Spain to play a match against Athletic Club Bilbao, a rival they had been paired with in the round-of-16 draw of the second European Cup (Relaño, 2005, p. 38). The plans were to play matches in Western Europe in the hope of being hired by European clubs. Honved players knew about the success of Ladislao Kubala, another great Hungarian player who was hired by FC Barcelona in 1950. In a way, Kubala's arrival into Spain as an apolitical refugee and his success for FC Barcelona was the model that Puskas and his Honved teammates were trying to emulate in an attempt to escape their native Hungary. Puskas and the other Honved players knew that the Spanish authorities were not reluctant to grant them political asylum, taking into account the regime's need to express its anti-communism in order to achieve a greater perception of liberality and legitimacy at an international level.

After losing to Athletic Club Bilbao, Honved players decided to start a tour through Europe. UEFA imposed a ban on Puskas for refusing to play with the new Honved of Budapest. When Real Madrid expressed interest in him, he was in Italy, having almost retired from football. The negotiation skills (or the money) of Real Madrid, however, managed to convince UEFA to lift the ban on Puskas. He played a total of 12 matches in the fourth and fifth European Cup tournaments, in which he scored a total of 14 goals. He made an outstanding pairing with Alfredo Di Stéfano in Real Madrid until 1964, and he became an even more important anti-communist symbol than Kubala. After obtaining Spanish nationality, he played with the Spanish national team in the 1962 World Cup in Chile. Before the referendum on the Organic State Law of 1966, an important piece of legislation for the regime, Puskas appeared on television together with Franco, advising the country to vote for this legislation.

Conclusion

This chapter has tried to examine the significance and contribution of Real Madrid's victories in the first five tournaments of the European Cup in setting up a European football space. The first conclusion that can be drawn is that the British and the Spanish press at that time did not see causality between the emergence of the European Communities and the creation of the European Cup. However, it should be borne in mind that this circumstance is completely related to the peculiarities of the countries where this press was being published. British society remained distanced from the new competition, and its press initially did not give it much importance. In the Spanish case, the sporting press paid close attention, but its analyses did not go beyond what was strictly related to sports. On the other hand, the general press was quite conditioned by the moral imposed by the regime, and if they went beyond sport aspects, it was to patriotically praise the triumphs of Real Madrid. The analysis has shown, however, that there was a cultural climate favourable to the creation of the European Cup – whose antecedents were in the Latin Cup and the Mitropa cup – which materialised at the moment when the objective conditions were ready (technology, means of transport, overcoming the pains of war and the beginning of television).

The second conclusion is that the overwhelming superiority of Real Madrid with its five consecutive victories facilitated the articulation of a European football space. Real Madrid's playing style and stunning results placed it at the centre of the European football scene and made it the reference for modernity and sports excellence, capturing the attention of the rest of the European clubs. In a significant way, a public opinion space emerged that, thanks to the recognition of the superiority of Real Madrid, transcended national borders (see also the contribution by Geoff Hare in Chapter 6 of this volume). At a time when the embryo of the current European Union was no more than a mere free trade agreement between a few countries, a club from the southern half of the continent and, specifically, from isolated Spain reached the hegemony of the European competition.

In this achievement, the contribution of Di Stéfano was essential, but so was that of Puskas, a footballer from Eastern Europe who in this way became a part of the historical record of European football. The presence of Eastern European footballers in Spain contributed decisively to the configuration of a transnational football space in the European setting. Real Madrid became internationalised with the presence of

Puskas, and it strengthened its European prestige at a sports level and as a club. Spain acquired a pretext to rehabilitate its image during the Cold War, showing its liberal nature by taking in and granting nationality to refugees from communist countries. Thus, a public opinion space on a European scale started to emerge at a time when the political circumstances still did not allow an institutional structure to be observed.

The victories of Real Madrid, then, clearly contributed to the structure of the European football space by converging Southern and Eastern Europe in a scenario created from Central Europe. For all of these reasons, perhaps it would be necessary to revise the initial hypothesis and wonder whether the European football space, with its popular support and social diffusion, contributed more than other agencies or institutions to the development of the 'European emotional wiring' to a degree unimagined by the promoters of the European Union and unknown to its current leaders.

References

Bahamonde, A. (2002) *El Real Madrid en la Historia de España* (Madrid: Editorial Taurus).

Ball, P. (2010) *Morbo. La historia del fútbol español* (Madrid: T&B Editores).

———. (2012) *Tormenta blanca. La historia del Real Madrid 1902–2012* (Madrid: T&B Editores).

Cerecedo, F. (1974) 'Sociología insolente del fútbol español', *Posible*, Madrid, 15 December.

Di Febo, G. and Juliá, S. (2005) *El franquismo* (Barcelona: Paidós).

Fernández, C. (1990) *El fútbol durante la guerra civil y el franquismo* (Madrid: San Martín).

Fusi, J.P. (2012) *Historia mínima de España* (Madrid: Turner Libros).

García de Cortázar, F. and González Vesga, J.M. (1996) *Breve Historia de España (II)* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial).

González Aja, T. (2002) 'La política deportiva en España durante la República y el Franquismo', in T. González Aja (ed.), *Sport y autoritarismos. La utilización del deporte por el comunismo y el fascismo* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial), pp. 169–202.

González Calleja, E. (2010) 'El Real Madrid ¿equipo del régimen? Fútbol y política durante el Franquismo', *Esporte e Sociedade*, 5(14), 1–19.

Greenhalgh, P. (1988) *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions, and World's Fairs, 1851–1939* (Manchester University Press).

Haas, E. (1968) *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces 1950–1957*, 2nd edn (Stanford University Press).

Juliá, S. (2005) 'La sociedad', in J.L. García Delgado J.P. Fusi, S. Juliá, E. Malefakis and S.G. Payne (eds), *Franquismo. El juicio de la historia* (Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy), pp. 69–143.

———. (2011) 'Edad Contemporánea', in J. Valdeón, J. Pérez and S. Juliá (eds), *Historia de España* (Madrid: Espasa Libros), pp. 365–578.

Lindberg, L.N. (1963) *The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration* (Stanford University Press).

Llopis-Goig, R. (2009) 'Sociedad plural, fútbol postnacional. Evolución y trans-for-maciones socioculturales del fútbol español', in R. Llopis-Goig (ed.), *Fútbol Postnacional. Transformaciones sociales y culturales del deporte global en Europa y América latina* (Barcelona: Editorial Anthropos), pp. 47–62.

Luque, X.G. and Luna, J. (2004) 'Notario en las trincheras del deporte', *La Vanguardia*, 30 May, p. 63.

Prados de Plaza, L. (2001) *Real Madrid Centenario* (Madrid: Silex Ediciones).

Relaño, A. (2005) *50 años de la Copa de Europa. De la prehistoria y el penta-campeonato del Real Madrid*, vol. I (Madrid: AS).

Shaw, D. (1987) *Fútbol y franquismo* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial).

Simón, J.A. (2012) 'Jugando contra el enemigo. Raimundo Saporta y el primer viaje del equipo de baloncesto del Real Madrid CF a la Unión Soviética', *Revista Internacional de Ciencias del Deporte*, 28, 109–126.

Viuda-Serrano, A. (2013) 'Santiago Bernabéu y el Real Madrid. Un análisis histórico del mito del fútbol. Política y deporte en la España franquista', *Agon International Journal of Sport Sciences*, 3(1), 33–47.

6

Football and the European Collective Memory in Britain: The Case of the 1960 European Cup Final

Geoff Hare

Introduction

By 1960, it was already possible to talk about a 'national' television audience in Britain. Eurovision was, however, relatively new, having been founded in 1954. The European Cup Final of 18 May 1960, played in the Scottish national stadium, was the first European Cup match to be broadcast live in full on national TV in Britain and to 12 other countries on Eurovision.[1] The match attracted a record crowd to Hampden Park, Glasgow, mainly comprised of Scots. Compare this to the international meeting of two weeks earlier in the same stadium between Scotland and Poland, which attracted only 30,000 fans.

The immediate effect of the event involving the Spanish and German club champions was summed up in the description of it in *The Times* as 'a European Cup final of high artistry, superb forward play, and astonishing goals' (19 May 1960). Five months later, after mature reflection, *The Times*' chief football correspondent was still calling the match 'one of the finest – and certainly most discussed – matches ever played in these islands' (26 October 1960, p. 16). Its impact is still remembered today. Recently, despite the plethora of games seen on colour television in the 47 years since the Glasgow match, the national newspaper the *Daily Telegraph* (4 July 2007), in conjunction with *World Soccer Magazine*, nominated the game as the third greatest football match of all time. Arguably, the 1960 match is etched upon the British popular collective memory more deeply than any other sports event in Britain involving only non-British competitors. On the fiftieth anniversary of the match, the Glasgow-based *Daily Record* (18 May 2010, pp. 48–49) devoted two pages to commemorate 'Hampden's

greatest game – a match that lives on in the memory banks of football fans across the world'.

The match's reception in Britain at the time was remarkable, as will be demonstrated. But to what extent was or is this memory in some sense 'European'? Indeed, how can we refer, meaningfully, to an event of popular culture, particularly sporting culture, as a 'lieu de mémoire', as a collective memory defining a commemorative space within a community? What range of meanings did British television commentators and Scottish newspaper journalists attribute to the European Cup match? And what meanings did the event take on in Britain, particularly in Scotland?

To answer the questions concerning impact and reception, I have analysed the full BBC television commentary of the match, have examined the build-up, reports and follow-up articles, both short-term and longer-term, in the British national press, but concentrating on the Scottish national press, and have looked for wider, more random and anecdotal references to the match.

1. The match on live television and cinema newsreel

Television images are received and interpreted differently by different viewers depending on their educational/cultural background, but commentary and framing can orientate the viewer towards a particular, dominant or 'preferred' meaning of the images (see Fiske, 1987 for the notion of 'polysemy' in reception theory as applied to a television text). In the case of televised football, the commentary (the words spoken over the images) is a key element of meaning and reception of the occasion. Specialist commentators, and nowadays well-known ex-players as co-commentators, are meant to help the viewer understand the events shown and also lend authority to the interpretation being advanced.

The signification and significance of this televised match were set initially, in the UK, by press build-up and on the night by the words of the live commentary spoken on the BBC solely by its premier football commentator, Kenneth Wolstenholme, already the BBC's authoritative voice of football. Images of the match of a quality much better than the TV pictures were also widely shown in newsreel cinemas in Britain.[2]

A content analysis of the BBC commentary shows that the commentator's main focus is descriptive, identifying players and what is happening in the game, but in addition he picks out for comment and praise:

- initially, the difference in style between the 'northern' and 'southern' European teams;
- individual players and their characteristics to watch out for;

- the quality of individuals and the teams;
- the attraction of this match to British, especially Scottish fans (record numbers, ticket prices and, at the end, the unprecedented appreciation shown by the crowd);
- the bonus paid to Real Madrid players;
- throughout the game, unusual and impressive examples of skill, application, style of play and sportsmanship (including the referee's performance);
- implicit or explicit comparisons to British football skills, quality and style to the detriment of British football.

Only one comment was made about national styles of play, but several were made about how British teams needed to improve their style of play and levels of skill.

The commentary is from a British perspective. Nothing is explicitly said about wider relations between Britain and Europe, either in footballing terms or in politico-diplomatic or touristic contexts. Nonetheless, the implication is that British football can and needs to learn lessons from this game and the clubs involved. The commentator's words do not add any insights not found in the press. The overall theme and tone is of the extraordinary and exemplary nature of the occasion, and the privilege of witnessing it. One can't help feeling, having watched the BBC pictures of the match again after seeing them live 54 years ago, that the commentator feels he is seeing the future … and is increasingly enthused by it.

2. The British context

The wider British context to this occasion is well known: the inventors of the game for a long time felt no need to become involved in international matches or organisation of the game and international competitions, and their sense of superiority was dented only in the 1950s regarding England, particularly by the crushing defeats by Hungary in 1953 and 1954. The esteemed journalist Arthur Hopcraft (2006, pp. 216–217) wrote: 'The fifties relentlessly exposed the lies we had been cherishing for so long. We could not play football better than any other country, after all … we found we had been left behind.'

In this context, Wolstenholme, in his European Cup Final commentary, appears to be arguing implicitly for British football to open up to Europe or even wider. At one point towards the end of his commentary, he mentions 'an even more important game' that will take place

between the European club champions and the champions of South America (Peñarol), the Intercontinental Cup. His view is wider, then, than Europe, but remains within the sporting domain.

Since the game was being played in the Scottish international stadium in Glasgow, it is not surprising to find in the Scottish press much comment before and after the match on the match itself and on its implications for Scottish football. There are similar comments across the whole range of Scottish national press with the highest readership numbers, from *The Scotsman*, published in the capital, Edinburgh, which saw itself as the equivalent of *The Times* with its educated upper middle-class audience, the *Glasgow Herald*, a national paper, also catering mainly for an educated audience, the *Scottish Daily Mail*, sharing much of its text with its London counterpart and parent paper the *Daily Mail*, read widely in both England and Scotland by the conservative lower-middle and working classes, and the *Daily Record*, with a markedly working-class readership. In comparison to the *Herald* and *The Scotsman*, the *Mail* and the *Record* devote more space to football in general and, before and after, to this match.

3. The Scottish footballing context

The Scottish context of the match was made more explicit in the *Record* and the *Mail* than in the other Scottish papers. The poor performances of the national team against Poland (2-3) two weeks before the European Cup Final and of Rangers in the European Cup semi-final against Eintracht Frankfurt were interpreted before the Final as showing how far Scotland had fallen behind Continental teams by the *Herald*: 'Disappointing Scottish side' (5 May 1960, p. 12), *The Scotsman* (H. McIlvanney): 'one of Scotland's most depressing defeats' (5 May) and the *Mail* (Alec Young): 'our humiliation by Poland' (9 May). As for Rangers' two defeats: 'What a warning to Scotland! never before has a Rangers team been so finally broken' (*Scottish Daily Mail*, 6 May); 'Humiliation for Rangers' (*Daily Record*, 14 April, p. 19); '12-4 aggregate reflects gulf of quality … which separates our football from that played in Germany and in many parts of the Continent.' '[T]he abject poverty of Scottish football [has] been fully exposed' (*The Scotsman*, 6 May, p. 20). The *Herald* (John Rafferty) picks out Rangers' deficiencies: 'The Ibrox side is not in the same class as Eintracht of Frankfurt. As athletes, as football craftsmen, as tacticians, the Germans were immeasurably superior' (6 May, p. 14) The *Daily Record* is already calling recent results indicative of a decline of British football in general: 'The game

again proved that British football lags behind the Continental brand in almost every aspect of the game' (6 May, p. 27).

In the *Scottish Daily Mail*, Alec Young begins a short series of articles concentrating on 'What's wrong with Scottish football?' (9–11 May), picking out specific shortcomings: club directors are well-meaning amateurs, players don't work hard enough, managers are not given freedom to work as professionals. 'In coaching and training we are decades behind.' The international team needs a full-time manager with freedom to pick the team without interference from the Scottish FA (11 May).

As we shall see, the impact of the European Cup Final a few days later gave the press and the football audience all the evidence they needed to develop this thesis. Played at Hampden and televised live in Britain not only by the BBC, but also simultaneously by the relatively new regional commercial channels under the Independent Television Authority, the European Cup Final of 1960 had an immediate and unique impact on fans, players and football administrators. Because of the fact that tickets could not be sold until a fortnight before the game (UEFA did not approve the SFA's proposals for ticketing and pricing until then), the SFA decided to sell most of the tickets via the Scottish clubs. Less than two per cent were sold overseas ('not more than 5,000 or 6,000 will be from overseas'):

> The vast majority of the tickets were sold in Scotland, for every club in membership of the SFA were given the allocation of ground and enclosure tickets they requested, and 20,000 tickets were sold to the general public at Hampden Park on Saturday and at the SFA offices yesterday [Monday, 16 May]. Furthermore several large industrial concerns were given allocations for their employees, and thousands of tickets were sent to individuals who applied through the post, although the SFA did not announce that tickets would be sold in that manner. But not a single person who wrote from outlying parts of this country, and who could not therefore have been expected to queue, was unsuccessful. (*Glasgow Herald*, 17 May, p. 6)

Even allowing for some officials or administrators selling tickets on, the crowd was therefore overwhelmingly comprised of Scottish football fans and club members.

4. The press build-up and expected or predicted meanings

Personal memories of the game are confirmed by reports showing that the match had an unprecedented impact on the 127,621 spectators and

mass television viewers alike. Even before the game, the *Glasgow Herald* was struck – indeed, apparently surprised – by what appeared as hitherto unknown interest from abroad:

> More than 100 foreign newspapermen … will report to the European Cup Final. The press box seats 208 … there will be an overflow of pressmen in the stand, where also there will be newspaper commentators. Seven commentators will serve 12 countries on Eurovision, 11 BBC commentators talking on radio to nine countries. Altogether 13 languages will be used in the BBC arrangements. Many edited versions of the match will be shown on television film later at night … Some fifty additional telephone lines have been laid to Hampden for use by the press and radio and television staff. (17 May, p. 6)

Training sessions, especially those of Real Madrid, received admiring coverage. Descriptions of Real's stars Alfredo Di Stéfano and Ferenc Puskas can be seen as being in the mode of what we now call celebrity culture – for example, that of the *Daily Record*'s Sports Editor 'Waverley': 'one of the most impressive work-outs I have seen by a Continental side … emphasis was on ball-work – and how these soccer artists can shoot!' The young Scottish international from Motherwell, later star of Liverpool and television pundit Ian St John, having attended the training session, was quoted: 'I must now eat, sleep and live football. Real's ball control was just marvellous. I have a new outlook on football after watching these players. When did you ever see shooting like that?' (16 May, p. 19)

5. Match reports and reception

After a build-up like this, the match itself might have been an anti-climax. However, the press response is unanimously built on superlatives and uses the match to show what entertainment value can be provided by professional footballers, what levels of ball skills have been attained by the 'Continentals' as opposed to British players' reliance on physicality, and in general to highlight the gulf between British and Continental football:

> Never has there been seen in Scotland, or in Britain a spectacle such as the European Cup Final last night at Hampden Park. Nearly 128,000 uproariously delighted spectators produced the greatest Hampden roar of all time … the finest football match I have seen in more than 35 years of watching football, Scots in their entirety were glorifying

> in the Real display … all of us surely now relish the tactics of a team who do not mind losing the odd goal when they can make and score two for that one. Few of the spectators departed [at 6-1, 70 mins] even though Eintracht were routed, the *entertainment* was much too enthralling … We may not see another European Cup Final for a long time, but we shall remember this one as long as we live. … I take the liberty of thanking Real Madrid on behalf of Scotland – players, officials and public alike – for showing us a new glorious game. (Cyril Horne, *Glasgow Herald*, 19 May, p 12, emphasis added)

Edinburgh's *The Scotsman* adopted the same tone:

> Some of the most magnificent sporting artistry Hampden Park has ever seen. Fittingly, the great Glasgow stadium responded with the loudest and most sustained ovation it has given to *non-Scottish* athletes. The strange emotionalism that overcame the huge crowd as the triumphant Madrid team circled the field at the end, carrying the trophy, showed that they had not simply been *entertained*. They had been moved by the experience of seeing a sport being played to its ultimate standards. Similarly, their tributes to Eintracht, a team whose quality deserved better than the role of heroic losers, contained a reverence for something Scotland cannot equal … Scottish spectators settled in to enjoy their national game as only foreigners can play it … hypnotic *exhibition* of footwork … scientific onslaught … (Hugh McIlvanney, 19 May, p. 18)

In the *Mail*, writing for the whole UK audience, Alec Young stated:

> What a night! What a game! And what a team are Real! Their sparkling, champagne football held the Hampden crowd spell-bound … No shame on Eintracht … In the last half-hour Real … moved the ball around and did feats of jugglery which would have brought the house down at a *variety show* in any British theatre. The crowd loved it all … It was an *exhibition* that can have only one result in this country. The fans will become even more dissatisfied with the fish and chip stuff of the ordinary League menu after this banquet. But the question is: What steps can be taken to bring football in Britain up to this standard? (19 May, back page, emphasis added)

The *Daily Record*'s page one headline, relegating the Khrushchev-Eisenhower-Macmillan summit to second place on the front page and

continued on the back, stresses that we are talking about *foreign* football: 'ESTA MADRID! Which in anybody's language means Real Madrid won … 7-3.' Waverley continues: 'Spanish team Real Madrid showed how football should be played, last night, by smashing a courageous Eintracht Frankfurt, team to a 7-3 defeat.' But foreignness, he quickly specifies, in case British readers have any other interpretations, means entertaining, colourful and friendly:

> Hampden had never seen glitter football like this before – and it will be long time before anything like it is seen again. Earlier Glasgow was gay, glorious and hectic … It seemed that every accent on the globe mingled first in the city streets – with the Glasgow burr predominant – as the laughing good-humoured crowds spilled across the city. (19 May, p. 1)

The *Record*'s popular-press talent for a good headline sums up the match report, with economy and precision, with the header: 'Hail the magic masters' (19 May, p. 18).

6. Meanings and values of the match

Editorials in the broadsheets were devoted, almost unprecedentedly, to football – with the intention of drawing 'lessons' from the match, both in style of play:

> nothing in Scottish football can ever be the same again. It brought home to thousands just how much they have been missing. The game they watch from Saturday to Saturday just isn't football anymore … The aim should be not to imitate the panache and cleverness of Real Madrid, [but] to learn again the rudiments of the Scottish game – a team sport in which the object is to score goals. It is not the destructive chore of trying to prevent the opposing team scoring at all costs … it is dull stuff to watch and cannot be fun to play. Certainly it will never beat Real or Eintracht, who know it's goals that count.

And in wider terms: 'The main-stream of football now bypasses Britain' (*Glasgow Herald*, editorial, entitled 'A Lesson in Football', 20 May 1960, p. 10).

The Scotsman's editorial read as follows:

> To millions of television viewers the tumultuous cheers as the victorious Spanish team carried the European Cup round the stadium

> must have been even more impressive than any incident in the game itself. It was the huge crowd's expression of their appreciation of the high standard of football with which they had been *entertained*. Football supporters who witnessed the game only on television screens must share that appreciation without reservation … Surely there is a lesson in all this for football managements in Scotland. Scottish managements … have been too conservative and not nearly adventurous enough. An emphasis upon *youth and coaching*, as illustrated for example by the pre-Munich disaster Manchester United – the so-called 'Busby Babes' – may be even more rewarding [than lavish expenditure on stars]. (20 May 1960, p. 8, emphasis added)

If 'youth and coaching' are the future of football in the 1960s, we can see in this, in hindsight, the wider social changes and dominant values of the 1960s and 1970s: renewal and technocracy.[3] The 1960s were not just Carnaby Street, Twiggy, student protests and the Beatles, but the renewal of ideas, the overthrow of old taboos and traditional hierarchies. Similarly, the promise of forging a new Britain in the 'white heat' of the scientific and technological revolution symbolising Labour's innovatory approach and victory in the mid-1960s and the technocratic approach to society and the economy can all be recognised in the varied demands to let players and coaches/managers be full-time professionals and use rational and scientific methods. Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's electoral slogan 'You've never had it so good' was starting to sound parochial and out of date (Tomlinson, 1991, p. 37).

The *Mail*'s Alec Young, writing a week before the match, also singled out the scientific approach that had made the 'Continentals' the masters:

> In coaching and training we are decades behind. Scotland gave football to the world. But the pupils are now the masters. The Continentals imported our *best coaching brains*. To the knowledge so well imparted, they added their own *quota of science and common-sense*. (10 May, emphasis added)

In the same paragraph he talks about: 'Our pampered players … overpaid for the time they devote to the game.' The *Record* too, in demanding on behalf of the fans a wholesale restructuring, also urged the players to put 'put more into the game':

> The cat is now really out of the bag … The opinion I heard on the trek from Hampden was unanimous: 'It's a good thing it wasn't a

> Scottish club opposed to Real.' The Scottish public were shocked into a sense of reality, and it is hoped that at long last the Rip Van Winkles of officialdom will waken from their slumbers. The whole structure of our game requires rebuilding … And I emphatically insist that our players put more into the game than they are doing … and they WORK at it, and not fiddle their way through with careless effort as they have been doing in the post-war era. (19 May, p. 18)

Ian St John offered the player's point of view after the game:

> The difference between the two clubs is that Real buy their ready-made stars. Motherwell discover and bring on their own players. We must strive for perfection at all times and never be satisfied with our last game. We must play football all the time and think about football all the time. The emphasis must always be on team work. The big weakness in our system – the club is mostly part-time. (*Daily Record*, 20 May, p. 30)

Where the various opinions on players' responsibility intersect is on pay and professionalization. Although the tone of the *Mail*'s football correspondent does not suggest that he would support a players' strike, some ambitious and conscientious professionals were starting to demand the means to spend all their working time (as 'the Saint' is advocating) to their profession in order to raise standards. We are told that some players and probably most who watched the Final had been impressed, including England's top players. *The Times*' football correspondent, on tour with the England squad, watching on TV in Hungary, reports: 'The European Cup Final … left a deep impression on all the players. The secret of how to play football was clearly underlined – keep the ball moving like Di St[é]fano,[4] Puskas and company' (20 May 1960, p. 21). We should not be surprised then that in the early months of the following season, English League players, backed by iconic, traditionalist figures such as Stanley Matthews and Tom Finney, voted to go on strike to pressure reluctant club chairmen to break the wage slavery of the very low maximum wage and the retain-and-transfer system (Wagg, 1984, Chapter 8). Had they seen pictures of the Madrid players buying, among other things, expensive sets of tartan clothing, including bagpipes (the Basque José María Zárraga, Real's captain) at Prestwick Airport? The maximum wage was abolished within months – in January 1961 in England (*Glasgow Herald*, 10 January, p. 9; 19 January, pp. 1 and 6; 21 April, p. 13) and in April in Scotland, players' wages and conditions

were similarly improved (*Glasgow Herald*, 21 February, p. 10; 11 April, p. 5). In 1963 the George Eastham legal judgment increased confirmed the ability of players to move clubs.

The Europeanisation of football, whether implicit or explicit, was at the heart of all the reporting of this match and was most clearly supported, in the *Daily Record*, by that most Europhile of reporters, Waverley, who spent most of his close-seasons travelling to Europe to attend various competitions and visiting clubs to see how it was done. Even before the match, giving readers a potted history of the European Cup, he predicts a great future for it, quoting UEFA official Ebbe Schwartz speaking at the draw for the first competition in 1955:

> This competition will come to be the greatest in football outside the World Cup. It will capture the imagination of the public all over Europe in a way that no previous club tourney ever has. It will cause clubs, in their respective countries, to strive as never before for their championship knowing that participation in the European cup will mean to them wealth to which they have previously been strangers. (18 May, pp. 18–19)

Of the first ever final, Reims v. Real, which the journalist attended, he stresses the entertainment value and the fact that Britain has been overtaken by its continental pupils:

> This was one of the most magnificent games of football it has been my good fortune to see. Soccer artistry filled every minute of the contest. Two years or so previously as a result of a continental tour, I had written that no longer were we the masters. (18 May, pp. 18–19)

Writing as the 1960 match ends, Waverley draws out meanings in the *Record*'s second headline 'Now Scots fans know' – the fans would demand change:

> Never in the long and dramatic history of Hampden, Britain's greatest football stadium, have there been such scenes as marked the finish of last night's magnificent triumph … The ovation was more than appreciation of the wonder play of the Spanish team. It was a direct challenge to Scotland's football chiefs, a demonstration by the fans that they had seen something they think, justifiably, they are entitled to from our own players. (19 May, p. 18)

Just as *The Scotsman*'s editorial, probably drafted by the young Hugh McIlvanney, had put a finger on the values about to be embodied in the 1960s by youth as being a key to the future, so too does the older Waverley see the future as being in Europe – being over there and at the heart of Europe. The Common Market was out of reach for only a little while longer – Prime Minister Harold Wilson's overtures being thwarted by President de Gaulle, but Edward Heath's being accepted by European leaders in 1972:

> For more than a decade I have returned from across the Channel annually preaching the gospel of Continental football. I have been repeatedly accused of exaggerating the skill, the artistry, the virtues of the foreigners. Club officials and legislators have told me, in blunt fashion, that I was bletherin'. Now the fans know the truth, and they will no longer be content with a standard of play that is the result of outdated ideas. (*Daily Record*, 19 May 1960, p. 18)

Waverley uses terms like 'shoddy', 'ersatz' and 'poverty-stricken' to describe Scottish football – terms reminiscent of the War and rationing, which could be seen as applying to Britain more widely by those now starting to go in their thousands on holiday to the Continent. The same papers that were reporting the European Cup final were advertising and discussing new facilities for travel to Europe and beyond:

> The fans saw for themselves last night football of a type that makes ours shoddy by comparison. It is unlikely they will continue to support ersatz after sampling the real stuff … The World Cup competitions of 1954 and 1958 revealed the poverty-stricken state of the Scottish game, but while many promises were made, little or nothing has been done to carry them out. (*Daily Record*, 19 May 1960, p. 18)

Coincidentally, the 1959–1960 European Cup competition was the first to be played after the Franco regime eliminated visa requirements for British tourists entering Spain (except for entry via Gibraltar). While tourism had become a significant factor in the Spanish economy during the previous decade, it was in the period 1957–1962 that the number of tourists going to Spain rose dramatically, coinciding with a rapid increase in charter air travel in Europe. Whereas, for example, British tourists to Malaga in 1959 numbered only 544, there were 11,509 arrivals from the UK in 1962 (Pack, 2006, pp. 11, 84, 90–91 and 97–98).

Should Waverley's own evaluation of the game not be convincing enough, he exemplifies the idea that authoritative judgments on football must now come from across the Channel by quoting his Danish 'friend', Ebbe Schwartz, by then President of UEFA: 'This was the greatest European Cup Final. I have seen all five finals, and not only was it the best, but it was Real Madrid's finest display' (*Daily Record*, 19 May, p. 18).

7. Lasting significance of the event

Football reports appear more in touch with the undercurrent of social attitudes and cultural values which become mainstream later: youth, renewal of ideas and hierarchies, the attraction of Europe. The 1960 Cup Final was a wake-up call for the British football establishment, players and fans to the undeniable fact that the pupils were now way ahead of the masters in the footballing hierarchy, that Continental football, indeed, was something to admire, enjoy and celebrate. It prompted discussion at every level of what needed to be done to regain football supremacy, which henceforth would be, at a club level, not through friendly matches but through participation in the European Cup.

Fifty years on, the *Daily Record* devoted two pages to commemorate 'Hampden's greatest game – a match that lives on in the memory banks of football fans across the world'. Four football people who attended the match are quoted. A Rangers player from the losing semi-final said: 'I don't think I ever saw anything like the performance Real Madrid put on that night … They studied the game and we were just playing at it … [they] were about individual brilliance and teamwork. The night of the European Cup Final made us go back to the drawing board and give football some extra thought.' A journalist and ex-player's interpretation was that while Real Madrid created modern-day football, which is defined by entertainment: 'Madrid and Puskas showed that the game is about creativity, the 1966 England tried to destroy it with ultra-defensive tactics.' Craig Brown, a player in 1960 and 50 years later one of the most respected managers working in Scotland, said: 'The lesson that game taught me was that we had to work on our technique.' A journalist stated: 'It was a spectacular one-off and Di St[é]fano was the best player I ever saw' (18 May 2010, pp. 48–49).

In addition, as one pictorial history of the European Cup concludes: 'the European Cup was now [the 1960–1961 season] the Continent's footballing event', with over two million spectators attending the 52 matches (MacWilliam, 2000). What the exceptional Glasgow final did, in Britain at least it seems to me, was to establish the notion of the

European Cup Final as a showpiece event of technically high-quality, entertaining and spectacular attacking football, watched live by a mass audience of millions across Europe on television. This was the model and the expectation thereafter, even if not all matches lived up to that. It brought all of Europe's football fans together in Benedict Anderson's (1983) 'imagined community' *avant la lettre*.

The myth of the European Cup Final as the showpiece of the club game, in Britain at least, was confirmed by the time the Final was held a second time at Hampden in 1976. I expect any further detailed research to confirm, by looking at what is written and said in the popular press and in football albums about the finals over this 16-year period, that this initial impression and memory of the European Cup Final are sufficiently reinforced by similar qualities being attributed to a number of the succeeding finals, this memory thereby becoming a myth. The European Cup Final achieves the status of *lieu de mémoire* when contemporary final matches and players, their technical feats and tactical line-ups, their great saves and their late game-changing goals can be compared and contrasted to those of earlier years. MacWilliam (2000), for instance, is a classic example of associating 'exciting attacking football' with the great finals of the next 25 years, involving notably Celtic, Benfica, Manchester United, Feyenoord, Ajax, Bayern Munich and Saint-Etienne.

What grew up around the European Cup competition as a whole, with the home and away games where fans increasingly travelled to support their team, was the festive aspect of the spectacle, an increasingly noisy, colourful, celebratory event surrounding the game itself, but a celebration with an inherent tension between the enjoyment of the football and the defence of an identity verging on xenophobia, which manifested itself in two different personal memories: first, Celtic fans on an overnight cross-Channel ferry in 1970 returning from a final, narrowly lost on penalties, singing a Feyenoord song or at least as much of it as they could remember, which wasn't much more than the word 'Feyenoord', but they had remembered the tune, and enough to suggest they respected the winning team and their fans; secondly, at the other end of the spectrum, Leeds fans in Paris in 1975 'reacting badly to a disallowed goal' against Bayern and continuing their 'mindless hooliganism' throughout the night (MacWilliam, 2000, p. 59).

As Anderson argued, of the nation, it is an 'imagined community'; national cultural identity is constructed and reproduced by narratives of the nation, by stories, images, symbols and rituals that represent shared meanings of nationhood. Collective identity, furthermore, he

maintained, is always provisional and has to be continually reinforced, and it is via the newspapers and radio and television news or other programmes that people in all four corners of the collectivity are encouraged to imagine such events occurring simultaneously. In this way, national culture must be linked to *shared consciousness* of events that *matter*.

Recurrent international sporting events can create commemorative spaces. Vigarello (1992) has shown convincingly how experience and memory of a sporting event like the Tour de France can be seen as an annual sporting commemoration of aspects of national culture, whether historical, architectural, topographical, geological or climatological, marking out a territory of Republican France, while managing to accommodate and reflect the country's transformation from 'une France des terroirs' into 'une France du tourisme'. Similarly, the American football Super Bowl has built up rituals that are transferred annually to each new or renewed location – including patriotic and religious elements and, particularly, through the most expensive, new television commercials of the year, experienced as celebrating a key aspect of American culture, the free market.

Do case studies like this allow us to start to think in terms of similar processes constructing wider European identity? Is it arguable that the original European Champions Cup with a single champion per country competing in a competition where there was no seeding or favouring of major countries or rich clubs symbolised a shared and widely valued element of (Western) European culture, not only sporting culture, of equal opportunity or meritocracy? If so, it would also have to be admitted that its successor, the Champions League, in swaying the competition's organisation in favour of the richest clubs and the wealthiest countries (by seeding, qualifying rounds and number of clubs given direct entry into the richest part of the competition), has destroyed that principle, which reflected so well one key aspect of European culture, and has given precedence to commercial values. Indeed, Andreff (2008) has shown that the effect across Europe of television-related money earned by clubs in the Champions League is not only to unbalance competition in national leagues, but also to create a self-perpetuating elite of clubs that can buy top players and continually re-qualify for the competition which brings in the highest revenues. However, Jean Christophe Meyer (2012, pp. 471–472) has argued that the seeds of this 'paradigm change' were planted as far back as 1960: he describes the way clubs like Eintracht had realised that the European Cup competition had become more important than the national championship for reasons of income generated for the club and players by this new income stream, as much as the celebrity brought by live coverage on Eurovision.

8. Memories that matter

What we can say with some certainty, I would argue, is that it was in 1960 that European football competitions first really began to matter in Britain and took on particular meanings and values. In chance conversations during research for this chapter with an archivist at the *Daily Record*, he remembered, with no bidding, Madrid's opponents and the score, as well as the match's exceptional nature. Similarly, a librarian at the National Library of Scotland recalled being told, as part of Scottish football's folk memory, about the exceptional match his father had seen at Hampden, far better than the football of the 1980s. Another fan recalled vividly the epic process of buying a ticket for the match.

When we talk about memory, memories and identity in Britain and particularly in Scotland, we can refer to more than just anecdotal evidence. Impressive research has been carried out since 2010 in Glasgow that shows that the most resilient memories among the apparently lost memories of dementia and Alzheimer's sufferers, especially among Scottish males, are memories relating to football. 'Reminiscence therapy' is being used to treat dementia, as one of several standard, alternative and brief psychotherapies which allow men especially to recapture long-term deeply embedded memories, enabling them to talk about these remembered events and feelings, and thereby to regain self-esteem, which, of course, commonly disappears when short-term memory begins to fail. 'Directed Reminiscence Groups' held for sufferers and their carers at the Scottish Football Museum at Hampden Park around football artefacts and memorabilia (photos, programmes, exhibits, etc.) trigger memories: Andrew Lowndes, a researcher at Glasgow Caledonian University and also a mental health nurse, has described what happens:

> 220 guys with their families and carers [were] there today … and the recall from these guys is absolutely fantastic, people who are probably struggling day to day with their memories, but when you show them players from the 1950s and 60s they can rhyme the whole team off and tell you quite complicated facts about games and times when they went to matches.[5]

Other than telling us that long-term-memory function is still there in people with dementia, this therapy helps patients importantly with their self-esteem and with recapturing a sense of identity. Lowndes continued:

> It allows them to become a person again, feeling full and feeling they've got a connection with other people again with similar memories – this

> idea of everybody having a collective memory that they shared once upon a time on the terracing perhaps or in the pub after a match, they are able to re-engage with that. And the way that these men begin to engage with each other and the banter that flies around when they begin to do this, is fantastic and you see a glint in their eye; and family members tell us after the events that this was like having their man back again and it's really very rewarding.

One recording used on the BBC Radio 4 morning news show, the *Today* programme, which alerted me to this project was of an Alzheimer's sufferer who, when asked if he remembered the European Cup Final played at Hampden Park, could say which clubs were involved and, when prompted, who scored ('di Stéfano got a hat-trick') and 'Who else scored? – Puskas', which I found very moving. I then knew that this match really was an important part of Scottish football history and of Scottish cultural history and collective memory. Scotland's cultural links with Continental Europe (the Auld Alliance) have for seven centuries been stronger than those of England.[6] Deep memories are the best memories and the ones that make up our cultural identity. If culture is in some sense what remains after all else has been forgotten, the loss of cultural memory and of collective memories is disastrous for the social being that is *homo sapiens*.

Notes

1. Television schedules (*The Times*) indicate that of the previous European Cup matches televised in the UK, only the second half was shown live (two matches): Wednesday 3 June 1959, BBC 9–10 pm Final, Real Madrid v. Stade de Reims, and Wednesday 2 March 1960, ITA (except STV [Scotland]) 8.20–9.25 pm quarter-final 2nd leg, Wolverhampton Wanderers v. Barcelona.
2. The BBC images and commentary are available at www.dailymotion.com. The STV (commercial television) commentary appears to be no longer available. The British Pathé cinema newsreel report entitled 'Real Madrid Real Tops!' (2 mins 45 secs) is available at www.britishpathe.com/video/real-madrid-real-tops/ (date accessed 9 November 2014): Media URN: 52611, Sort No: 60/042, Canister: 60/42, Film ID: 1680.17, Issue Date: 23/05/1960 – the web version is of poorer resolution than the broadcast quality download used in the 2013 exhibition 'More than a Game. How Scotland Shaped World Football' at Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, 27 March–18 August 2013.
3. For discussion of coaching and tactics as technocracy, see Wagg (1984), Chapter VII.
4. British newspapers of the day rarely used foreign accents in spelling, especially on the sports pages.
5. Interview with Andrew Lowndes in 'Good Morning Scotland' with Gary Robertson (BBC Radio Scotland): www.facebook.com/MemoriesFC and also

www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01nxxwm (date accessed 9 November 2014). The *memoriesfc* project and the overall initiative have an interdisciplinary team (scientists, cultural studies academics, football clubs and local authorities).

6. The Auld Alliance of Scotland and France against the English Crown began in 1295 and lasted contractually until 1560 and culturally and in the hearts of many Scots and French, at least until Mary Queen of Scots' son James VI of Scotland began to manoeuvre to also become King of England, finally uniting the two Crowns in 1603. In the eighteenth century, the Scottish Enlightenment shared much of its fundamentals and culture with that of Continental Europe.
7. Thanks are due for help regarding sources to the trustees and staff of the National Library of Scotland, archivists of the *Daily Record*, and Richard McBrearty, curator of the Scottish National Football Museum.

References[7]

Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso).

Andreff, W. (2008) 'Sport et télévision: une dépendance économique', in P. Arnaud, M. Attali and J. Saint-Martin (eds), *Le Sport en France. Une approche politique, économique et sociale* (Paris: Documentation française), pp. 159–170.

Fiske, J. (1987) *Television Culture* (London: Routledge).

Hopcraft, A. (2006 [1968]) *The Football Man* (London: Aurum Press).

MacWilliam, R. (2000) *The European Cup: An Illustrated history, 1956–*2000 (London: Aurum Press).

Meyer, J.C. (2012) 'L'offre de football télévisée et sa réception par la presse en France et en RFA (1950–1966)', unpublished doctoral thesis in 'Histoire contemporaine' (Université de Strasbourg and l'Université Albert-Ludwig de Freiburg/Breisgau).

Pack, S.D. (2006) *Tourism and Dictatorship: Europe's Peaceful Invasion of Franco's Spain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

Tomlinson, A. (1991), 'North and South : The Rivalry of the Football League and the Football Association', in J. Williams and S. Wagg (eds), *British Football and Social Change: Getting into Europe* (Leicester University Press), pp. 25–47.

Vigarello, G. (1992) 'Le Tour de France', in P. Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. II, *Les Traditions* (Paris: Gallimard). Translated as *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press), pp. 469–500.

Wagg, S. (1984) *The Football World: A Contemporary Social History* (Brighton: Harvester).

7

Erecting a European 'Lieu de mémoire'? Media Coverage of the 1966 World Cup and French Discussions about the 'Wembley Goal'

Jean Christophe Meyer

Introduction

Since 1954, the World Cup final has constantly been the top-rated media event with the greatest international audience.[1] In this category, the 1966 World Cup is a 'key-moment in the process of globalisation of football as well as the most important turning point in the bond between TV and the FIFA World Cup' (Chisari, 2006, p. 43) and its final is logically considered the competition's climax in terms of media coverage. The 1966 World Cup final was indeed the first to benefit from an intercontinental live transmission to North America, Northern Africa and the Middle East. There was an estimated total of about 400 million viewers in over 40 countries worldwide. The event was officially covered by 1,392 journalists, 172 photographers, 213 radio and 381 television reporters.[2] At this moment, the spectacular improvement of live media coverage made it obvious that the completion of the 'Great Stadium' was imminent. Contrary to the 'Small Stadium' designating neighbourly pitches welcoming popular amateur sporting practices, it refers to the mega-event taking place in the monumental arena and benefiting from multimedia coverage (Yonnet, 1998, pp. 7–8). For many observers, the technical innovations displayed by the BBC and the enormous audience ratings became memorable aspects of the English World Cup (Chisari, 2007, Chapter 4).

However, there are obviously additional decisive factors at work when it comes to televised football games. More than many other programmes, they have an impressive capacity to generate a 'gathering of

the tribe around the campfire' (McLuhan, 1964). Even though, in the case of live broadcasting, the television set will show the same pictures simultaneously in many different places, due to the subjectivity of commentators, it does not always tell the same story. Thus, it will provide fodder for all kinds of media production and private conversations. These start soon after the referee's final whistle and last for the next day or for a generation. Immediate comments and reactions caused by live broadcasting create a community of viewers, a 'kind of social force field'. Their peculiar relationships start at the beginning of the game and modulate under the influence of its diverse episodes (Gebauer, 2006, pp. 62–63). For the vast majority of viewers, emotional implication determines the perspective and the intensity with which they will experience the live broadcast of a match. The underlying mechanisms of identification behind most spontaneous scenes of joy celebrating a victory or behind melancholy after a defeat are fed by deep-rooted patriotism or nationalism (Sonntag, 1998; Yonnet, 2008). Beyond the stakes of a specific match, this emotional impetus will be magnified if there is heightened suspense which leads crowds to share the same emotions in a public space, thus carving it deeper into individual and collective memory.

With this in mind, Geoff Hurst's attempt that gave England a decisive advantage during the extra time of the 1966 final is without doubt one of the most legendary goals in the history of the World Cup for English and German football fans. But has the 'Wembley goal' also become an international and more precisely European *lieu de mémoire* for the crowds who sat in front of their television sets across the continent? What does it take for a sports event to be classified in this category in the first place?

Coined by the French historian Pierre Nora, the phrase *lieu de mémoire* designates all sorts of items ranging from concrete objects to abstract concepts. This approach logically includes monuments, symbols, popular sayings, legends, institutions and recurrent generic sports events like the *Bundesliga* for Germany (Gebauer, 2005, pp. 463–476) and the Tour de France for France (Vigarello, 1997, pp. 3801–3833). Evidently, tradition and worldwide audience are criteria for the addition of such mega sports competitions as the World Cup or the Olympic Games to any potential list of international *lieux de mémoire*.

But is such a categorisation equally pertinent for plays characterised by their swiftness and fugacity? Until the Internet revolution changed everything, only important parts of games were recorded on video or film for the news, mentioned in the print media and referred to in later

retrospective TV or radio shows. Brutal fouls, for example, generally might have shocked audiences in the very moment of their occurrence, but if they did not lead to a successful or victorious penalty or free kick, they were soon forgotten. Goals are the stuff of which most football legends are made. They prevent beautiful plays from degenerating into useless 'arabesques' (Gebauer, 2006, pp. 41–44). Before the Internet, how many spectators actually remembered the unsuccessful attack in which Pelé fooled Mazurkiewitz, the Uruguayan goalie, in the semi-finals of the 1970 World Cup, or his header deflected by Gordon Banks' 'unforgettable' save in the first round a few days earlier? Initially they only went down in football history because of 'genuine' football fans who read and talked almost daily about the game.

As for 1966, France's early and pathetic elimination from the tournament leads one logically to believe that most of the French public were not affected by the result of the final. Asserting that the 'famous Wembley goal' has become a recurrent reference for French football fans and media or not demands at least some research and verification.

1. Method

This chapter is mainly based on press material and archived administrative documents found at the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, the *Institut National de l'Audiovisuel*, the *Fédération Française de Football* and in the documentation centre of the daily newspaper *L'Équipe*. Beyond difficulties generally faced by historians, this study is limited by these facts: only the voiceovers of news stories were archived at that time, making it impossible to estimate how many times journalists mentioned the controversial 'Wembley goal' for one reason or another on the TV set, and without the keyword 'Wembley goal', it is impossible to find where it is mentioned in more recent documents. Despite these lacunae, this research hopefully provides a few interesting facts which shed light on the French media coverage and reception of the 'Wembley goal' in particular and the 1966 World Cup in general.

Importance has been attached to the initial collective emotion, probably the strongest, generated by the live and early perceptions of Geoff Hurst's attempt and the decision of Soviet linesman Tofik Bakhramov and Swiss referee Gottfried Dienst. Consequently, early comments were privileged in this approach. This study will first address the immediate French radio and TV coverage of the 1966 World Cup and its final. Comparisons with the BBC or German TV are made when they shed light on a French peculiarity. Finally, the reactions of the French press

will be reviewed. Priority will be given to the dominant sports daily *L'Équipe* and the influential magazines *France Football* and *Le Miroir du football*, all the more so since they reached very different conclusions after analysing the results of the competition and its development.

2. The radio coverage

Unfortunately, weekly TV and radio guides like *Télérama* and *Télé-Magazine* which are archived by the Institut National de l'Audiovisuel (INA) describe radio programmes in much less detail after 1960. In their articles about stars and events and in their weekly listings, there is absolutely no indication of any special radio coverage of the World Cup offered by public radio stations like *France Inter* and *Inter-Variétés* or their private competitors like *Radio Monte-Carlo*, *RTL* and *Europe n°1*. In the programmes listed in the radio pages of *Télérama*, only *Radio Bruxelles* announced complete live coverage of the final. Despite this fact, the archived evening radio news bulletin actually confirms that *France Inter* had offered live coverage of the final.[3] During the evening news report, the reader introduced the subject in a way that played down the importance of the actual course of the game. He preferred to focus on the new possibilities of public viewing offered by modern technology:

> So, everybody is happy and merry on the other side of the Channel and that is understandable, England has won the World Cup, they have beaten Germany, but in extra-time by 4 to 2 in Wembley this afternoon. This suspense-filled match was followed with vivid interest over here, I do not dare say with passion because one was sitting in front of the radio or in front of the TV screen. In Paris a cinema, the Gaumont Bosquets, relayed the TV pictures on the big screen and there, as one says, the people were living it up! A report from Claude Médieu.

This introduction is followed by interview bits with three spectators present at the cinema. None of them comments on the score and game incidents. The first person to be interviewed is a Greek student from the Sorbonne, speaking perfect French and regretting that he could not find a ticket for the game. Nevertheless, he sounds very enthusiastic about 'public viewing' in a cinema that, according to him, appears to be the best compensation for missing the real thing in the stadium. Then it is the turn of a German salesman on a professional trip to Paris to speak. His French is correct, but with an easily recognisable accent.

Once again, his testimony concerns only the quality of the show offered in the cinema. Finally, Claude Médieu's report at the *Gaumont Bosquets* ends with a climax of triviality. To his ritualised question 'How did you like seeing the game here?', a young German woman, sounding slightly tipsy, answers three times: 'Ich Deutsch … nix verstehen!'

At the end of this report, the news reader reminds the audience that Roland Mesmeur, Jean Raynal and Paul Laporte have reported live from Wembley in the afternoon. Then, the word goes back to Claude Médieu, who is present in the studio and has 'listened' to the live report on *France Inter*. Médieu gives a play-by-play summary of the match. Then, almost four minutes after the beginning of this subject, an eternity in radio, the third English goal is mentioned at last:

> Hurst scored the third goal during extra-time, goal for England after 10 minutes of extra-time, with a ball that hit the upper part of the German goal and finally went in or not. Nevertheless one should mention that the referee consulted his linesman and that the German players scarcely complained when the referee awarded the third goal … Was it a great final? Let's say that the match was nice, probably not as spectacular as one would have wished, because it must be remembered that English and Germans have a style that corresponds to one another. And I think I can say that, in the opinion of all those who saw most of the matches of this World Cup, the greatest game of the competition was the match opposing Brazil to Hungary in the first round.

In a very awkward and unarticulated style, Médieu's comment illustrates the main debate opposing the most notorious football critics of the time. He compares the romantic style represented by teams like Hungary and Brazil and its realistic counterpart characterised by solid defense discipline, close marking and physical engagement, a style generally associated with teams like England and Germany.

Then the reader introduces Roland Mesmeur, who is calling live from London. Mesmeur, an experienced TV and radio reporter by then, delivers a more precise view of things which absolutely ignores the dubious character of the third English goal:

> This English team has confirmed against Germany the excellent impression it had made facing Portugal and I would like to say that its merits should be all the more underlined since the opposition was different. It was far more difficult to produce a great show against

> this German team than against Portugal. You have stressed the fact that the English team failed to increase their advantage several times under favorable circumstances [sic].

Neither the news reader nor Claude Médieu had mentioned this element of the final. Mesmeur estimated that the score was justified since 'the Germans had too rigidly followed a strategy based on a strong defence'. He ended his call from London by insisting on the fact that both teams were warmly cheered at the end of the game and that the Germans even started the public cheering first, since their lap of honour was before that of the English team.

French TV spectators first heard about this eloquent expression of traditional British fair play on the evening radio news. The TV live report was interrupted while Bobby Moore was on his way to salute the Queen and be given the Coupe Jules Rimet. The movers and shakers of the *Office de Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française* (ORTF) had decided to stop relaying the Eurovision live broadcast from Wembley for a 3,000-metre race featuring Michel Jazy in La Baule. The race was commentated by Raymond Marcillac, a former track and field national champion, founder of the *Service des sports* of French television and, at the time, the official head of the French TV delegation to the 1966 World Cup. He probably thought that the final of a football tournament was not a priority compared to the provincial track and field event, which apparently had justified his early departure from London and return to France.

3. The TV coverage

In Europe the media coverage of the 1966 World Cup took place in a general context that is distinguished by the completion of the first phase of the industrialisation of television. All European countries taking part in the competition had sufficiently developed network relays to cover their national territories. Both international organisations, the Eurovision and the Intervision, regrouping public television corporations on either sides of the Iron Curtain had made an agreement with the BBC/ITV consortium to relay all the games according to the demand of their members. The use of *Ampex* theoretically allowed the television corporations which possessed this equipment to produce a round-up of the matches of the day without necessarily sending a crew to the stadium or buying extra 16 mm films from news agencies or from the BBC.[4] They could also repeat a live transmission at any time and at the relatively low cost of a recording on a magnetic band.

Actually, French public television did not invest much at all in the coverage of the 1966 World Cup.[5] It limited its coverage to relaying some full-length live transmissions produced by the BBC for Eurovision on the first channel. Late broadcasts of recordings of second halves, preserved thanks to *Ampex* video equipment, were aired on the second channel covering only 40 per cent of the national territory by then. Only three out of nine million television sets were equipped to receive this programme (cf. Table 7.1). It was absolutely unthinkable for the ORTF top managers to systematically relay the BBC live broadcast of games starting at 7.30 pm Paris time on the first channel. This would have forced them to postpone the start of the evening news show by a quarter of an hour and to reduce its length to fit into the half-time pause. The games of the French team against Mexico and England in the first round and the semi-final pitting Germany against the USSR were the only exceptions to the ritualised daily agenda of French TV spectators.

Despite the organisation of the World Cup, in the summer of 1966, like every year, the Tour de France was the absolute priority of French public television. Things are still the same today, all the more so because since the mid-1980s, public television has lost top-level live football to the privatised TF1 and pay-per-view channels like Canal+. Technicians and journalists were mobilised every July to deliver a daily programme relayed by Eurovision that was the showcase in which French television know-how and technology were displayed. At least one *tour de force* like a live transmission from the top of Alpine or Pyrenean passes could not be missed in this programme. As always, men and technical means were exhausted on arrival in Paris on 14 July 1966. The first went on vacation while vehicles and all the rest received overhaul and repair.

Most news stories broadcast about the 1966 World Cup were purchased from news agencies or other TV corporations. (Table 7.2) They are accessible in the INA archives and may be viewed in a digitalised version, especially the eight that were aired after the final. Tables 7.1 and 7.2 show that, unlike British and German screens, not every match of the 1966 World Cup was shown on French television, not even in the form of a preserved second half or a story aired in the news or sports shows.

Unfortunately, as mentioned above, comments made by journalists present on the set were not recorded and are now lost. This is particularly regrettable, for the story aired during the evening news report of 30 July 1966. The ORTF technicians had first recorded the complete live relay of the final using kinescope technology, a low-tech recording process of quite poor quality.[6] They then used it to throw together a newsreel-style story showing the kick-off, all the goals and the final

Table 7.1 Live coverage of the World Cup 1966 by ORTF

Date	Time	Channel	Match
13/7/1966	19:25–21:16	1	France-Mexico
13/7/1966	22:38–23:24	2	Chile-Italy (second half)
15/7/1966	19:25–21:15	1	France-Uruguay
15/7/1966	22:15–23:00	2	Brazil-Hungary (second half)
16/7/1966	19:25–21:12	1	England-Mexico
16/7/1966	22:22–23:09	2	USSR-Italy (second half)
19/7/1966	16:20–18:18	1	Mexico-Uruguay
19/7/1966	22:13–23:01	2	Brazil-Portugal (second half)
20/7/1966	19:25–21:14	1	France-England
20/7/1966	21:45–22:33	2	France-England (second half)
22/7/1966	21:04–21:53	2	Germany-Spain (second half)
23/7/1966	14:56–16:47	1	USSR-Hungary
23/7/1966	21:32–22:21	2	Portugal-North Korea (second half)
25/7/1966	19:25–21:17	1	Semi-final: USSR-Germany
25/7/1966	22:17–23:00	2	Semi-final: USSR-Germany (second half)
26/7/1966	19:25–21:17	1	Semi-final: England-Portugal
26/7/1966	22:14–23:01	2	Semi-final: England-Portugal (second half)
28/7/1966	19:25–21:12	1	Third place match: USSR-Portugal
28/7/1966	22:14–23:01	2	Third place match: USSR-Portugal
30/7/1966	14:45–17:17	1	Final: England-Germany
30/7/1966	22:30–01:03	2	Final: England-Germany

Table 7.2 Complete list of World Cup 1966 stories aired in news and sport shows by ORTF during the competition

Day	Time	Channel	News Programme and Title of Report	Duration, Material and Origin
10/7/1966	20:20	1	'Sports Dimanche': Training Camp of the French Team in Scotland	Not indicated
11/7/1966	13:00	1	JT 13 heures: Wembley, last preparations	1'27'' 16 mm (EVN)
11/7/1966	23:01	1	JT Nuit: Wembley, last preparations	1'27'' 16 mm (EVN)
12/7/1966	20:00	1	JT 20 heures: Live from Wembley	Not indicated
13/7/1966	23:53	1	JT Nuit: World Cup	*Ampex* (BBC)

15/7/1966	23:42	1	JT Nuit: After France-Uruguay	*Ampex* (BBC)
18/7/1966	20:00	1	JT 20 heures: Before France-England	*Ampex* (BBC)
19/7/1966	20:00	1	JT 20 heures: Before France-England	3′ Direct
21/7/1966	13:00	1	JT 13 heures: Comments about the World Cup	*Ampex* (BBC)
22/7/1966	13:00	1	JT 13 heures: Return of the French team	*Ampex* (TF)
22/7/1966	23:03	1	JT Nuit: Sadness of Football Fans in Rio de Janeiro	1′02″ 16 mm (EVN)
22/7/1966	23:03	1	JT Nuit: Return of the Italian team	54″ 16 mm (EVN)
24/7/1966	20:20	1	'Sports Dimanche': Duplex with London	Direct
25/7/1966	13:00	1	JT 13 heures: About the World Cup London – São Paulo	16 mm (ORTF & EVN)
27/7/1966	13:00	1	JT 13 heures: Departure of the Argentinian team	1′52″ 16 mm (EVN)
30/7/1966	13:00	1	JT 13 heures: Before the World Cup final	16 mm (BBC)
30/7/1966	13:00	1	JT 13 heures: German team signs autographs	16 mm (ITN)
30/7/1966	13:00	1	JT 13 heures: Fair Play Cup awarded to Portugal	16 mm (UP)
30/7/1966	13:00	1	JT 13 heures: Return of the Argentinian team	16 mm (CBS)
30/7/1966	20:00	1	JT 20 heures: Summary of the final	16 mm Kinescope
30/7/1966	23:50	1	JT Nuit: the Queen Presents the World Cup	55″ 16 mm (BBC)
30/7/1966	23:50	1	JT Nuit: Comments on the World Cup	*Ampex* (BBC)
31/7/1966	13:00	1	JT 13 heures: Reception & Players' Banquet	(EVN)
31/7/1966	20:00	1	JT 20 heures: Reception & Players' Banquet	(EVN)
31/7/1966	20:00	1	JT 20 heures: After the World Cup	16 mm (EVN)
1/8/1966	13:00	1	JT 13 heures: Return of German Team to Francfort	1′05″ 16 mm (UP)
4/8/1966	13:00	1	JT 13 heures: Return of Portuguese Team to Lisbon	1′06″ 16 mm (EVN)

JT = '*Journal Télévisé*' (regular news programme)

whistle. In addition to the story, they copied kinescope pictures of the third English goal twice. This evening news report first shows a young Michel Drucker[7] launching the story while sitting in the studio next to anchorman Maurice Séveno. At the end of the 3'40'' story, Drucker appears again on screen to introduce the above-mentioned third goal awarded to Hurst. Considering the loss of sharpness due to kinescope technology, the fact that the action was shot by the main BBC camera located in the VIP stand and that the edited material was hardly adapted to produce a slow-motion sequence, it is no wonder that its viewing was of no great help to the public in deciding if it was a goal or not.[8] Nevertheless, the repeated projection of the controversial play certainly contributed to making Tofik Bakhramov's absolute certainty appear quite odd. Although we cannot be sure of Drucker's comment, it is hard to imagine that he contradicted what was said by Thierry Roland during the live television broadcast of the final. The transcription of the comments made by Rudi Michel (ARD) and Kenneth Wolstenholme (BBC) was added to this passage of our study because the comparison might show some revealing differences:

> **Thierry Roland (ORTF)**: It was a throw of the dice during the second half-time … now it's even more the case than during the second half-time, it's absolute luck that may decide over this match's result … Watch out, a cross from Ball … careful … a point-blank shot from Hurst! Goal!!!!! And the referee had indicated before … is there an off-side position? Because the referee … 'Did the ball cross the line?' The referee Mr Dienst is asking his linesman. The ball bounced more or less on the line and the goal is hard to verify, Oh! It is awarded to the English team. Really, it is very difficult to judge in this case, because the ball really practically bounced on the white line … Well, go and see on which side it really was then. I admire the linesman to be so categorical. Anyway this is an advantage that could prove to be decisive for England's team. Restart at the middle of the field, the English lead 3 to 2 after this dubious but awarded goal.[9]

Compared with Thierry Roland, Kenneth Wolstenholme appears as an eloquent example of a BBC-style reporter: sobriety, understatement, wit and self-control are everything:

> **Kenneth Wolstenholme (BBC)**: Here's Ball running himself out … Yes! Yes! No! The linesman says no! The linesman says no! It's a goal! It's a goal! All the Germans go mad at the referee … at the linesman

> who can only speak Russian and Turkish … So England are in the lead again, 3–2.[10]

German star reporter Rudi Michel showed even more restraint than usual:

> **Rudi Michel (ARD)**: Careful, careful, hey! Not in the goal! No goal! Or is it? Now what will the linesman decide? Goal! At first Referee Dienst had not awarded the goal. Oh Lord, that will feed discussions now![11]

When Helmut Haller opened the score for the German team 12 minutes after the kick-off, Rudi Michel only announced it with a brief and lively but in no way exuberant 'Goal!'. He often used the English word 'goal' instead of the German 'Tor' when commentating on the 1966 World Cup. Then he kept silent for no less than 32 seconds. He justified his choice of this style of comment as follows:

> We were the first generation of commentators after the war. We were aware of the burden we had to carry. And when you listen to radio live coverage of the Third Reich, you realise what kind of reactions they provoked and it was just a horror for the young people we were at that time.[12]

Only 20 years after the war, Rudi Michel considered that it was not appropriate to celebrate German goals scored against England too loudly, all the more so if the match took place in Britain. Two decades had passed since the end of the war and all wounds were not healed. But then again, there was absolutely no reason why French commentators had to censor their speech about the course of a match and a competition won by one of France's traditional rivals. And Thierry Roland did not see the necessity of talking in riddles while pinpointing that 'all gods of football had been on England's side' during this competition:

> End of the first half of the extra-time. Both teams will change sides and the game will start right away with an advantage for England, three goals to two, thanks to this goal by Hurst that will remain litigious for a lot of people I guess. One can really say that during this World Cup the English had all the possible luck on their side. Not only is the World Cup organised in their country, for them, but they played all their games in Wembley, they always had the maximal

> time to rest between their matches … But if ever it is thanks to this goal that the English win the World Cup, they may well thank and worship all the gods of football, because for a time period of 15 days, these gods of football were on their side. I must confess that from the position where we are seated, that is some hundred metres away from the action, from where this controversial shot by Hurst happened and in this overhanging position over the lawn of Wembley, it is absolutely impossible to tell if the shot went in Tilkowski's goal or not. The Germans protested as one man, all of them, and I have to say that the linesman Mr Bakhramov was not as positive in the very moment of the action as he seemed to be when Mr Dienst came to ask him what he had seen. He first started indicating that he had not seen quite well what had happened. And when Mr Dienst came and he told him 'Yes it is a goal!', I must say that Mr Bakhramov took on a huge responsibility. As far as I'm concerned, I'm not sure at all if the ball completely crossed the white line.[13]

Ten minutes before the end, Thierry Roland repeatedly insisted on the contentious character of Hurst's second goal: 'The Germans may rightly complain about Mr Bakhramov the linesman. But that goal, we will talk about it for a long time to come, if it turns out to be decisive, that is.'[14]

It is no exaggeration to state that despite the presence at Wembley Stadium of more than a dozen BBC cameras and of all the others, the opinion of the French audience could not objectively be founded on the film material at its disposal. Only three of the stories that aired on 30 and 31 July are actually focused on the match; the others show pictures of programmed or spontaneous festivities happening after the game and the return of the heroes. None of them shows Hurst's attempt filmed from an angle that would put an end to the debate. Gathering or showing film material liable to resolve the mystery of the 'Wembley goal' did not appear to be a priority for the *Service des sports*, especially given that the national team was not in the least bit involved. However, one can suppose that the Eurovision network or the news agencies could have provided more than one version of the 'Wembley goal' had it been deemed necessary. For example, by the end of September 1966, *France Football* mentioned in a short notice that Yugoslavian television had retaliated against a federal refusal to broadcast domestic games live. They packaged a special World Cup programme and aired it at the same moment as kick-off time on the first two match days. They showed the goals of all the World Cup games until the semi-finals on the first match day and the final on the

second. The rerun of the final was completed with 'a special analysis of the famous third goal for England'.[15]

French public television never programmed a rerun of the 1966 World Cup final. Checking the written archives of French television at INA, there was evidence only for three sports reports explicitly focusing on the 1966 final during the three following decades. They were aired as part of retrospectives of World Cup history programmed before the 1978, 1982 and 1994 editions of the tournament. I took the opportunity to watch them all again and it was clear that for French commentators, the 'Wembley goal' had become a trivial anecdote which had lost its polemical potential and political dimension. This view of things may partly be explained by the sharp rivalry between France and Germany in the 1980s. The *Mannschaft* – as the German team is typically referred to in the French media – did not have many fans in French television sports departments, which were eager to 'restore the truth about the Wembley goal'. Whatever the psychological motives may be, there were only three archival references found and they were always part of other documents about diverse World Cups. This is evidence that the 'Wembley goal' cannot be considered as a *lieu de mémoire* shared by a noticeable part of the French population having an average interest in sports. Unlike England and Germany, this segment of the national collectivity that is commonly designated as 'football fans' has not infused the 'Wembley goal' with its affect and emotions.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the successive contributions of super-slow-motion cameras and computer simulation had no noticeable impact on how French people remembered the game. They merely discovered an amusing application of new technological means. Along with many German and English newspapers, *L'Équipe*, *France Football* and *Le Miroir du Football* published photographs that they claimed proved that it was or wasn't a goal. This was before the development of 3D simulation programmes that obtained results ending discussions in the German and English press.[16] In addition to super-slow motion, eagle-eye cameras and additional linesman posted behind the goal, digital technology appeared as the ultimate technological means preventing another 'Wembley goal' remaining unresolved for television audiences.

4. The press coverage

Although television may not have been as dominant in 1966 as it is today, it is obvious that many more people watched the game on

television than listened to the live radio coverage or read the press reports on Monday 1 August 1966. In this context, we have chosen to focus our research on the sports press, first because it logically offers a more detailed analysis than the general-interest press and also because *L'Équipe* had been an opinion leader since it replaced *L'Auto* in 1946. On Monday 1 August 1966, it was surely among the best-selling and was certainly the most-read of the French daily newspapers.[17]

Immediate press reactions published that week defended various positions concerning consequences and possible explanations for the numerous failures of the referees during the whole tournament. But almost all authors agreed on two points. First, most of them pointed out that the two or even three last goals were not valid. Relying on what could be seen from the press stand and on their photographers' pictures available early enough to be printed in the Monday edition, the journalists from *L'Équipe* chose to stress that England was 'a real champion', although the last three goals of the game were controversial. Thus, the sports daily published a photograph on its front page allegedly proving that Schnellinger played a handball before Weber scored in the very last second of the regular time, an opinion logically relayed by the weekly *France Football* belonging to the same press group.[18] Actually, this proved only that none of their journalists present in London watched the final on the BBC. Nor did any one of them see the BBC rerun of the game or news reports.[19] The BBC camera captured the action from the reverse angle and the slow-motion instant replay clearly shows that Held's shot hit Schnellinger's back and not his arm.[20] The second and probably most important point is that most journalists thought it was literally impossible for Tofik Bakhramov, the Soviet linesman, to see the action clearly enough to make a sound decision. The general undertone of the mixture of reactions to be found in some 50 articles of varying lengths which were reviewed for this study was that Mr Bakhramov more or less impartially made an extravagant decision relying on mere personal conviction. But two diverging if not opposed journalistic approaches were founded on this basis. Not surprisingly, one stand was taken by *L'Équipe* and *France Football*, the so-called 'right-wing sports press', and its opposite was taken by *Le Miroir du Football* and *Miroir Sprint*, the 'left-wing sports press'. The debate can be roughly summarised as follows: *L'Équipe* and *France Football* regretted and denounced the failures of the men in black without contesting the fact that England was a deserving World Champion. For *Le Miroir du Football* and *Miroir Sprint*, Geoff Hurst's second personal goal was the icing on the cake and just another occasion to go in for Stanley Rous bashing.

In *L'Équipe* Robert Vergne wrote that unless nature had endowed the linesman with an electronic eye, not much credit could be given to his assertion that he had seen the ball completely pass the goal line. Furthermore, Vergne expressed his contentment that it was the Germans who had had such a misadventure, not because of some historically motivated resentment, but, on the contrary, because they were probably the only team able to show so much fair play in such a situation. Trivially, Vergne concluded that if the Argentines had been in the Germans' place, it would have ended differently.[21] François Thébaud, Editor-in-Chief of *Le Miroir du Football*, was not in the mood for jokes. The title of his editorial published in the *Miroir Sprint* on 1 August was plain: 'The World Cup Got the Poor Final it Deserved and the Winner "Wanted" by Stanley Rous.'[22] François Thébaud, Roger De Somer and their colleagues were filled with dismay by the fact that no South American team took part in the semi-finals. They hated the fact that the style of football based, according to them, on sheer physical strength if not brutality and defensive discipline had triumphed over the offensive, technical and creative football supposedly played at its best by Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. For them, it was obviously the result of a plot in which Stanley Rous played the part of the Lord of Darkness. Of course, the 'conspiracy theory' cannot be ignored *a priori*, although some of its arguments do not stand up to serious analysis. Nevertheless, Thébaud was persistent in his accusations against Rous for having fixed the whole tournament. In his opinion, the 'Wembley goal', the controversial red card against Argentina's captain Rattin and the scandalous indulgence referees demonstrated while Pelé was chased and injured right in front of them were symptoms of a deep crisis that had seized FIFA as an organisation.[23] In September 1966, Thébaud published an editorial which was extremely aggressive against Stanley Rous. It said that the President of FIFA's allegedly reckless unfairness could jeopardise the unity of world football for having treated South American federations with great contempt. Thébaud opted for a provocative title including a rhetorical question. Its undertone was not free of typically French anglophobia: 'Unity of Football in Great Danger. Is Stanley Rous Going to Ruin Jules Rimet's Lifetime Achievement?'[24]

Two months and an extraordinary Congress of the Confederación Sudamericana de Fútbol (CONMEBOL) later, Thébaud had to admit that despite the dozens of interviews in which South American officials had complained about the unfairness of the World Cup organisation, the numerous clashes had not ended with a spectacular split and withdrawal from FIFA. He tarred all CONMEBOL officials with the same

brush for having 'acquitted Stanley Rous' and announced that the FIFA President could not get away with it in the eyes of the public.[25]

Negative opinions of Stanley Rous and his little manoeuvres in the dark were not absent at all from the pages of *L'Équipe* or *France Football*. However, they were mostly reported statements and were very seldom frontal attacks launched by a staff member. The Shakespearian title of Jacques Ferran's editorial published in *France Football* a little over a week after the final reveals a great deal about the dominant sports press group's position on the matter: 'Not Everything is Foul in the Kingdom of Football.'[26]

The influence that the FIFA President had over referees and the obvious marks of favouritism granted to England became an issue even for general interest newspapers dealing with football in a detached manner. On 2 August 1966, Jean Marquet mentioned the 'Wembley goal' as follows in *Le Monde*:

> A Soviet gave the World Cup as a present to England. The result of the 1966 competition has in fact been decided by a simple assertion of this linesman. He saw the ball slightly in the German goal … It is absolutely terrible that the great world competition had an ending that is bound to leave the Germans and the neutral observers that we were with a bitter taste in our mouths … Despite all the reservations that must honestly be made about the happy circumstances or secret supports that helped on the way to victory, one must admit that England is worthy of its World Cup.[27]

Systematic review of editions of *Le Monde, Libération* or *Le Figaro* published during the weeks preceding every World Cup in the 1970s and 1980s did not result in finding an article focused on the 'Wembley goal'. At *L'Équipe*, the Assistant Director of the documentation centre, Mr Thierry Dengerma, was kind enough to spent considerable time carrying out exhaustive research in its digital archives, which include complete collections of *L'Équipe*, *L'Équipe Magazine*, *France Football* and *Football Magazine* targeting a time period from 1967 to 2013. Using the search engine of *L'Équipe*, he found only a total of six articles matching keywords like 'Wembley goal', 'Hurst', 'Bakhramov', 'Dienst' or 'Finale de la Coupe du monde 1966' for the above-mentioned chronological segment.

Conclusion

On 30 July 1966, Wembley hosted the World Cup final between England and Germany, who were to become two of the game's fiercest rivals.

The sporting event was charged with historical reminiscences, especially memories of the Second World War. After a suspense-filled game, it was the controversial 'Wembley goal' scored by a 'magnificent substitute' and awarded by a Soviet linesman that secured the first and, until now, sole World Cup victory of the motherland of football. This fact certainly contributed to the legendary dimension of the 1966 final and to the passionate debates it has generated until today, at least in Germany and England.[28]

It is not easy to judge to what extent the French public, a 'neutral' audience, was moved by the 'Wembley goal' and how long this impression remained vivid in their memories.[29] For many of them, it was a Saturday afternoon TV show that was aired and then vanished. For a few, it was a symptom of the imperfection affecting the organisation of their favourite game, even or especially when it came to top-level international matches. Technological issues soon replaced political considerations about the geopolitics of football when the 'Wembley goal' happened to be mentioned. Until now, it has been mostly referred to by specialists pleading for more technological support for referees. For the majority of these specialists, FIFA is a desperately reactionary gentlemen's club or mafia and a perfect illustration of the Latin saying 'errare humanum est, perseverare diabolicum'. For the other side, the 'Wembley goal' was the best example of technology's limitations and the human dimension of the game until fast 3D simulation programmes were developed.

Since 1966, the commodification of football, the growing omnipresence of television and the globalisation of the economy have certainly been major factors in the appearance of global stars whose images are ubiquitous beyond national borders. Today, football megastars advertising for global companies often mainly represent themselves or a product, even when they play for their national team. They convey values that are often transnational in nature or are the result of a global marketing strategy.

Will their sporting achievements in the 'Great Stadium', viewed live and shared online by millions, become international *Lieux de mémoire*? Probably, but simultaneously their virtual avatar will play for endless hours in a world where 'Wembley goals' and 'Tofik Bakhramovs' do not exist. They will have to linger in video games purgatory even long after their election to the Hall of Fame of international football.

Notes

1. Before the 1970 World Cup final between Brazil and Italy, for example, the international sports press stressed the fact that it would beat by far the audience record established by the Apollo XI moon landing on 20 July 1969. Cf. 'Le

monde entier devant la TV pour Brésil-Italie' ['The Whole World in Front of the TV Set for Brazil v. Italy'], *L'Équipe*, 21 June 1970, pp. 1–4. All titles and quotations from the French and German media have been translated by the author.

2. 'Édition Anglaise World Cup 66' ['English Edition World Cup 66'], *France Football* n° 1117, 8 August 1966, p. 21.
3. Cf. Radio Programme, *Télérama* n° 861, 17–23 June 1966, pp. 41–57 and *Télérama* n° 862, 24–30 June 1966, pp. 41–58. Archives INA: *Interactualités 20 heures, France Inter* (30 July 1966), Réf. Identifiant Notice CAF95009089. The archives of French private radio stations constituted before 1992 are not accessible for research. Until then, there was no legal obligation for private media to give copies of what was aired to the INA.
4. German and French public television have possessed this equipment since the late 1950s. In the USA, CBS had produced the first magnetically recorded time-delayed television network programme thanks to *Ampex* equipment on 30 November 1956.
5. On the contrary, both German public television channels, ARD and ZDF, spent more than a million Deutschemarks together and mobilised over 100 journalists and technicians to cover the competition and produce daily shows with their own film material. Cf. 'Weltmeisterschaft : Live aus London' ['World Cup: Live from London'], *Der Spiegel* n° 28, 4 July 1966, p. 62. Available at: www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-46407904.html (date accessed 5 November 2014).
6. Also known as 'telerecording' in Britain, kinescope is a recording of a television programme made by filming the picture from a video monitor. Kinescopes were the only practical way to preserve live television broadcasts prior to the introduction of videotape (*Ampex*) in 1956. According to our interlocutors at the INA Archives, kinescope was still frequently used in France in 1966 simply because 16 mm films were cheaper to produce than videotapes and technicians were more experienced with that equipment.
7. Today Michel Drucker (71) is a dinosaur of French television and one of the most famous national media stars. The letter we sent him to enquire if he remembered what he said on that occasion remained unanswered.
8. Pictures made by a German camera located near the corner from which Ball shot his cross-ball towards Hurst tend to show quite clearly that the ball did not completely cross the line. A similar conclusion is drawn by star sports photographer Sven Simon, who snapped the picture showing the ball nearest to the goal line. Cf. *Der Fluch von Wembley Gerschichte eines Jahrhundert-Tores* 3/5 (timer reference: 02'25'') www.youtube.com/watch?v=V-ED3MaE054 (date accessed 17 November 2014).
9. Archives INA. *Finale Coupe du monde 1966* (30 July 1966). Réf. Identifiant Notice: CPF 86631039 (timer reference: 2:07'30'').
10. *1966 World Cup Final* (BBC) (full-length) (timer reference: 1:28'35'') www.youtube.com/watch?v=HGN8BtnupEk (date accessed 17 November 2014).
11. *Der Fluch von Wembley Gerschichte eines Jahrhundert-Tores* 3/5 (timer reference: 05'25'') www.youtube.com/watch?v=V-ED3MaE054 (date accessed 17 November 2014).
12. *Der Fluch von Wembley Gerschichte eines Jahrhundert-Tores* 1/5 (Timer reference: 07'29'') https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N7L4Xcdmzk0 (date accessed 17 November 2014).
13. Archives INA. *Finale Coupe du monde 1966* (30 July 1966). Réf. Identifiant Notice: CPF 86631039 (timer reference: 2:12'48'').

14. *Ibid*. (timer reference: 2:17'9'').
15. 'La revanche de la TV' ['TV's Revenge'], *France Football* n° 1077, 27 September 1966, p. 31.
16. 'Mondial 1966 : Le but de Hurst valide' ['World Cup 1966: Hurst's Goal Valid'], *L'Équipe*, 31 March 1998, p. 6.
17. More than half a million copies of the daily were printed. A total of 170,000 copies of the World Cup special issue of *France Football* were published the following day.
18. Jacques Ferran, 'Angleterre Vrai Champion – Score virtuel : 2-1 – Les 3 derniers buts contestables' ['England the Real Champion – Virtual Score: 2-1. 3 Last Goals Questionable'], *L'Équipe*, 1 August 1966, p. 1, 'Un champion du monde incontestable mais 3 buts sur 6 non valables' ['An Unquestionable World Champion But 3 Goals Out of 6 are Not Valid!'], *France Football*, n° 1064, 2 August 1966, pp. 14–15.
19. I interviewed both Jacques Ferran (*L'Équipe*, *France Football*) and Rainer Holzschuh (*Der Kicker*) for my doctoral research. Holzschuh remembered that in the 1960s there was only one TV set in *Der Kicker*'s news department, but Ferran stressed the fact that it was not until the 1980s that the French daily systematically designated an intern or a debuting reporter to watch televised football games in the news department. His mission consisted of preventing the publication of gross mistakes made by their special correspondents present in press stands. He confirmed that in 1966 the staff from *L'Équipe* and *France Football* left London immediately after the game to prepare the big Monday edition of the daily and the World Cup special edition of the weekly to be published on Tuesday 2 August. It was not until the late 1980s that most press stands were equipped with TV monitors for print journalists. Ferran told me that until his retirement in 1985 and due to severe deadlines for article transmission to the typesetters, he almost never viewed a slow-motion sequence concerning a game he had watched in the stadium as a reporter.
20. Some legends die hard. Long after the popularisation of the Internet, *France Football* reporter Yoann Rioux wrote a retrospective article on the 1966 English team in which he asserted that Weber scored after Schnellinger had played a handball. He had probably only checked in-house archives. Cf. Yoann Rioux, 'Angleterre 66, le souffle de l'histoire' ['England 66, Writing History'], *France Football* n° 2937 bis, 26 July 2002, p. 28.
21. Robert Vergne, 'Ce fut une « Happy End »' ['It Was a "Happy End"'], *L'Équipe*, 1 August 1966, p. 4. For an additional French recognition of German dignity in defeat and English fair play, see also Jacques Ferran, 'Bien plus qu'un match' ['Much More than a Game'], *L'Équipe*, 1 August 1966, p. 1.
22. François Thébaud, 'La *World Cup* a reçu la pauvre finale qu'elle méritait et le vainqueur « voulu » par Stanley Rous' ['The World Cup Got the Poor Final it Deserved and the Winner "Wanted" by Stanley Rous'), *Miroir Sprint*, n° 1052, 1 August 1966, pp. 6–7.
23. François Thébaud, 'La *World Cup* a révélé toute la crise du football et indiqué la voie du redressement' ['The World Cup Revealed Completely the Crisis of Football and Indicated the Way to Recovery'], *Le Miroir du Football*, n° 84, August 1966, p. 3.
24. François Thébaud, 'L'unité du football en péril. Stanley Rous va-t-il détruire l'œuvre de Jules Rimet ?' ['Unity of Football in Great Danger. Is Stanley Rous Going to Ruin Jules Rimet's Lifetime Achievement?'], *Le Miroir du Football*, n° 85, September 1966, p. 3.

25. 'Des réquisitoires féroces' ['Ferocious Indictments'], *Le Miroir du Football* n° 87, November 1966, pp. 24–25; François Thébaud, 'Stanley Rous acquitté par les dirigeants qui l'ont cloué au pilori, mais pas par l'opinion publique' ['Stanley Rous Acquitted by the Officials Who Pilloried Him But Not by Public Opinion'], *Le Miroir du Football*, n° 87, November 1966, p. 24.
26. Jacques Ferran, 'Tout n'est pas pourri au royaume du football' ['Not Everything is Foul in the Kingdom of Football'], *France Football*, n° 1065, 9 August 1966, p. 4.
27. Jean Marquet, 'L'Angleterre digne de la Coupe du monde malgré un score contestable' ['England Worthy of the World Cup Despite Questionable Score'], *Le Monde*, 2 August 1966, p. 9.
28. It is eloquent that YouTube lately erased all comments caused by *1966 World Cup Final (BBC) (Full-length)*, informing the public as follows: **Comments for this video deleted and disabled due to too much partisan abuse!** See also *FIFA WC Final 1966 -The Truth- (Die Wahrheit)* www.youtube.com/watch?v=mvxVGMOgmcU (date accessed 11 November 2014).
29. Due to the performances of the 'Équipe tricolore', the French public was condemned to the status of neutral or only briefly concerned World Cup audience between 1958 and 1982.

References

Chisari, F. (2006) 'When Football Went Global: Televising the 1966 World Cup', *Historical Social Research*, 31(1), 42–54.

———. (2007) 'The Age of Innocence: A History of the Relationship between Football Authorities and the BBC Television Service, 1937–82', PhD thesis, De Montfort University, especially 'Part II – Televising a Major Football Event: The 1966 World Cup', pp. 257–320.

Crolley, L. and Hand, D. (2002) *Football, Europe and the Press* (London: Frank Cass).

———. (2006) *Football and European Identity: Historical Narratives through the Press* (London: Routledge).

Crolley, L., Hand, D. and Jeutter, R. (1998) 'National Obsessions and Identities in Football Match Reports', in A. Brown (ed.), *Fanatics! Power, Identity and Fandom in Football* (London: Routledge), pp. 173–185.

Dayan, D. and Katz, E. (1985) *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).

Dietschy, P., Gastaut, Y. and Mourlane, S. (2006), *Histoire politique des Coupes du monde de football* (Paris: Vuibert).

Gebauer, G. (2005) 'Die Bundesliga', in E. François and H. Schulze (eds), *Deutsche Ernnerungsorte – Eine Auswahl* (Munich: C.H. Beck), pp. 463–476.

———. (2006) *Poetik des Fußballs* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag).

McLuhan, M. (1964), *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: Mentor).

Sonntag, A. (1998) 'Le football, image de la nation', in P. Boniface (ed.), *Géopolitique du football* (Brussels: Éditions Complexe), pp. 36–45.

Vigarello, G. (1997) 'Le Tour de France', in P. Nora (ed.), *Les Lieux de mémoire*, Tome III, *Les Frances*, vol. 2: *Traditions* (Paris: Gallimard), pp. 3801–3833.

Yonnet, P. (1998) *Système des sports* (Paris: Gallimard).

———. 'Composants de l'identité, mécanismes de l'identification', in J.M. De Waele and A. Husting (eds), *Football et identités* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles), pp. 19–30.

8

George Best, a European Symbol, a European Hero?

David Ranc

Introduction

Invented in the inter-war period by French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (Halbwachs, 1925 and 1950), the notion of collective memory (*mémoire collective*) surmises that the act of remembering is never entirely solitary and that, instead, even personal memories are shaped by the values and norms of a collective, expressed both in what that collective has decided to remember or forget and in the ways that items are remembered (or, conversely, forgotten). The notion was soon taken up by historians. In Jacques Le Goff's groundbreaking *La Nouvelle Histoire* (1978), Pierre Nora's chapter considered the contribution that an analysis of a collective group's memory could make to cultural history. This is the same Pierre Nora who initiated and directed a gigantic study on the *cultural* collective memory of a quintessentially *political* object France, *Les lieux de mémoire* (Nora, 1984–1992), published over eight years in three volumes (*La République*, *La Nation* and *Les Frances*) between 1984 and 1992. Though criticised by Henry Rousso for its vagueness (Rousso, 1987), the notion of *lieu de mémoire* can be construed as any item (material or immaterial) which has been saved from oblivion by a collective, especially local or national, and which has also been invested with values (in a broad sense) that still make sense in the contemporary context. A *lieu de mémoire* is the consequence of the existence of a collective memory. Perhaps because of its flexibility, the notion of *lieu de mémoire* has been seized upon by historians and a flurry of other social scientists from various countries and applied to many different contexts: national, local, and even transnational, political, cultural, social, etc.

These studies postulated that when a collective exists, it must be embodied in *lieux de mémoire* and therefore logically set out to research

those *lieux*, sometimes in order to establish the values of the collective, some might say its *ideology* (following Marx and Engels, 2009). However, the collective is always the starting point. Equally, it may be possible to see the question from the opposite point of view and use the notion to do some reverse engineering: if the existence of *lieux de mémoire* can be demonstrated, this would be proof that a collective does exist. In the academic field of Political Science/European (Union) Studies, a substantial subfield looks at the existence of a European sentiment or, conversely, the lack thereof (see, for example, Magnette, 1999; McCormick, 2010). Literature on this topic generally emphasises the dearth of a common perceived European citizenship, which would be a shared sense of belonging across the continent and the British Isles. According to several of these theories, Europe or, more precisely, the European Union (EU) may not be a collective, as it currently lacks a united imaginary.

The place of sport in this imaginary has long been contentious. Commissioned by the European Council, the 1985 Adonnino report on *A People's Europe* (Adonnino, 1985) even went as far as suggesting in its point 5.9 that a European feeling could be developed, and among other propositions made the suggestion that either European Community (EC) sports teams, or EC/EU-wide competitions (in cycling, for example) could encourage a feeling of Europeanness. The ability of sports to mobilise and potentially shape identities was therefore recognised at the highest political levels of the EC/EU about 30 years ago. Thus, from a reverse-engineering perspective, the question of the *lieux de mémoire* may be applied to sport too. If there exists a shared memory of sport, attested by the existence of specific transnational *lieux de mémoire* within the EU (or within 'Europe' as it is variously defined in different sporting contexts, for example, UEFA in football), then the EU would exist as a collective. The politics/culture nexus is also studied from the opposite perspective used in Nora's *Les lieux de mémoire*: a political phenomenon was studied from a cultural point of view: instead, here, a cultural phenomenon is studied to answer questions originating in the political sphere, that is, political questions (as has already been done explicitly, for example, in Dietschy *et al.*, 2006).

The most widely played and watched sport within Europe is undoubtedly association football (or 'soccer' in American English, and hereinafter referred to as 'football'). It may therefore provide the best case study to test these hypotheses (some groundbreaking research on the topic has already supplied ample evidence on football's contribution to European

identities: see Sonntag, 2008, 2009a and 2009b; Dietschy *et al.*, 2009; Ranc, 2011; and for a national case: John *et al.*, 2010). Among the potential *lieux de mémoire* that football may be able to provide, many probably lack the transnational dimension. Allegiance or attachment to a football club may not be as local as the attachment to a given stadium (Bale, 1993) since clubs indeed have overseas supporters (Lestrelin, 2010). However, clubs carry very specific identities, none of which seems to be specifically transnational or international (as Bromberger demonstrates, despite its name, Internazionale's identity is very much rooted in specific areas of Greater Milan and is strongly linked to a history of strong opposition to AC Milan). It is possible to hypothesise that if, despite their idiosyncratic characteristics, football clubs have given birth to a transnational or pan-European *lieu de mémoire*, it is most likely through the Continent-wide competitions organised by UEFA. Indeed, the Champions League, the Europa League, the European Championship of nations and their forerunners (among which are the Cup Winners' Cup, the UEFA Cup, the Inter-Cities Fairs Cup, the Mitropa Cup, etc.) have *ab initio* involved teams from both the East and the West at the very time that Europe was bitterly divided by the Iron Curtain. The very nature of sport means it is during the *memorable* games played in these competitions that *memorable* feats have happened (see also the contribution of Werron in Chapter 2 of this volume). Arguably, the most famous of these deeds are remembered by the name of those who accomplished them. For example, a specific way of taking a penalty was named after Panenka who gave it pan-Continental fame in a European Championship final.

As a matter of fact, the most significant *lieu de mémoire* in football might be the (male, professional) football player himself. Unlike clubs or stadia, which are unable to move and limited to one locality, and unlike memorable feats, which are by nature transitory and exceptional, players have a long career during which they change club and move from one country to another (though they are not allowed to switch national teams). Moreover, star players are often admired regardless of where (club or country) they play. To give one very simple example, today, the Argentinian Lionel Messi is undoubtedly the game's most famous player, a star admired on many continents, outside of Barcelona, Spain or his native Argentina. Famous football players seem to remain in collective memories, at least at the club or the national level, long after they retired. Cue Raymond Kopa, Michel Platini or Zinédine Zidane, who are still very vividly remembered in France, at Real Madrid and Juventus Turin. Whether the memory of a given

football player is pan-European might be used to research the following fundamental questions:

- To what extent is the memory left by a football player local, national or European?
- Does this vindicate the hypothesis that there is a European collective memory of football?
- If so, has this football memory played a part in the construction of a European collective memory and, potentially, which one?

1. Sources: obituaries

Which methodology is most likely to bring out answers to these questions and consequently results for the study? In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson (1991) postulated that the media and more specifically the press play a crucial role in the definition of these collectives, which like the nation are imagined (Anderson's puzzling and debatable take is that communities are imagined as soon as members of the community cannot meet and directly interact with all of the others). Patrick Mignon has shown in *La passion du football* (1998) that the press does indeed play a very significant role in the construction of football collectives. It is possible to build on this hypothesis and surmise that collectives, that collective memory are both shaped and revealed through an analysis of the press. Accordingly, the printed media will be the favoured source, as it has been in previous occasions (Ranc, 2011).

Football is discussed substantially on a daily basis in large sections of the European press. Faced with this enormous amount of information available, the need surfaces for the research to be more specific. The following question arises: when would the (necessary collective) memory of a specific football player be more likely to crop up in the press? In other words, when are football players remembered? When are their life and memory celebrated? There are a number of relatively minor occasions: upon retirement, on their last appearance (or in some countries when they organise a 'jubilee' game); potentially, later in life when they receive awards or when some of their feats are celebrated (usually on the occasion of anniversaries). However, many of these occasions are by definition local in their reach (a jubilee game happens in a given stadium), untimely (when a player retires, it is too early to gauge the memory he has left) or tied to precise events that do not necessarily have universal appeal. Most probably, the best (yet most sinister) answer is death. The demise of a star player is a piece of news picked up by the international media. If the

football player does not die too young, enough time has passed that it is possible to assess the place he has left in the collective memory. Doubtless a proof of their importance for newspapers, articles published on the occasion of someone's passing away constitute one if not two very specific genres in journalism: *necrologies*, which are usually short lists of details on someone's life; and *obituaries*, which are longer, more thorough articles. This would also give clues towards an understanding of whether there is, actually, a European public sphere surrounding football (Habermas, 1988). Both genres are actually interesting and may provide different answers to the initial questions as they will put emphasis, respectively, on the bare essential (presumably the 'most memorable' – what is remembered) and on the discourse surrounding the player (how he is remembered).

2. Case study selection

In order to conduct the research, the case of George Best was selected. Born on 22 May 1946, Best died on 25 November 2005. His death occupied much space in the UK media. He is also, arguably, one of the most famous and best-remembered football players of all time. He is remembered as a local public figure. He was arguably the most talented football player ever to play with Northern Ireland, and as early as 2006 Belfast City Airport was named after him, providing a concrete (in both meanings of the word) realm of memory/*lieu de mémoire*. He is also a 'national' public figure in England. He was one of the first 22 players to enter the English Football Hall of Fame. He is, more debatably, a European public figure. Following his victory with Manchester United in the European Cup, he won the *Ballon d'Or* for best European player of the year in 1968. Then awarded by French journal *France Football*, it was, and remains, the most important individual award for a European player. In 2004, the public voted Best nineteenth in the UEFA Golden Jubilee Poll. Possibly, he was also a global public figure. In 2004, Pelé included him in his list of the 125 best living footballers; Best also ranked nineteenth in the 1999 Footballer of the Century (International Federation of Football History and Statistics). Still, Best clearly owes his reputation only to national (league, cup) and European games. He never played in the World Cup. Therefore, his case is particularly relevant for a study on European collective memory in football.

3. Methodology

The central question of the place occupied by a player in the European (EC/EU and, more largely, UEFA) collective memory can be studied at

the time of his death through necrologies and obituaries published in the press. A tool will be central to the study: *Factiva*, a worldwide database of press articles. This allows a research designed in two stages.

1. A preliminary quantitative study on the number of articles published:
   - in each of the 27 EU Member States at the time the research started (before the accession of Croatia) + Turkey;
   - in the USA and Australia, where Best played;
   - in Brazil and Argentina to assess fame in major footballing nations outside Europe.
2. A qualitative study of the themes in the press of French- and English-speaking countries:
   - the UK (including Northern Ireland) and the Republic of Ireland;
   - France, Belgium and Switzerland.

This stage relies for its hypotheses on the arguments offered by Philippe Levillain to defend biography and the study of biographies as an important tool in political history in his seminal article within René Rémond's 1989 edited volume on *Pour une histoire politique*.

However, given the novelty of the approach and the methodology design, special emphasis has been laid on the *process* through which results have (or have not) been found.

4. The quantitative study

The stated objective of the quantitative study was to assess the extent to which George Best was remembered throughout Europe and reveal (or not) the existence of both *a collective memory* and *a shared communication space* created by this death. One of the issues is that of simultaneity. Was the news reported over the same time period or were the obituaries written at a different time in different places (in some countries, obituaries perceived as less important are placed in a queue and are published after those deemed more critical)? Since George Best is a proper noun and is spelt identically in all languages with a Latin alphabet, the quantitative study could cover all the target countries.

The first results were a major disappointment. They emphasised that for all its promises and despite intensive research into the parameters (changing the languages or the countries selected), the database was unable to provide the expected results. The main reasons seem to be that: some major titles/countries (for example, *Der Spiegel* in Germany)

do not go that far back in time; there are overlaps in terms of titles (for example, the French magazine *Les Échos* appears in Germany too); and the database uses geographical categories which are probably overlapping. In order to alleviate the biases created, research was conducted in a different manner a second time. A comparative approach was adopted. The hypothesis was that biases would affect all results and the idea was to compare the geographical coverage of the death of George Best (25 November 2005) with other major contemporary events that can be searched with a common name over a similar timeframe (30 days) after their death, namely:

- the election of Mahmoud Abbas as President of the Palestine National Authority (9 January 2005);
- the death of Arthur Miller (10 February 2005), writer and former husband of Marilyn Monroe;
- the death of Lucien Laurent (11 April 2005), the first footballer to score in a World Cup;
- the death of Anne Bancroft (6 June 2005), movie star (well, actress);
- the death of Gerald Ford (26 December 2006), the former US President;
- the death of Ferenc Puskás (17 November 2006), the former Hungary and Real Madrid football star;
- the much later death of Eusébio (5 January 2014), the former Portugal and Benfica (Lisbon) star and 1965 winner of the *Ballon d'Or* was expected to provide a comparison with contemporary times.

The parameters used were (translated from the French): all sources, all authors, all companies, all topics, all economic sectors, all countries, all languages, duplicate: identical. The keyword searched for was always the name of the person. In the case of Eusébio and Puskás, both spellings, with and without the acute accent, were used.

Although Factiva provides a multiplicity of geographical levels, both supranational and infranational (for example, Western Europe, New York City), it is the results at the national level that were used: indeed, extensive testing (more than 100 tests) showed that this was most likely to be the least error-prone and most consistent level: using this level, overlaps are minimised. Because it seems that the database is updated on a daily basis, including the inclusion of archives from different newspaper sources, all searches were done on the same day (4 February 2014) to alleviate another potential bias.

Despite the uncertain results given by the database, it appears clear nonetheless that all events are better reported in one geographical area,

which can be described as closest to the event: for example, for Mahmoud Abbas, Israel (c. 7,000 articles) and the Palestinian territories (c. 6,500), but also around 1,400 in the USA. In the case of George Best, this area is primarily the UK, which accounts for 54.76 per cent of results. Infranational results show that most results come from England (1,032 out of 3,185), followed by Northern Ireland (851) and Scotland (268). This is more than in any other country, including the Republic of Ireland (265). After France (176), with which Best had no known obvious biographical link, the greatest number of mentions is in the USA (134) and Australia (133), where he played – articles from these countries account for 4.07 per cent of the worldwide total. Europe as a whole still published a large number of articles: 997 articles in EU countries outside of the UK (71.90 per cent of the articles are from the whole of the EU) and 49 in non-EU UEFA countries.

The conclusion is very clear: George Best appears to be primarily a major public figure in the British Isles. In comparison, his fame in Europe seems rather pale. However, the UK and Ireland figures may make the comparison difficult. Absolute values are different. Former US President Gerald Ford's passing logically attracted far more articles worldwide than that of George Best (7,402 and 5,816, respectively). In Europe, however, the death of Best attracted attention that is comparable in size with the demise of Ford. For example, there were 207 articles on Best versus 232 on former US President Ford in 'France'. The comparison with the two other football players in the study mostly confirm the findings surrounding those of Best. Intriguingly enough, Ferenk Puskás' death was far less widely reported than Best's (932 versus 5,816). Yet, the articles came mostly from Hungary (440, 47 per cent of all publications) and Spain, where Puskás played for years at Real Madrid (258), and the top seven countries in terms of the number of published obituaries and necrologies are EU countries. Brazil comes eighth, but with only 27 articles, just five more than the much smaller Switzerland. The much more recent death of Eusébio (2014) attracted a very similar number of articles to those relating to Best's (5,585 versus 5,816), and once more the country the footballer played in and for, Portugal, comes first: 2,852 articles, accounting for 51.07 per cent. The top six countries are from the EU and include the five major football leagues in Europe (the so-called 'Big-5'): Spain, Italy, Great Britain, France and Germany. Mozambique, where Eusébio was born – at the time it was a Portuguese colony – takes the seventh spot.

The example of George Best, confirmed by those of Eusébio and Puskás, therefore tends to indicate that football's collective memory at the time of his death was still primarily and overwhelmingly national.

To some extent, this collective memory was also European and prompted the ephemeral existence of a European public sphere surrounding football. Interestingly too, it is not certain whether the tools to study this question in full really exist: in his presentation at a FREE conference at the University of Stuttgart, where this book originates, Jürgen Mittag indeed referred to the lack of an overall communication framework in Europe. This leads to the following questions: what kind of memory did George Best leave? Can he be considered a hero? Or was he more simply a symbol? If so, then what did he symbolise?

5. The qualitative study

The stated objective for this stage was to study the narrative(s) and identify common themes in newspapers published in French and in English. Primary sources were studied over the ten days following the death of George Best. In the UK they included broadsheets (*The Times* and *The Guardian* – and on Sunday *The Observer* – and *The Independent*), tabloids (limited to the 'red tops': *The Sun* and the *Daily Mirror*), a local newspaper in the city where Best played for most of his life (the *Manchester Evening News*), in Northern Ireland, where Best hailed from (the *Belfast Telegraph*) and in the Republic of Ireland (the *Irish Independent* and the *Irish Times*). In France, the sources included *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde*, *Libération* and *L'Équipe*; in Belgium, *Le Soir* and *La Libre Belgique*; and in Switzerland, *Le Matin, 24 Heures, La Tribune de Genève* and *Le Temps*.

Based on these sources, what was George Best remembered for at the time of his death? Best was himself a noted commentator of football (he was a TV pundit for years) and of his own life. Two statements he made can be used to analyse his legacy. He once predicted: 'They'll forget all the rubbish when I've gone and they'll remember the football' (Best and Collins, 2002). He is also most famous for a largely apocryphal quote he once made much less eloquently: 'I spent a lot of money on booze, birds and fast cars. The rest I just squandered' (*BBC News*, 2005).

Interestingly, Best seems to have missed the picture entirely. In the UK reports, football only gets passing references. These are not only rare, they are also very general (no particular moment/feat is typically mentioned), and they are usually not very elaborate, along the lines of easy puns like 'George was the BEST'. In stark contrast, football is mentioned more clearly in *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde*. It seems that contrary to the situation in the UK, Best had to be presented to the French audience of general newspapers. One may assume that Best may not have fully entered the general collective memory in France. This raises a question on the nature of collective memory: can it be unspoken? Can it be so well known

that it need not be stated? Paradoxically, it is possible that the memories of Best's football may be so present in the minds of a UK audience that they barely need a mention. Providing a definitive answer to this question is difficult based on the limited evidence in the context of a single case study. However, it is indubitably worth researching in the future.

Emphasis in the UK reports is actually not on the football, but on the 'birds and booze'; it is not even on the 'fast cars' of the 1960s and 1970s (before Best faced financial troubles), presumably because these may have looked dated. Emphasis is first on the 'birds' (a derogatory word to talk about women as prey). Indeed, much is said about Best's (in)famous life as a womaniser and very few details are left to the imagination. Published articles include a list of girlfriends through the ages (complete with pictures: Anonymous, 2005) and quotes about the Miss Worlds he had notoriously seduced. These include: 'They say I slept with seven Miss Worlds. I didn't. It was only four. I didn't turn up for the other three' or: 'If I had to choose between dribbling past 5 players and scoring from 40 yards at Anfield or shagging Miss World, it'd be a hard choice. Thankfully, I've done both.'

However, it is 'the booze', a slang word for alcohol, that is the most discussed topic. As an estimate based on keyword searches ('alcohol', 'booze', 'bottle'), 75 per cent of the coverage is dedicated to Best's problems with the bottle. He had apparently been an alcoholic since the age of 25. His footballing career actually declined because of his alcoholism. Eventually, he died from complications related to alcoholism. The latter may explain the prevalence of the topic in obituaries. The strongest emphasis in the reports is always on the duality of his life. Best is described as a natural talent destroyed by alcoholism and simultaneously as a womaniser who treated women pretty badly.

Conclusion

From this press study, it appears that George Best is clearly not a European hero. There were already signs when Holt, Mangan and Lanfranchi avoided any mention of Best in their groundbreaking study of *European Heroes: Myth, Identity, Sport* (Holt *et al.*, 1996). Following MacKenzie (1993), the authors defined heroes as 'archetypes representing a set of personal qualities and heroic characteristics not only supremely valued by society but seen by contemporaries and succeeding generations as having major instrumental power'. The qualities that Best has come to impersonate are indeed very unlikely to set any given society's standards, yesterday, today or even tomorrow. In addition, according to

Pierre Centlivres, Daniel Fabre and Françoise Zonabend in *La Fabrique des Héros* (Centlivres *et al.*, 1999), a hero takes part in the construction of a nation, or the definition of its identity; his life is fundamentally exceptional; his life is ambivalent and its interpretation can be renewed. All of this certainly rings true in the case of Northern Ireland, where there is even a physical *lieu de mémoire*: the airport. In the UK, it is hard to see a link between a nation or a collective identity and Best's life (even if one looks at Manchester). In *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde* it is clearly impossible to establish any kind of link between Best and locale, including Europe (the EC/EU or UEFA's Europe).

The second conclusion would be that George Best himself is not a *lieu de mémoire*. In his seminal edited collection, Nora was adamant that the main function of a *lieu de mémoire* is to produce a link between the present and the past in times of change, when this link is clearly put into question. The sample studied suggests that memories of George Best do not provide any form of continuity in a time of trouble. It is even difficult to understand what Best has come to symbolise in England. One can only make guesses: perhaps he symbolises a golden age (of a certain form of manliness – when drinking and mistreating women was, regrettably, more acceptable than it is today)? Perhaps his trajectory recalls ancient myths on the fall from grace? This is all summed up in an article by Janet Street-Porter, who offers an unusual but stimulating gendered perspective on George Best's case: 'The male journalists who are churning out pages of bilge about Besty are mourning the loss of their own youth and arrival of their middle-aged spread, the sagging of their sexual prowess. Best was a god because of his virility, his cheek' (Street-Porter, 2005).

It would be worth checking the memory left by Best in 20 years' time. A recent biography (in French) of George Best by *L'Équipe*'s leading journalist Vincent Duluc (2014) suggests that the story is not yet fully written. Time may conceal surprises about George Best and only the future will tell if, following one of Paris Saint-Germain's supporters' favourite phrases and unofficial motto of the club, '(son) histoire deviendra légende' ['(his) story will become legendary'].

References

Adonnino, P. (1985) 'A People's Europe: Reports from the Ad Hoc Committee', *Bulletin of the European Communities* (supplement 7/85).

Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso).

Anonymous (2005) 'George Best: The Legend: Sex God … His Women', *Daily Mirror*, 25 November.

Bale, J. (1993) *Sport, Space and the City* (London: Routledge).
BBC News (2005) 'Best: Decline of the Golden Boy', 14 June.
Best, G. and Collins, R. (2002) *Blessed: The Autobiography* (London: Ebury).
Bromberger, C. (1995) *Le Match de Football. Ethnologie d'une passion partisane à Marseille, Naples et Turin* (Paris: Éditions Maison des Sciences de l'Homme).
Browne, H. (2005) 'I Only Slept with Four Miss Worlds … I Didn't Turn up for the Other Three; Simply the Best: The Booze, the Birds, the Brilliance; Profile; George Best', *The Sun*, 25 November.
Centlivres, P., Fabre, D. and Zonabend, F. (1999) *La Fabrique des héros* (Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme).
Dietschy, P., Gastaut, Y. and Mourlane, S. (2006) *Histoire politique des coupes du monde de football* (Paris: Vuibert 2006).
Dietschy, P., Sonntag, A. and Ranc, D. (2009) 'Parallel Myths Popular Maps: The Europe of Soccer', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society*, 1(2), 125–144.
Duluc, V. (2014) *George Best, le cinquième Beatles* (Paris: Stock).
Habermas, J. (1988) *L'Espace public. Archéologie de la publicité comme dimension constitutive de la société bourgeoise* (Paris: Payot)
Halbwachs, M. (1925) *Les Cadres sociaux de la Mémoire* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan).
———. (1950) *La Mémoire collective*, A. Jeanne (ed.) (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France).
Holt, R., Mangan, J.A. and Lanfranchi, P. (1996) *European Heroes: Myth, Identity, Sport* (London: Frank Cass).
John, J., Melchior, C. and Sonntag, A. (2010) 'Au cœur de la société allemande – le football et la République fédérale', *Allemagne d'Aujourd'hui*, 193, 74–92.
Le Goff, J., Chartier, R., Revel, J. and Ariès, P. (eds) (1978) *La Nouvelle Histoire* (Paris: Retz-C.E.P.L).
Lestrelin, L. (2010) *L'Autre Public des matchs de football: Sociologie des «supporters à distance» de l'Olympique de Marseille* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales).
Levillain, P. (1989) 'Les Protagonistes : la Biographie', in R. Rémond (ed.), *Pour une histoire politique* (Paris: Seuil), pp. 121–159.
MacKenzie, J. (1993) *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850–1950* (Manchester University Press).
Magnette, P. (1999) *La Citoyenneté européenne: droits, politiques, institutions* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles).
McCormick, J. (2010) *Europeanism* (Oxford University Press).
Mignon, P. (1998) *La passion du football* (Paris: Editions Odile Jacob).
Marx, K., Engels, F. (2009) *Die deutsche Ideologie*, H. Bluhm (ed.) (Berlin: Akademie Verlag).
Nora, P. (ed.) (1984–1992) *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard).
Ranc, D. (2011) *Foreign Players and Football Supporters: The Old Firm, Paris Saint-Germain, Arsenal* (Manchester University Press).
Rousso, H. (1987) 'Un jeu de l'oie de l'identité française', *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire*, 15, 151–154.
Sonntag, A. (2008) *Les Identités du football européen* (Grenoble: Presse Universitaires de Grenoble).
———. (2009a) 'Consommateurs avertis et foules sentimentales : la double offre identitaire du football', *Les Cahiers du Journalisme*, 19, 118–129.

———. (2009b), 'Une passion partagée, des identités ambiguës', *Politique Européenne*, 26, 191–209.
Street-Porter, J. (2005) 'A Short Skirt, a Fag and a Drink are Not an Invitation to Rape', *Independent on Sunday*, 27 November.
UEFA (2004) 'Zinedine Zidane Voted Top Player by Fans', www.uefa.com/news-files/171606.pdf (date accessed 5 November 2014).

9

Heysel and its Symbolic Value in Europe's Collective Memory

Clemens Kech

Introduction

We all have multiple identities. Depending on the context, we feel attached to quite different types of communities or groups in which we experience a sense of togetherness. That may be our family, a sports club, a religious group, a town, region, nation, etc. (cf. François and Schulze, 2005, p. 7; Mittag, 2007, p. 176). The source for this sense of togetherness, among other factors, might be a shared language, a shared set of values or – more importantly for the present purpose – might stem from experiences and events we have lived through concertedly with others. The memories deriving from these experiences and events are then stored in the group's collective memory.

As has been pointed out several times in this volume, the concept of collective memory was originally invented by French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (Halbwachs, 1967). In the 1920s, Halbwachs developed, in sharp contrast to Sigmund Freud and Henri Bergson, a theory that delivered the basic insights into the relationship between social frameworks (*cadres sociaux*), individual and collective memory. First, collective memory is produced within the boundaries of the individual's social framework. Halbwachs argued that an individual's identity stems from the complex interaction between the individual's personal memories on the one hand and the collective memory of his or her social environment on the other hand (cf. François and Schulze, 2005, p. 7). Therefore, an individual's memory has to be understood by taking into account the collective memory of the group of which the individual is part. Second, the perception of the past depends upon interaction, communication, media and institutions to which the social framework is exposed, and is also subject to random changes. The presently existing

picture of past events is therefore not an accurate account of the past, but is artificially produced to match present needs of identity or future expectations (cf. Erll, 2005, p. 15; see also Groll, 2007, pp. 177–178). In short, we could say: 'No picture of the past without contemporary relevance' (François and Schulze, 2005, p. 7).

In the 1980s, the French historian Pierre Nora established, on the basis of Halbwachs' works, the concept of *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory). Nora understands sites of memory as entries in the collective memory. Among group members, these sites evoke the same associations and emotions (cf. Groll, 2007, p. 178). As more and more of these sites come together, they form a mosaic of memories resulting in a diverse portrait which constitutes the group's identity. So far, the concept of sites of memory has been most fruitfully applied to national identities. Nora himself has published his famous seven-volume compendium compiling the sites of memory of France (Nora, 2005). The examples are numerous and may incorporate anything from so-called high culture to low culture. Ever since then, others nations have followed suit and some will follow soon (cf. Erll, 2005, pp. 25–26; see also Erll and Nünning, 2008). Examples from France and Germany show that national identity may draw its contents from any source available, including the world of sport. And another thing becomes apparent: a site of memory does not necessarily evoke positive associations in the sense that it promotes national pride. Grief may constitute collective memory too (cf. von Seggern, 2007, p. 34). In principle, sites of memory are able to constitute the identity of any group – be it local, regional, national or even transnational. Efforts to prove the existence of the latter have been undertaken by Jacques Le Rider *et al*. (2007) for Central Europe, focusing on the Balkans, the former Austro-Hungarian Empire and their bordering states. Claus Leggewie (2008) also lists a set of events that head in the same direction. So the notion that *lieux de mémoire* exist on a European level is not that odd. The question is what other sites of memory can be identified?

The present chapter is a proposal to admit the Heysel Stadium disaster to the circle of European *lieux de mémoire*. On 29 May 1985, about an hour before the kick-off of the European Champions Clubs' Cup final between Liverpool FC and Juventus Turin, one of the biggest tragedies in European football history occurred at the Heysel Stadium in Brussels. In total, 39 mostly Italian spectators died in a stampede after Liverpool hooligans had invaded the former's section in the stadium. A television audience of millions from all parts of Europe had tuned in to follow what promised to be an epic battle between Turinese technical skills and

Liverpudlian prowess. However, as the images of the stampede began to flicker across Europe's television screens, they were supplied with the pictures of a fatal and bloody riot. The Italian daily newspaper *La Repubblica* would term it 'live televised death' (31 May 1985, p. 1). The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* would point out: 'This football game was supposed to be a media spectacle for the entire world, and so it is inevitable that the fans' bloody and lethal battle turned out to be a media spectacle, too' (31 May 1985, p. 24). Apparently, the images had left a deep imprint on the contemporary viewers, who did not hesitate to assign the event a symbolic value. Even today, nearly 30 years later, that evening is remembered by millions of Europeans – even by people who are not interested in football games.

1. A shared European experience

A famous philosophical thought experiment reads: if a tree falls in the forest, and nobody is there to hear it, does it make a sound? While physicists would affirm the production of sound, scholars of the humanities and social studies would probably deny it as no recipient is present. Without the latter, neither the existence of the tree nor the forest, let alone the tree's falling, can be perceived and the sound produced by the tree's falling is lost for good – what the eyes don't see, the heart doesn't grieve over, as the saying goes. This principle also applies to the Heysel Stadium disaster. Without the reception by a huge audience, no event can unfold its innate power. The general public attention of a European audience was granted. As a matter of fact, the expectations were running high in the run-up to the European Cup final. The entire European press feverishly anticipated this event, the annual highlight of the European club calendar. *The Times* proclaimed: 'We are due an exciting European Cup final worthy of the name' (29 May 1985, p. 27). Likewise, yet not so exuberant, the Turinese daily newspaper *La Stampa* wrote: 'The "final of the century" is the title of "Le Soir", one of the most important newspapers in Belgium. This is a sure exaggeration. One has already read the same title for other finals. Liverpool-Juventus will perhaps not be the final of the century, but it is certainly an impressive event' (29 May 1985, p. 1). In West Germany and Spain, the print media also declared it to be a 'dream final' and the 'match of the year' (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 29 May 1985, p. 47; *El País*, 29 May 1985). The game visibly promised to be exceptional.

Moreover, live broadcasts of international games were not the rule in the 1980s – quite the contrary: 'Extensive television coverage of European

Cup games … presented rather the exception – live broadcasts were even an extraordinary event' (Mittag, 2007, p. 174). In other words, the European Cup final in 1985 must have seemed extraordinary.

The opportunity to watch the game was given all over Europe and beyond. The European Champions Clubs' Cup final was broadcast live to 77 countries overall. The *European Broadcasting Union* (EBU) had commissioned the Belgian television station BRT with the provision of the event (cf. *The Times*, 31 May 1985, p. 4). In turn, the television stations that were members of the EBU retransmitted the Eurovision signal to their respective audiences. This was also the case with the four countries under scrutiny. In the UK, the live telecast started at 7.05 pm GMT and was broadcast by BBC1 (cf. *The Times*, 29 May 1985, p. 1; see also *The Times*, 30 May 1985, p. 1). At 8.13 pm CET, *Radiotelevisione Italiana 2* (Rai-2) went on the air (cf. Chisari, 2004, pp. 208–209). Both *Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen* (ZDF) for West Germany and *Televisión Española 2* (TVE-2) for Spain began their live telecast at around 8.15 pm CET (cf. *Die Welt*, 31 May 1985, p. 1; *El País*, 29 May 1985). Although the respective commentaries differed for apparent reasons, all these television stations were supplied simultaneously with the same audio-visual live material which BRT had produced, directed and selected. At that time, television stations did not have their own camera equipment on site, but merely delegated a reporter and retransmitted footage and sound. Inquiries at the ZDF archives revealed that such procedure was common practice.

Thanks to the grand expectations fostered in the run-up to the final, the audiences who followed the live telecast were huge, and increased significantly as the outstanding character of the narrative became apparent (cf. *La Stampa*, 1 June 1985, p. 1). 'The Italian television audience for the final on Rai-2 peaked at 19.1 million viewers (81.3 per cent of that evening's total audience)' (Chisari, 2004, p. 208). In West Germany, 40 per cent of that evening's audience watched the event on ZDF, which corresponds to a total number of 14.86 million viewers (cf. *Die Welt*, 31 May 1985, p. 1). Figures regarding audience measurement were not available for Spain and the UK. However, due to football's general popularity in both countries, it seems safe to assume that at least 20 per cent of each country's population had tuned in. In Spain, with a population of 38.5 million, this equates to at least 7.7 million viewers. In the UK, with a total population of 56.5 million, the number of viewers would be between 11.3 and 18.0 million (figures according to the US Census Bureau and the Broadcasters' Audience Research Board (BARB)).

2. An event made by the media

Literary scholar Ansgar Nünning pointed out recently that events do not come into existence on their own: 'Events [are] not something objectively given but the result of selection, abstraction and distinction ... [They] are created on the basis of collectively valid, intersubjectively verifiable value standards' (Nünning, 2010, p. 193). Moreover, with regard to media events, he notes that: 'Occurrences only become an event when they find expression in discourses and stories and when they are represented and staged by media offers' (*ibid.*). The processes of selection, abstraction and distinction are conducted by the media. Television stations and the print media select certain scenes they believe to be newsworthy – scenes that distinguish themselves from the endless flow of occurrences. At the same time, they are abstracted, i.e. assigned a label, name or title. In turn, they are discussed and evaluated. It seems that this was exactly the case on 29 May 1985 and during the days that followed.

Once we compare the narrative presented in the mass media with the sequence of actions that actually occurred, we cannot help but note that the narrative has been reduced to the riots in section Z. Out of all the images that BRT had recorded as raw footage, the images of the Liverpool supporters' charge had been selected. Once the respective television stations were on the air, these images were on replay throughout the entire evening and would subsequently be dealt with in special broadcasts (cf. *Sportreportage DVD*, 29 May 1985; *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 31 May 1985, p. 24). Consequently, all television viewers were subject to this selection. Likewise, the print media in the days and weeks that followed focused mainly on the riot in exactly the way predicted by ZDF reporter Eberhard Figgemeier:

> Unfortunately, the fans – the so-called fans, the rowdies – will dominate the headlines of tomorrow, and not the sport from which we actually expected a lot ... these other pictures that we had to show you, unfortunately, they will completely overshadow everything there is to be seen here tonight. (*Sportreportage DVD*, 29 May 1985)

In fact, all major newspapers covered the Heysel riot on page one. In England, *The Times* used the heading: '41 Soccer Fans Die in Stampede at Euro Cup Final' (30 May 1985, p. 1). Likewise, in Italy, the riots took centre stage. The Turinese daily newspaper *La Stampa*'s headline read: 'Tragedy at the Stadium in Brussels' (30 May 1985, p. 1). The Roman daily *La Repubblica* dedicated an entire section of its issue to exclusively

report about the disaster in a piece entitled 'The Tragedy of Brussels' (30 May 1985, pp. 2–3). In Germany, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*'s first page read: '35 killed in riots in the stadium' (30 May 1985, p. 1). The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote: 'Many killed in riots before football final' (30 May 1985, p. 1). Out of all the newspapers, the Spanish daily *El País* was the only one that also mentioned the Juventus victory: 'Juventus Wins the European Cup after a Battle between the Fans Causes 41 Dead and 300 Injured' (30 May 1985, p. 1). The headlines indicate that the abstraction process had already commenced. The event was given a name in exactly the way predicted by our definition: 'Each "media event" consists in itself of a multitude of actions, status changes, and occurrences which are then grouped under a generalised hypernym. The designation of most media events therefore has the character of a collective singular' (Nünning, 2010, p. 190). Eventually, the event would be referred to as the 'Heysel tragedy,' the 'Heysel riot,' the 'Heysel Stadium disaster' or simply as 'Heysel' or other variations involving the latter term. Leading articles, editorials, pictures and maps, generally reserved for the most pressing issues of the day, were written and printed in an attempt to explain and evaluate the events of the previous night (we shall return to the editorials below in the question what symbolic value was assigned). From the point of view of the audience, they were patronised by the media as they were collectively limited in the processes of selection, abstraction and distinction. What they got to watch was the media event created by the media.

Nünning's value standards come into play at this point. They are modelled upon the criteria provided by Andreas Suter and Manfred Hettling (2001, p. 25) to explain what sequences of action are perceived as eventful by observers:

> The *first* criterion for recognising any sequence of action as an event is the pre-linguistic experience of the witnesses that what has happened is 'shaking their conceptions' or 'surprises' them … *Secondly* … it is crucial that the standards, serving as a means to distinguish the ordinary from the 'appalling' or the 'surprising' experiences, are *collective* in nature … *Third*, in contrast to mere occurrences, events trigger structural changes that are perceived by the actors (even though they do not need to be adequately understood).

The event that was later termed the 'Heysel Stadium disaster' had been produced by the mass media, which in turn presented the event in the shape of a media event to the large collectivity of television viewers.

Whether the latter perceived this presentation as eventful depends upon their contemporary collective beliefs and whether these were disrupted or shattered by the presentation of the pictures from Brussels. Moreover, the collective had to perceive structural changes triggered by the event.

Violence at the margins of football games was not a new phenomenon in the 1980s. In fact, the 1970s and 1980s were widely regarded as the heyday of hooliganism, as violent behaviour among football supporters had reached an unprecedented level. In their analysis of the press coverage of football-related incidents, Dunning *et al*. (2002, p. 4) note the increase of news coverage of football-related violence:

> The overwhelming majority of the incidents [were] reported in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. More particularly, 17 were reported in the 1960s, 20 in the 1970s, and no fewer than 40 in the first three years of the 1980s. This pattern arguably reflects both a factual increase in the incidence of football hooliganism during that 30-year period and a correlative increase of media interest in football hooliganism as a social problem.

Whether or not the threat by hooligans was real comes second; more important is the fact that acts of hooliganism could be increasingly observed by the contemporaries. The term 'English disease' was coined at this time (cf. *The Times*, 30 May 1985, p. 13; *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 31 May 1985, p. 1). The examples of the misdeeds of British hooligans are, indeed, numerous and occurred all over Europe: *The Times* listed incidents between 1972 and 1984 in Barcelona, Rotterdam, Paris, Turin, Madrid, Basle, Anderlecht, Brussels and Rome (30 May 1985, p. 2). Contrary to the opinion expressed by Chisari, the behaviour of English hooligans of the past had not passed unnoticed in Italy, as the press had extensively written about them (cf. *La Stampa*, 26 May 1985, p. 30; Chisari, 2004, p. 210). Likewise, Eberhard Figgemeier informed his audience: 'Again and again, it's the English fans ... that instigate these riots, these terrible fights' (*Sportreportage DVD*, 29 May 1985). But all these incidents were not considered to be events because they lacked sufficient publicity. Although they show that violent behaviour, especially on the part of English fans, was far from being a novelty, one fact is important: the damage caused by all these riots was rarely fatal; there was 'only' damage to property, looting and some bodily harm. Moreover, most of the fighting occurred outside the stadia and was therefore invisible to television viewers – it was rarely perceived directly.

As a result, the collective expectation towards the behaviour of supporters during the match on 29 May 1985 was that the fans would behave within certain boundaries. Yes, there might be skirmishes, but they would have the character of minor incidents and even if they occurred, there would still be security personnel to prevent the worst. In turn, the initial surprise for the television audience must have come quite unexpectedly. At around 8.15pm, BRT was transmitting quiet, scenic pictures from the Heysel Stadium. Eberhard Figgemeier, having witnessed the riots, gave an overview of the situation advising his audience not to be fooled by the shown scenery:

> Do not be deceived, ladies and gentlemen, by these images which may point to a grand, perhaps a very delightful final. I am appalled, dismayed and shocked by what has happened here in the Heysel stadium in front of nearly 60,000 spectators in the last 60 minutes. The sport, intended as a means of connecting people, here, became a vehicle for civil war-like conditions ... there have been very, very serious riots between fans of Liverpool FC and fans of Juventus Turin ... I have never seen such images. (*Sportreportage DVD*, 29 May 1985)

A few minutes later, the first replay of the carnage in section Z was shown on TV. Shot by a camera towering between blocks Y and Z, the recorded footage showed the advancing mass of Liverpool hooligans, zooming in on the fighting between groups and individuals. It also showed a handful of policemen on the run from the mob. These scenes must have been perceived by the audience as quite surprising and disruptive with regard to the collectively held beliefs about the levels of violence in football, the abilities of the security forces to fulfil their duties and also the grand expectations towards the game.

The incidents of course triggered a number of consequences concerning, among other things, the structure of the European Cup, security measures, cooperation at the international level and the perception of football violence in general. The most obvious consequence was concluded by the disciplinary board of UEFA. All English teams were banned from European competitions *sine die* on 2 June 1985 (cf. Dunning *et al.*, 2002, p. 5). The ban also included friendlies. Just like the Heysel Stadium disaster itself, UEFA's decision made headlines or was at least explicitly referred to (cf. *The Times*, 3 June 1985, p. 1; see also *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 3 June 1985, p. 1; *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 3 June 1985, p. 1; *La Stampa*, 4 June 1985, p. 22; *El País*, 7 June 1985). Eventually, the collective sentence on English clubs would be in effect for five years, with Liverpool

FC spending an additional year 'in exile'. The ban shifted the balance of power in international football for at least a decade. Another change for aficionados of the game came with the modification of stadia regulations. UEFA introduced 'stringent security requirements and provisions for all-seated spectators put into place at UEFA matches' (UEFA, 9 May 2014). Standing areas were outlawed. New structures were formed at a European level among legislators, organisers and authorities. The European agreement on violence and excesses, signed on 19 August 1985 in Strasbourg, marked the beginning of Europe-wide cooperation to battle the problem of violence among spectators (cf. Chisari, 2004, p. 215). In Britain, the Thatcher administration got directly involved in the problem. Dunning *et al*. point out that 'Heysel and the overall reaction to it … represented a peak in the politicisation of the English hooligan problem' (Dunning *et al*., 2002, p. 5).

The Heysel experience had a profound effect on the European psyche in the sense that it had sparked a *moral panic* (Young, 1986, pp. 254–256; Hughson and Spaaij, 2011, p. 286). News coverage about the Heysel riot ran for about four weeks after the event itself. For another 17 months, however, newspapers showed an exaggerated interest in football-related violence compiling examples from all over the world. Especially in Britain, Heysel 'confirmed the image of football hooligans as "monsters" and justified the implementation of whatever measures might be deemed appropriate to take against them' (Tsoukala, 2009, p. 86). The criminalisation of football fans with 'the image of the dangerous football hooligan' (*ibid*., p. 125) was sustained in the minds of a public on a European scale.

3. Formation of a European public and symbolism

In contrast to national public spheres, the formation of a transnational public – in our case a European public – is quite rare. At a national level, the means for the exchange of information, communication and discussion are given. The mass media – print, radio and television – offer them to the broad masses within the boundaries of a national state. According to Jürgen Gerhards, a public sphere plays an important role in the establishment of social identity. Citizens can observe discussions and decision-making processes. They feel involved in discussions and identify themselves with this society (cf. Gerhards, 1993, p. 99). While at a national level, these processes are effective on a regular basis, the flow of information between nations and transnational discussions are normally restrained. In the print media, the language

barrier and the fact that the medium is paper-based block the exchange of information and communication. Not even a universally spoken language like English is able to bridge this gap. Television has a better chance of reaching a transnational audience. Due to the introduction of satellite television and the liberalisation of the television market, national borders can be overcome (*ibid*.). Even though the language barrier persists with respect to television shows, Gerhards identified television programmes 'which require almost no language – MTV – or little language – Eurosports – or programmes with light entertainment (Super Channel)' (*ibid*., p. 101). That said, cultural factors as well as viewing patterns internalised by the respective audiences may hinder communication and consequently the formation of a European public.

Shared experiences, however, have the potential to create transnational publics. A key requirement seems to be the emotional agreement among these nations' publics towards the event. In May 2003, such an instance was given in politics when European governments were considering the question of whether they should support the US war effort in Iraq. Consequently, hundreds of thousands of people across Europe simultaneously engaged in protests expressing their discontent. According to Jürgen Habermas, 15 May 2003 marks the birth of the first genuinely European public (cf. Habermas, 2004, p. 43). Given the analysis of the Heysel disaster outlined above, it seems that this event could constitute an even earlier example. The transnational media event 'European Champions Clubs' Cup final' had mobilised millions all across Europe. Jürgen Mittag (2007, p. 168) argues:

> Outstanding media events such as the transmission of the European Cup finals competitions are characterised by a particularly high degree of media attention and a noticeable intensification of communication processes. In addition, they generate and organise publics across social and spatial boundaries. The so-opened communication spaces can act transnationally ... and so, eventually, form a specific form of a European public.

A language barrier does not exist in such cases. The average viewer is familiar with the rules of the game and the 'sign language' inherent in the game of football. Concerning the riots, it is safe to say that the same principles can be applied. It did not take a commentary to at least roughly grasp that something horrible was happening at Heysel Stadium.

The press articles following 29 May 1985 show that the communication processes crossed national borders. Contrary to the usual procedures,

newspapers showed a greater interest in the information provided and the opinions displayed by fellow journalists in other countries. Now, all of a sudden, the very same points of view, ideas and evaluations were presented to a transnational audience. This was not limited to the statements uttered by Margaret Thatcher, who spoke of a 'national shame' brought upon her country by the 'thugs' (Thatcher, 1985). The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (31 May 1985, p. 3), for instance, covered reactions from Belgium, Italy and Britain on the same page. Unanimously, *The Times* (31 May 1985, p. 4) and *La Stampa* (30 May 1985, p. 3) picked up the decision that ZDF ended its coverage of the game at the kick-off. In the UK, this also provoked a statement by the BBC justifying its decision to broadcast the game (cf. *The Times*, 31 May 1985, p. 4). Likewise, *The Times* and the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (31 May 1985, p. 4), for instance, closely observed what other commentators wrote in their editorials and presented them to their respective readers. *La Stampa* (31 May 1985, p. 2) also printed a letter of condolence written by Sir Larry Lamb, Editor of the *Daily Express*. As a consequence, there seemed to be solidarity and identification with the tragedy's victims on the part of 'neutral' supporters after Heysel. The German weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* (7 June 1985, pp. 1, 9–12) dedicated its cover story to the 'Massacre in the Stadium', in which it made clear that 'Brussels can be anywhere'. On the day following the match, many football fans expressed their regrets, anger and condolences (cf. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 3 June 1985, p. 39).

What is true for the overall flow of information applies as well to the opinions expressed in editorials which were echoed internationally and were, at least in part, picked up and reprinted elsewhere. The riots at the Heysel dominated the headlines in the days and weeks after its occurrence.

It was within the first week after Heysel that the event was evaluated. It became a symbol. The term 'symbol' can be defined as an 'object or event which in its turn signifies something, or has a range of reference, beyond itself' (Abrams, 1999, p. 311). The opinions expressed in editorials went significantly beyond the realms of football. They culminated in the agreement that the spectacle observed on television was the opposite of culture and civilisation. Heysel was declared to be a shameful symbol of European barbarism and brutal savageness. And all this happened in 'Europe – the continent where people consider themselves to stand at the apex of "civilisation" and where … a "civilising process" can be demonstrated factually to have occurred since the Middle Ages' (Dunning *et al.*, 2002, p. 4). The

notion of a relapse into the Dark Ages comes up in the editorial in *La Stampa* (30 May 1985, p. 1): 'This in Brussels has been a true European manifestation. The dead have fallen in the name of this Europe, medieval return [sic]' (translator's note: the original Italian text reads 'medioevale di ritorno', which is ungrammatical). In an editorial entitled 'The Shame of Europe', *El País* (30 May 1985, p. 10) writes: 'In the capital of Europe a sad spectacle of improvisation, of archaism and of barbarism has taken place.' Again, the notion of barbaric behaviour of otherwise civilised people within the boundaries of Europe becomes apparent. The author then goes on to lament that even the standards of civilisation in the Third World were higher than those displayed during the events of the previous night. In West Germany, the picture portrayed referred to this as well: 'What are people capable of when the thin veneer of education and civilisation comes undone?' (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 30 May 1985, p. 4). In Britain, the notion that the scenes displayed that night were acts of barbarism shows up in *The Times* (cf. 30 May 1985, p. 13) as well as in the *Financial Times*: 'There are no excuses. British supporters' behaviour can be defined only as barbarity' (quoted in Chisari, 2004, p. 210). The articles reprinted in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (31 May 1985, p. 4) pointed in the same direction.

As these examples show, there was an underlying understanding, a common cultural value shared among all European people who considered themselves inhabitants of a civilised continent. The Heysel event was accordingly stylised to be the exact opposite. It is crucial to note that the reactions expressed in these articles display an emotional agreement towards the event. Maurice Halbwachs has argued for the necessity of such an agreement in order to establish a community (cf. Halbwachs, 1967, pp. 11–14; François and Schulze, 2005, p. 7). According to him, an event has to be perceived by the group members in the same way. He regards this to be a key requirement for the establishment of an entry into the collective memory.

4. Heysel remembered – a European *lieu de mémoire?*

The transnational European public of 1985 dissolved after the Heysel Stadium disaster had been dealt with extensively and the mass media had ceased their coverage. In order to bring back the memories of Heysel, certain stimuli are necessary. Michael Groll neatly explains this phenomenon as follows: 'Collective remembering takes place when a current problem, occasion or need provoke to do so' (Groll, 2007, p. 178). In addition, Halbwachs himself, as well as researchers

in the field of collective memory and *lieux de mémoire*, have stressed the inconstancy of memories. François and Schulze (2005, p. 7), for instance, point out:

> The collective memory ... approaches (according to Halbwachs) the past emotionally, alters it uncontrollably and puts always new interpretations and inventions into it. More than that: the past is changing as it is conceived, understood and constructed anew by each new generation.

The memory of the Heysel Stadium disaster, too, has been treated in exactly the way as predicted by the theorists of collective memory. Reports about further acts of ruthless hooliganism in the mass media triggered the images of yore. The readers were exposed to a stimulus that brought back the memories and the *lieu de mémoire* was revisited. Again, the media played a crucial role, on the one hand as the entity that sparked the memorisation process among the readership and on the other hand as a definer of meaning. It is due to a change in the media's perspective that over time, the Heysel Stadium disaster has increasingly been remembered for the failure of security and no longer primarily for hooliganism.

Four years after the final in Brussels, Liverpool supporters were again in the limelight during a human crush at the FA Cup semi-final between Liverpool FC and Nottingham Forest FC at the Hillsborough Stadium in Sheffield. On 15 April 1989, 96 Liverpool supporters would die and more than 700 would be injured. Although the game was presented to a national audience only, all of Europe's printing press covered the Hillsborough tragedy, as it would later be termed, on their respective front pages. No commentator forgot to hint at the Heysel Stadium disaster as the European public re-assembled to evaluate this new event, also shedding light upon the past.

The Hillsborough tragedy seemed to confirm generally held prejudices concerning the violent character of Liverpool supporters 'and triggered … pre-existing perceptions of an anti-Liverpool bias existing in other parts of England' (Hughson and Spaaij, 2011, p. 288). The references to Heysel were made accordingly. Even a foreign editorial in *El País* (16 April 1989) was entitled 'Liverpool, Again' and compared the scenes from Hillsborough to those of 1985: 'As the British television provided scenes from Sheffield stadium yesterday, repeated ad nauseam in all the world's news programmes, the viewer was brought back to May 29, 1985, when the name "Heysel" reached the sad reputation of

a paradigm of barbarism.' Likewise, in Italy, Heysel was remembered for the deeds committed by Liverpool supporters:

> The memory of the massacre of Heysel, Belgium, brings the nightmare back to life. Four years ago, the spark had been caused by the onslaught of Liverpool fans. There had been 39 dead Italians. Yesterday, the fuse was lit by supporters of the same team engaged in the semi-final match of the FA Cup against Nottingham Forest. According to a first official version, hundreds of people remaining without a ticket had broken down the entrance gate of an end. (*La Repubblica*, 16 April 1989, p. 3)

An editorial in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (17 April 1989, p. 4) saw slight differences but also stark parallels in relation to Brussels: 'It was not the usual violence of fanatical football fans which led to the terrible disaster at Hillsborough stadium in Sheffield. But again absurd hysteria preceded it – as with the riots at Heysel stadium four years ago, where 39 people ... had fallen victim.' However, these views were neither unanimous nor as clear as they used to be. Even before it was confirmed by the intermediate Taylor Report – the independently conducted inquiry by Lord Justice Taylor – that the Yorkshire police were, indeed, responsible for the tragedy (cf. Hughson and Spaaij, 2011, p. 288), the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* was more careful in pointing the finger at Liverpool supporters: 'As in the Heysel stadium supporters of Liverpool FC are in the limelight of the tragedy, but this time they are the victims ... They die after six minutes of play when a police officer has an entrance gate opened due to the large press of people outside the stadium' (17 April 1989, p. 3). The overall attitude towards Heysel and the blame bestowed on football supporters, in particular from Liverpool, had remained four years after Heysel. However, as the latter quote shows, Heysel ceased to be regarded exclusively as an icon of barbarism in the Europe-wide perception.

It would take almost 20 years after the tragedy in Brussels for Liverpool FC and Juventus Turin to meet again on the pitch. On 5 April 2005, the draw of the Champions League decided that they would encounter each other at Anfield Stadium in the first leg of the quarter-finals. Many commentators regarded the game as heavily loaded with symbolism. In the run-up to the game, journalists made numerous references to the past. This time, however, the memories had undergone a remarkable shift. It seems that the memory of rioting fans and the shame over the once-displayed brutality predominated only in the UK. Still, they were no longer addressed directly (cf. *The Guardian*, 5 April 2005). In Italy,

the reception of the Heysel tragedy had, indeed, shifted to the absence of adequate security measures and bad crowd control installations: 'Juventus and Liverpool competed for the last time on May 29, 1985, in the Belgian Heysel stadium. The English fans attacked the Italian ones, throwing down a *ridiculous* chain-link fence that separated them from one another. 39 people died, crushed in the crowd' (*La Repubblica*, 5 April 2005, emphasis added). In Spain, *El País* put the focus on security measures too:

> Juventus Turin came to Liverpool yesterday, with fewer stars than memories about a disastrous evening on May 29, 1985, in a decrepit Heysel stadium in Brussels, the scene of that day's tragedy which ended the age of innocence in football … A whole series of deficiencies helped the hooligans in their crime: there were few policemen, metal barriers did not exist, the turnstiles did not work, the walls had cracks. This was the condition of the old Heysel stadium, chosen by UEFA as the venue for the eagerly awaited European Cup final. (5 April 2005)

Likewise, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (5 April 2005, p. 30) pointed out that Heysel was remembered by many as a tragic event that sparked an epochal shift in the organisation of sports events. The riots had been unanimously pushed back in the evaluation of the Heysel Stadium disaster. With growing temporal distance to the actual event, themes other than barbarism had taken over. In 2005, Heysel was predominantly remembered for the inexplicable absence of crowd control measures and adequate security provided by the authorities. This finding is not surprising in the face of the insights provided by Anastassia Tsoukala, who notes that in the post-Cold War period, the value of security has significantly increased: 'Now omnipresent, the value of security is indisputable: it transcends countries and political divisions, regards or discredits any conflicting views and justifies the adoption of whatever measures are deemed necessary to protect it, even at the expense of civil liberties' (Tsoukala, 2009, p. 125). Eckart Conze (2009, p. 15) has also observed an 'erosion of security – or rather: of securities' in Germany ever since the end of the Cold War. According to him, this erosion continues to influence political discourse to this day.

Changing attitudes to security are not restricted to football or the world of sports in general. This can be seen by the example of the Love Parade tragedy which occurred in Duisburg, Germany, on 24 July 2010. In an underpass, the only exit and entrance to the festival area, 21 people died

in a stampede when panic broke out among festival visitors. Referring to this event, Adrian Kreye analyses the reasons for fatal stampedes. He selects several historical examples from pop and rock concerts, music festivals and stadium tragedies to shed some light upon the origins for these fatal events. And he also mentions Heysel:

> A fight at the European Cup in Brussels' Heyse [sic] stadium escalated to a mass hysteria with 39 dead and 600 injured. In most cases, the triggers for such disasters are of a technical nature … In all these cases, however, there had been organisational mistakes and overstrained security forces that had a difficult situation escalate to a tragedy. (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 26 July 2010, p. 4)

The author clearly puts the stress on the safety aspect, thus removing all the blame from Liverpool supporters. All of a sudden, Heysel is given the air of an accident that was merely worsened by fighting in the terraces. In the same year, when Serbian fans rampaged in Genoa before the European Championship qualifier against Italy, the Italian Secretary of the Interior, Roberto Maroni, proudly announced: 'Thanks to Italian police, a second Heysel, a carnage, was prevented' (*La Repubblica*, 14 October 2010, p. 2). These examples reveal several things. First of all, the Heysel Stadium disaster is still remembered and a reference to it is still considered newsworthy and immediately understandable. Second, the reception of the Heysel riot has changed. While in 1985 the emphasis was placed mainly on the acts of barbarism committed by hooligans, now both Kreye and Maroni reduce Heysel to security issues only. Third, Heysel as stimulus for virtual reunion was limited in its reception. To my knowledge, it was only in Germany and Italy that the Duisburg stampede was perceived as similar to Heysel in some way. It seems that the stimulus was not strong enough to trigger a complete virtual reunion.

Conclusion

On occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Heysel Stadium disaster, none other than UEFA President Michel Platini – who as a former Juventus player and jubilant winner at Heysel in 1985 no doubt has a special perspective on the event – declared: 'No one who ever saw the tragedy, as a player or merely as a spectator or television viewer, will ever be able to erase it from their memory' (UEFA, 29 May 2010) – and he was right. The Heysel Stadium disaster can, indeed, be regarded as a European *lieu de mémoire*; with the appropriate stimuli, it is repeatedly

revisited by millions of people across Europe. The credit for the making of this site of memory mainly belongs to the media as they played a vital role in its formation as well as in the process of remembrance.

The Heysel Stadium disaster could only turn into an event of such proportions due to intensive and extensive media coverage which spread across national boundaries. Due to the heated atmosphere in the days that followed 29 May 1985, a European public engaged in the discussion and evaluation process of the event. As the atmosphere cooled down and Heysel had lost its appeal in terms of newsworthiness, the European public dissolved temporarily. In the following years, however, the memory of Heysel remained below the surface and may be re-activated by stimuli that bring back the memory.

The general rule that memories are not accurate reproductions of historical events also applies to our present example. At the time of its emergence, the comments stress the absence of civilisation, barbarism and savageness. As the years went on, this interpretation has been, although not thoroughly, replaced. The symbolic value assigned to the Heysel Stadium disaster circles around matters of crowd control and security issues. It marks a turning point in the organisational structures and hosting of mass events. Due to the general flexibility of *sites of memory*, however, it is impossible to reduce it to a single dimension. It seems that Heysel remains a symbol of a man-made tragedy. But despite all the indignation it once provoked, it also sparked the dawn of an increase in spectator safety. Heysel represents a site that any European can relate to in certain situations and, indeed, does so.

References

Abrams, M.H. (ed.) (1999) *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 7th edn (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace).

Broadcasters' Audience Research Board (BARB), www.barb.co.uk (homepage) (date accessed 29 May 2012).

Chisari, F. (2004) '"The Cursed Cup": Italian Responses to the 1985 Heysel Disaster', *Soccer and Society*, 5(2), 201–218.

Conze, E. (2009) *Die Suche nach Sicherheit. Eine Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1949 bis in die Gegenwart* (Munich: Siedler).

Die Welt (on microfilm) Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart.

Die Zeit (on microfilm) Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart.

Dunning, E. *et al*. (eds) (2002) *Fighting Fans. Football Hooliganism as a World Phenomenon* (University College Dublin Press).

El País, http://elpais.com (homepage) (date accessed 16 May 2012).

Erll, A. (2005) *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen. Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: Metzler).

Erll, A. and Nünning, A. (eds) (2008) *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin: De Gruyter).

François, E. and Schulze, H. (eds) (2005) *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte. Eine Auswahl* (Munich: Beck).

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (on microfilm), Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart.

Gerhards, J. (1993) 'Westeuropäische Integration und die Schwierigkeiten der Entstehung einer europäischen Öffentlichkeit', *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, 22, 96–110, available at: www.zfs-online.org/index.php/zfs/issue/archive (date accessed 12 November 2014).

Groll, M. (2007) 'Wir sind Fußball. Über den Zusammenhang zwischen Fußball, nationaler Identität und Politik', in J. Mittag and J.-U. Nieland (eds), *Das Spiel mit dem Fußball. Interessen, Projektionen und Vereinnahmungen* (Essen: Klartext), pp. 177–190.

The Guardian, www.guardian.co.uk (homepage) (date accessed 29 May 2012).

Habermas, J. (2004) *Der gespaltene Westen. Kleine politische Schriften X* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp).

Halbwachs, M. (1967) *Das kollektive Gedächtnis*, H. Lhoest-Offermann (trans.) (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke).

Hughson, J. and Spaaij, R. (2011) '"You are Always on Our Mind": The Hillsborough Tragedy as Cultural Trauma', *Acta Sociologica*, 54(3), 283–295, available at: http://asj.sagepub.com/content/54/3/283 (date accessed 12 November 2014).

La Repubblica, www.repubblica.it (homepage) (date accessed 29 May 2012).

La Stampa, www.lastampa.it (homepage) (date accessed 29 May 2012).

Le Rider, J. *et al*. (eds) (2002) *Transnationale Gedächtnisorte in Zentraleuropa* (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag).

Leggewie, C. (2008) 'A Tour of the Battleground: The Seven Circles of Pan-European Memory', *Social Research*, 75(1), 217–234.

Mittag, J. (2007) 'Europa und der Fußball. Die europäische Dimension des Vereinsfußballs vom Mitropa-Cup bis zu Champions League', in J. Mittag and J.-U. Nieland (eds), *Das Spiel mit dem Fußball. Interessen, Projektionen und Vereinnahmungen* (Essen: Klartext), pp. 155–176.

Nora, P. (ed.) (2005) *Erinnerungsorte Frankreichs*, Michael Bayer *et al*. (trans.) (Munich: Beck).

Nünning, A. (2010) 'Wie aus einem historischen Geschehen ein Medienereignis wird: Kategorien für ein erzähltheoretisches Beschreibungsmodell', in Georg Maag *et al*. (eds), *Der Krimkrieg als erster europäischer Medienkrieg* (Berlin: LIT), pp. 188–208.

Sportreportage DVD (29 May 1985), 2 vols (DVD), ZDF archive, Mainz.

Süddeutsche Zeitung (on microfilm), Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart.

Suter, A. and Hettling, M. (eds) (2001) *Struktur und Ereignis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Thatcher, M. (1985) 'Press Conference after Heysel Stadium Disaster', *Margaret Thatcher Foundation*, 30 May, www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106060 (date accessed 12 November 2014).

The Times, www.thetimes.co.uk (homepage) (date accessed 30 May 2012).

Tsoukala, A. (2009) *Football Hooligansim in Europe: Security and Civil Liberties in the Balance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).

UEFA (2010) 'Heysel 25th Anniversary Marked', 29 May, http://www.uefa.org/about-uefa/news/newsid=1493589.html (date accessed 12 November 2014).

———. (2014) 'UEFA – The 1990s and New Millennium', 9 May, www.uefa.org/about-uefa/history/1990s-and-new-millennium.html (date accessed 12 November 2014).

US Census Bureau, www.census.gov (homepage) (date accessed 29 May 2012).

Von Seggern, A. (2007) 'Bal(l)sam der Globalisierung', in J. Mittag and J.-U. Nieland (eds), *Das Spiel mit dem Fußball. Interessen, Projektionen und Vereinnahmungen* (Essen: Klartext), pp. 31–50.

Young, K. (1986) '"The Killing Field": Themes in Mass Media Responses to the Heysel Stadium Riot', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 21(2–3), 253–266, available at: http://irs.sagepub.com/content/21/2-3/253 (date accessed 12 November 2014).

10
Football Sites of Memory in the Eastern Bloc 1945–1991

Seweryn Dmowski

Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to identify the position and importance of football in the collective memory of the countries of the former Eastern Bloc in the years 1945–1991, based on the concept of 'sites of memory' developed by the French historian Pierre Nora. Its main objective is first of all to show football as an important source that generates content of collective memory in Central and Eastern Europe, with a special focus on those of its aspects that have so far been of secondary importance for researchers in the fields of humanities and social sciences, and escaped the attention of most scholars dealing with football, who focused instead on West European reality. As an additional objective, this chapter also aims at proposing and submitting for discussion the very notion of a 'football site of memory', and pointing out the cases of this phenomenon within the Eastern Bloc in 1945–1991.

The chapter consists of three integrally linked sections. The first section, which is theoretical and methodological in nature, is an attempt at describing the phenomenon of 'sites of memory' as well as its various interpretations, origins and possible uses in football research. The author strives to define the notion of the 'football site of memory' and proposes two levels of analysis (integrity of the community and attitude towards social reality), which he uses to distinguish four theoretical categories of the discussed phenomenon (integration and decomposition as well as adaptation and resistance). The second section, which is analytical, reviews and analyses the sites of memory proposed by the author and linked to the football history of Eastern Bloc countries (Poland, the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia and Albania) from 1945 to 1991. The third section, a summary, is an attempt

to give a common denominator to the previous discussion by means of proposing a homogeneous 'football site of memory' shared by the entire former Eastern Bloc and symbolising one and the same phenomenon throughout the discussed societies – a specific football topos for 'people's democracies' in the Cold War period. In the author's opinion, such a common denominator was the existence in all of the Eastern Bloc's football systems of 'patronage clubs' operating under the tutelage of different branches of the people's democracy regime and its administration.

1. Sites of memory

As has been mentioned above, the well-acknowledged pioneer of research into 'sites of memory' is the French historian Pierre Nora. He argued that if the phenomenon needs to be defined, the definition should be as follows: '*lieu de mémoire* is any significant entity, whether material or nonmaterial in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community' (Nora, 1996, p. xvii). In another of his works, he defines it as the space where 'memory crystallises and secretes itself' (Nora, 1989, p. 7). As Nancy Wood rightly observes:

> we can say provisionally that 'lieux de mémoire' are quintessentially symbolic (whatever form they assume), a product of human or temporal agency, and comprise the bedrock of a community's symbolic repertoire … these 'lieux de mémoire' range from symbols … and monuments … to pedagogic manuals … institutions … and personages … to commemorative events … honorific dates … and exhibitions. Across their material and ideational diversity, Nora and his researchers identify in these 'lieux de mémoire' a common memorial function: all manage to powerfully evoke a set of civic values … which draw their adherents into a social collectivity … united in the sanctification and defence of these values. (Wood, 1994, p. 124)

Also worth quoting here is the opinion of Andrzej Szpociński, who argues that:

> aiming to capture the specific nature of Nora's propositions formulated in his early works (the beginning of [the] 1970s), *lieux de memoire* should rather be defined as 'sites of remembrance', 'sites of reminiscences', and preferably 'sites where memories come back', instead of 'sites of memory'. The conception of such 'sites of remembrance'

> or 'sites of memory' is deeply set in two traditions. The first is the tradition of Maurice Halbwachs's studies into the social framework of collective memory. Studies into 'sites of remembrance' … consist in analysis of the institutional framework of creation, maintenance and transmission of memories of the past. … In one of his later works, Nora uses the term of site of memory to describe all practices (objects, organizations) designed basically to maintain (stimulate) the memory of the past … The second tradition is the mnemonic practice of the antique and medieval orators, brought back by Frances Yates … It can easily be noticed that … the material attribute of the 'sites' becomes secondary. The 'sites' as they are discussed here may be interpreted metaphorically as any signs and symbols that draw attention due to the fact that they are suspected of being depositaries of the past. I believe that this broadening of application of the term 'site of memory' is justified, if only for the reason that both the material 'sites of memory' (museums, monuments, archives, temples etc.) and the metaphorical ones have the same properties: they are owned by specific social groups and hold specific values of importance for the community (ideas, standards, behaviour patterns). The difference is that while in the former case, 'ownership' is interpreted literally, it is metaphorical in the latter one: the former meaning is a 'physical' possibility of visiting specific sites, while the latter is the possibility of invoking them as one's own past. (Szpociński, 2008, pp. 12–15)

2. Football sites of memory

What, then, is a football site of memory? It should be construed as an element of the world of football – whether material, such as an existing physical site (stadium or field) or hero (usually a player, but sometimes also a coach or even a supporter), or non-material, such as an important event (victory or defeat in a match, a goal scored or denied, or even a penalty or a player being sent off, whether justified or not) – which becomes a symbol of specific values or attitudes of importance for the community, thus taking a permanent place in its collective memory. As Wood observes, 'it has been commonly assumed that collective memory provides social communities with historical narratives by which they apprehend their identity over time' (1994, p. 144). Here, the community is one of football supporters grouped around a team. This issue is related to the concept of 'football identity' – a specific type of football supporters' collective identity, the definition of which the author of this chapter proposes in one of his articles (Dmowski, 2013). Reverting to

the ethnic identity coined by Hutchinson and Smith (1966), the author of this chapter argues that football identity also consists of six basic elements, that is: 'code of identification (name of the club), ancestry (heritage built by the club and its supporters), history (great victories and tragic defeats, heroes and traitors), culture (crest, colours, songs and chants, rituals), homeland (stadium, district, city or region) and the sense of solidarity (togetherness)' (Dmowski, 2013, pp. 333–334).

3. Categories of football sites of memory in the Eastern Bloc: integration-decomposition

Any attempt at identifying sites of memory that are characteristic of the Eastern Bloc in the Cold War period must be preceded by a material question: what predominant attitudes symbolised by specific football sites of memory can be observed among the national communities living behind the Iron Curtain? The present author believes that the question can be answered by reference to the work of Ferdinand Tönnies, father of the concept of social ties, who distinguished two basic types of social community: *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (Tönnies, 2005).[1] On that basis, two levels of categorisation can be proposed: the degree of the community's integrity and the attitude towards the sociopolitical system, i.e. the communist regime. At the former level, the prevailing attitudes include 'integration', interpreted as internal strengthening of the community, and 'decomposition' – the community's breakdown or even disintegration. Distinguished at the latter level can be 'adjustment', interpreted as acceptance of and submission to the non-democratic regime, and 'resistance', i.e. opposition to the so-called people's democracy regime.

To illustrate the above theoretical construct, the author has decided to present eight specific examples of football sites of memory in Central and Eastern Europe in the Cold War period – one for each country of the Eastern Bloc (except the Soviet Union). The sites have been categorised according to the methodology discussed above – what follows is a discussion of football events that became, for the national communities of people's democracies, the symbols of either 'integration' (victory in the 1990 World Cup, jointly celebrated by the East and West Germans on the eve of the country's unification, and the 0-0 draw, which was memorable for Albanians, in the match against the West German team during the 1968 European Championship qualifiers) or 'decomposition' (the riots at the Maksimir Stadium in 1991 as the metaphor of the progressing disintegration of Yugoslavia) and either 'adjustment' (the Golden Team of 'Mighty

Magyars' in 1952–1956, Antonin Panenka's famous penalty at the 1976 European Championship finals) or 'resistance' (Poland's matches against the Soviet Union in 1957, 1972 and 1982; the Bulgarian 'football idiots of Europe' of 1989; and anti-Ceausescu street riots in Bucharest following Romania's crucial victory over Denmark in the 1990 World Cup qualifiers).

3.1. *Integration – the GDR and Albania*

When Lothar Matthäus raised the World Cup high above his head after Germany's triumph over Argentina in the final of the 1990 World Cup in Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR were formally separate states, although the unification process was very advanced (one week earlier, the World Cup victory has already been preceded by monetary union between the two Germanies). Although the German team formally represented only the *Wessis*,[2] its performance and successes were followed and vividly commented upon also by the *Ossis*, and some GDR citizens treated the football team as the national team of all Germans. Despite quite a debate excited by the question of whether football, divided as it was in reality (being highly commercialised and much stronger in the West compared to the 'state-controlled' and much weaker version in the East) could excite patriotic zeal in Germany, and also despite some doubts as to the impact of the World Champion's title on the shape of national identity in united Germany, it seems justified to say that the triumph significantly influenced the German collective memory. Although perhaps not the strongest of the spurs towards unification in the collective consciousness, it was no doubt among the most symbolic incentives, and also lacked the negative political connotations and consequences provoked, for instance, by currency union, one of the most important symbols of unification, which implied difficult and painful questions about a possibly uneven distribution of money between West and East German wallets, or the infamous procedure regarding unresolved property ownership questions in the East, especially the principle of 'restitution rather than compensation'. The importance of the World Cup victory in East Germany was also reflected in one of the greatest blockbusters of German cinematography of recent years – *Good Bye Lenin!* (2003), where the fortunes of the West German national team, shown in the background, are among the main elements of the narration on the unification of Germany (Krauss, 2003; Kiełczewski, 2006; Duclos, 2008; Ziegenhagen and Mohr, 2008).

Another example of a football match that became the symbol of consolidation of the national community (or rather was used with this aim in mind by the authorities) was the memorable 0-0 draw in Albania's

match against West Germany during the Euro 1968 qualifiers, played on 17 December 1967 in Tirana. Managed by Helmut Schön, the German national team – runners-up in the last World Cup after their controversial defeat in the 1966 Wembley final – was the outright favourite of their group, where besides Albania they were also drawn against Yugoslavia. Having crushed the Albanians at home 6-0 and having achieved one victory and one defeat against the Yugoslavian team in identical scores (1-0 and 0-1), the Germans only needed a modest victory in Tirana to advance. However, the favourites failed to score. The Albanian forward Panajot Pano played a phenomenal match and the keeper Koço Dinella seemed to be in a trance as he defended almost 40 German shots. The match went down in the history of German football as *Schmach von Tirana* ('the Disgrace of Tirana') – the only time ever that the West German national team failed to qualify for a major tournament – and at the same time became the founding myth of victorious Albanian football, despite the fact that the Austrian referee Ferdinand Marschall refused to recognise a correct goal scored by the Albanians. One should bear in mind that for Albania, isolated from the rest of the world not only in terms of politics but also of sports (although the Albanian Olympic Committee had existed since 1959, the country's representatives only took part in the Munich Olympic Games in 1972), this event was among the greatest sports successes in history. Moreover, the country was undergoing the 'cultural revolution' initiated almost a year before by Enver Hoxha – the triumph over a renowned rival, one of the world's strongest football teams, was inevitably treated as a result of the right policy of Albanian communists.

3.2. *Decomposition – Yugoslavia*

Located at the other extreme of collective memory is the match played on 13 May 1990 (or, to be exact, the riots that accompanied and followed it) between the Croatian team Dinamo Zagreb and the Serbian team Red Star Belgrade within the Yugoslavian league – a football site of memory that many see as the onset of disintegration of Yugoslavia (Colovic, 1998). Over 60 people were wounded in the clashes between Croatian and Serbian supporters, and photographs of midfielder Zvonimir Boban, who kicked a Yugoslavian policeman beating a Dinamo supporter, went around the world. The match was broadcast on national TV, which added further to the publicity given to the event. Football became a distorting mirror of Tito's disintegrating heritage – during the 1990/1991 season, most matches of the lower Yugoslavian leagues were never played, as teams from Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina were afraid to

go to the neighbouring federal states to play matches away from home (Mills, 2009). This was not the only example of the nationalist animosities disrupting Yugoslavia that were taken to the stadiums – on 26 September 1990, during a match between Hajduk Split and Partizan Belgrade, Croatian supporters invaded the field and burned the Yugoslavian flag (Boniface, 1998), while the supporters of Red Star Belgrade stretched a huge Serbian flag across the seats during the Champions' Cup final on 29 May 1991 against Olympique Marseille (Mills, 2009, pp. 1197–1198). With the advancing disintegration of Yugoslavia and intensified civil war, multi-ethnic cities, such as Mostar, became the theatres of political and football conflicts (Dmowski, 2013, p. 334).

3.3. *Adjustment – Czechoslovakia and Hungary*

The football sites of memory sometimes left such great and positive imprints on the national communities behind the Iron Curtain that they veiled the inconveniences of functioning in a people's democracy and incited such joy and national pride that helped in a way to accept and become adjusted to the sociopolitical reality. A good example of such adjustment was Czechoslovakian society's response to the national team's unexpected triumph in the 1976 European Championship, the finals of which were played in Yugoslavia. Its everlasting symbol, and thus also a football site of memory deeply rooted in Czechoslovakian collective memory, was of course the famous penalty taken by Antonin Panenka. Czechoslovakian society, humiliated by the 1968 intervention of the Warsaw Treaty troops and the end they put to the 'Prague Spring', for a long time sought the opportunity for revenge in sports, football included, trying in this way to retaliate the wrongs suffered on Moscow's orders. Panenka himself remembered in an interview the importance of qualifiers against the Soviet team: 'The matches against USSR mattered a lot for the supporters as we were in fact contesting against the invaders. The opportunity presented itself to repay them for suppression of the Prague Spring on 1968. We were playing in Bratislava, and the supporters cheered on us like hell. I scored the second goal and we were winning 2-0. We won the first match, and then drew 0-0 in Kiev' (Surosz, 2012) Due to Czechoslovakia's unexpected successes in the qualifiers against England, Portugal and the USSR, and also the team's sensational performance during the final tournament and the elimination of the Dutch team in the semi-finals, the entire country was waiting for the final match against West Germany. The victory after a series of penalties, where Panenka scored the conclusive one in cold blood, sending a technical lob straight into the centre of the net defended by Sepp Maier, one

of the world's top goalkeepers at the time, aroused a wave of enthusiasm all over the country. This is how Panenka remembers the team's return to Prague:

> We rode an open bus. It was great. The crowds. Before, I would only see such crowds at official visits, usually of delegations from other communist countries, but attendance was obligatory then. The authorities decided to decorate us. Those of the team who were members of the Communist Party – some four or five players – got the Order of Labor. The rest of us, myself included, the 'Distinguished Builder' award. Of course, there were also financial prizes, 16,000 crowns each from the football association, and 20,000 each from the Prime Minister. This totalled 36,000 while the price of a colour TV set was 15,000. Yet money was much less important than the great success. Neither the Czechs nor the Slovakians may well ever again win the title of European Champion in football. (Surosz, 2012)

The question remains open as to whether the people simply celebrated the national team's victory, even under the communist auspices, or perhaps also the very triumph over Germany, which the Czechs and Slovaks strongly resented but could hardly show in everyday life, the official policy being the 'brotherhood with good Germans from the East'.

Football was also extremely important in the policy of communist Hungary, and the regime was glad to use it for propaganda purposes. In the early 1950s, it became a matter of national importance, and the supreme authorities attached great significance to the national team, which became the flagship not only of communist Hungary but also the entire Eastern Bloc. Immense investments in the development of sports and football in particular, made during the late 1940s and early 1950s, started to bear fruit – for several years, the Hungarian national team was unanimously considered the world's best. 'The Golden Team' won Olympic gold in 1952 and a year later scored an overwhelming victory, beating England 6-3 in a friendly match at Wembley. This was not only the first defeat ever suffered by the English team at home in a match against a continental team, but it has also subsequently been considered a turning point in the history of football, putting an end to British domination. The Hungarians went to the 1954 World Cup in Switzerland as absolute favourites, and the communist authorities slowly prepared to partake of the fruits of a propaganda victory. However, quite unexpectedly, the Hungarian team was defeated 2-3 by West Germany in the finals, which, as Gyozo Molnar observes:

> was the first time that football as a propaganda tool had slipped out of the Communist government's control and, though only for a short while, it stopped serving the political goals of the regime. Although this rebellion was probably one of the harbingers of the revolution that broke out two years later, it would be inaccurate to claim that Hungary losing the World Cup directly triggered the events of 1956. (Molnar, 2007)

The case of the Hungarian 'Golden Team' is interesting not only because the football site of memory it established evolved from the function of adaptation to stimulation of resistance – due to the team's spectacular successes and genuine popularity among peoples of the Eastern Bloc, some researchers treat it as a potential point of departure for joint studies into collective identity in post-war Eastern Europe (FREE, 2013).

3.4. *Resistance – Poland, Romania and Bulgaria*

In the Eastern Bloc, there are also some football sites of memory that became the source of resistance to 'people's democracy' or consolidated such attitudes in the collective memory. The most obvious examples are direct confrontations between 'Big Brother' and the Eastern Bloc countries, with an out-of-sports context that was self-evident to everyone. Worth mentioning here are Poland's heroic struggles against the Soviet Union, including first of all the matches of 1957 (the qualifier for the 1958 World Cup in Chorzów), 1972 (the semi-finals of the Olympic Games in Munich) and 1982 (during the World Cup in Spain). The match of 1957 was the first between the national teams of Poland and the Soviet Union in history – in the first qualifier in Moscow, the Russians easily won 3-0. The second leg meant much more for the Poles than just the chance for the first promotion to the European Championship in history. After the years of Stalinism and the partly defeated hopes for liberalisation of sociopolitical life after Władysław Gomułka came to power in October 1956, this was an opportunity to symbolically pay back the Russians, despite the fact that they were absolute favourites. To quote Stefan Szczepłek:

> at last, the people started to feel at home, and sport was the only opportunity of showing the Soviet Union how they really felt about it. One hundred thousand supporters came to the Silesian Stadium. … Fog mixed with smoke, improvised burning torches made of newspapers, and the atmosphere of unity and freedom that could only be encountered in churches and at stadiums in those years. This was perhaps the first time ever, and definitely the first such event at that

> specific stadium. The supporters sang the national anthem … We each had private reasons to get even with the innocent Soviet players. (Szczepłek, 2007)

Unexpectedly, after Gerard Cieślik's two goals, Poland won 2-1 and the national team left the field riding on the shoulders of the crowd of many thousands of supporters. Nobody cared that the Russians easily won 2-0 in an additional play-off in Leipzig. Instead, while the 2-1 victory over the Soviet Union during the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich was little more than just a minor affront to an unpopular rival, the match against that same rival in the second round of the World Cup in Spain ten years later was an encounter that was truly charged with symbolic meaning. On 13 December 1981, the Polish communist government had imposed martial law in the country, which ended the feast of 'Solidarność' that had begun in August 1980 and was formally still in effect during the World Cup, which meant that the Polish team had to prepare for the matches in almost complete isolation. By chance, in the last match of the second round, with promotion to the semi-finals at stake, Poland played against the Soviet Union. During the match, huge flags with the inscription 'Solidarność' appeared at the Camp Nou Stadium – Polish television had to perform wonders not to show them during the nationwide broadcast (Ligarski, 2012). In a dramatic encounter, the Polish team achieved the much-desired 0-0 draw, which secured it a place among the last four and eliminated the Soviet team: 'the match was almost a war fought in our name by the players … After the match, Zbigniew Boniek entered the Polish TV studio wearing a shirt with the CCCP sign, which he swapped with Sergei Baltacha. The supporters treated it as a spoil of war, which gave us further reasons to be happy' (Szczepłek, 2007, p. 170). The very fact that such a shirt was treated as Boniek's 'loot' shows the event's immense potential in the formation of Polish collective memory through football.

Yet other, if somewhat less obvious, examples of football sites of memory, symbolising resistance against the declining communist regimes, can be found in Romania and Bulgaria. In the case of Romania, it is worth mentioning to begin with that one of the most important social institutions in the Timisoara region, inhabited by the Hungarian minority and site of the miners' protests of 1989 against the dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, was the Politehnica Football Club. To quote Peter Siani-Davies:

> in Timisoara, on November 15, 1989, in a virtual dress rehearsal for the revolution, Romania's victory over Denmark in World Cup qualifying competition brought jubilant supporters flooding onto the

> street of the city chanting slogans such as 'Down with Ceausescu'. During the revolution, the camaraderie of the terraces appears to have provided some type of model for the collective behaviour of the young men who predominated in the demonstrations during the first days of the protests. (Siani-Davies, 2007, p. 44)

Although it was ultimately not the football riots that brought about the dictator's fall, Richard Giulianotti argues that their importance should not be underestimated: 'the fans went on extended celebrations that rapidly developed into anti-government protests and rioting. Ceaucescu failed to supress these sentiments at a public rally, and was overthrown soon after' (Giulianotti, 1999, p. 16).

Perhaps the least obvious example is the Bulgarian 'football idiots of Europe' from Levski Sofia, so-called for their inexplicable and unaccountable defeat against Royal Antwerp during the first round of the 1989/1990 UEFA Cup. Following a 0-0 draw in the first match played in Sofia, the Bulgarians were hardly favourites, but led 3-1 until the eighty-ninth minute of the second leg in Antwerp, only to concede three goals within five minutes, resulting in a 3-4 defeat. Levski, at that time for mainly political reasons called Vitosha (Wilson, 2006), became the symbol of an ignominious defeat – the following day, Eurosport TV called the team 'the football idiots of Europe'. The name caught on; repeated by the French and Spanish media, it made a detour to reach Bulgaria, where it added to society's frustration as yet another stone in the avalanche of Bulgarian political transformation that was soon to take place.

4. In search of a transnational football site of memory across the Eastern Bloc

The question arises whether besides the aforementioned examples, arranged according to the proposed categories, there is also a football site of memory that all countries of the former Eastern Bloc would share. After all, the variables that served as the basis of the categorisation (the strengthening vs. disintegration of the community, adjustment vs. resistance to the prevalent sociopolitical model) were not only variable in time but were also different in individual countries behind the Iron Curtain. Is there, then, a specific football 'feature' that would be universal and at the same time relatively lasting in all people's democracies throughout most of the period of their existence, and would also bear the traits of a site of memory, i.e. possess genuinely symbolic characteristics and impact on collective memory?

It seems that such a site of memory common to Central and Eastern European countries might be the phenomenon of a developed system of clubs 'under patronage', within which individual branches of the socialist administration or power centres (such as governmental departments and their subordinated industrial entities, security agencies or the Communist Party itself) took selected football clubs under their care.

Clubs considered to be 'military' (CSKA Moscow, Dukla Prague, Honved Budapest, Legia Warsaw, Steaua Bucharest, CSKA Sofia, Partizani Tirana and Vorwaerts Berlin/Frankfurt an der Oder) operated under the patronage of the armed forces; other teams were owned and operated by internal security services (Dynamo Moscow, Wisła Kraków, Gwardia Warsaw, Dinamo Tirana and Dynamo Berlin), the transport and railway sectors (Lokomotiv Moscow, Lokomotiv Sofia, Lok Stendal and Lech Poznań) or the Communist Party (FK Tirana).

The fact that such 'patronage' was hardly without impact on the collective memory of the Eastern Bloc national communities is evidenced, to give just one example, by the paradox of the collective identity of the supporters of CSKA Sofia. Like all other 'military' clubs, this club, too, was commonly perceived as favoured by the authorities, while most of its supporters tended to have right-wing sympathies. Some even used the SS symbols, which by no means prevented them from also commonly using the red star emblem found in the club's crest and symbolising the 'liberating' Red Army (Chwedoruk, 2011).

The other elements of this specific football system developed in the Eastern Bloc and well remembered across all countries concerned included: surveillance of the football world by security services and political police; the 'make-believe' amateurism of players; strict regulation and control of international transfers; the interference of supreme political authorities in matches; and the shifting of the power struggles between individual people and different centres of authority to the competition played out in football stadia. It is due to this very unique context that supporters from the former Eastern Bloc, whether during discussions over a glass of beer in a pub or at scientific conferences, are so quick to understand the context of specific football sites of memory (civil militia clubs against military clubs, top players' flights to the West, corruption and match trading), much to the surprise of their interlocutors and researchers from Western Europe. The lasting nature of such symbolic traits of football and their shift to spheres of life outside of sports clearly demonstrates the force of their impact on collective memory. And not only are they present in collective memory and easily reactivated, they also fulfil the role of a narrative for a collective identity nurtured by a shared past experience.

Conclusion

The above discussion proves that the theoretical category of 'sites of memory' can be applied in studies on European football, and the categorisation of football sites of memory as proposed by the author makes it possible to arrange the major football topos in countries of the former Eastern Bloc within a consistent and clear theoretical framework.

At the same time, it is an important conclusion that the phenomenon with the greatest power of generating symbolic meaning and influencing collective identities and the way in which history is remembered is the existence of 'clubs under patronage', which has not been studied on a broader scale yet and which, being the key to understanding football's contribution to the content of collective identities in Central and Eastern Europe, would be well deserving of further transnational research as a particular transnational site of football memory.

Notes

1. It is worth noting here that there are terminological differences and variations that result from Tönnies' work being translated into various languages, Polish included. Traditionally and not entirely correctly, the two basic notions have been translated as 'community' and 'association', while '(traditional) community' and '(modern) society' seem to be more justified (Załęski, 2011)
2. 'Wessi' and 'Ossi' are ironic diminutives that were widely used in Germany in the 1990s in order to distinguish between citizens of Western and Eastern origin.

References

Boniface, P. (1998) 'Football as a Factor (and a Reflection) of International Politics', *International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*, 33(4), 87–98.

Chwedoruk, R. (2011) 'Radykalizm i ekstremizm polityczny w ruchach kibiców piłkarskich' ['Radicalism and Political Extremism in Football Fans' Movements'], *Społeczeństwo i Polityka* [*Society and Politics*], 3, 54–81.

Colovic, I. (1998), 'Le football, les hooligans et la guerre', in N. Popov (ed.), *Radiographie d'un nationalisme. Les raciness du conflit yougoslave* (Paris: Les Editions de l'Atelier/Editions Ouvrières), pp. 179–204.

Dmowski, S. (2013) 'Geographical Typology of European Football Rivalries', *Soccer and Society*, 14(3), 331–343.

Duclos, B. (2008), 'Eine Untersuchung von einer deutschen nationalen Identität im Fußball und der Merkwürdigkeit der Weltmeisterschaft 1990', *German Studies Honors Papers*, Paper 1, http://digitalcommons.conncoll.edu/germhp/1 (date accessed 15 November 2014).

FREE (2013) *Football Research in Enlarged Europe Newsletter Issue 3*, www.free-project.eu (date accessed 15 November 2014).

Giulianotti, R. (1999) *Football: A Sociology of the Global Game* (Cambridge: Polity Press).

Hutchinson, D. and Smith, A.J. (1996) 'Introduction', in D. Hutchinson and A.J. Smith (eds), *Ethnicity* (Oxford University Press), pp. 6–7.

Kiełczewski, M., 'XVIII Mistrzostwa Świata w Piłce Nożnej (2006) jako wyraz kształtowania tożsamości narodowej Niemców' ['The 18th FIFA World Cup 2006 as the Expression of the Formation of the German National Identity'], unpublished Master's thesis.

Krauss W. (2003) 'Football, Nation and Identity: German Miracles in the Post-War Era', in D. Noel and E.P. Archetti (eds), *Sport, Dance and Embodied Identities* (Oxford: Berg), pp. 197–216.

Ligarski, S. (2012) 'Mundial España'82 oczami komisarza wojskowego', in S. Ligarski and G. Majchrzak (eds), *Nieczysta gra. Tajne służby a piłka nożna* [*Non-fair Play: Secret Services and Football*] (Chorzów: Videograf), pp. 99–110.

Mills, R. (2009) '"It All Ended in an Unsporting Way". Serbian Football and the Disintegration of Yugoslavia 1989–2006', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 26(9), 1187–1217.

Molnar, G. (2007) 'Hungarian Football: A Socio-political Overview', *Sport in History*, 27(2), 293–317.

Nora, P. (1989) 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, 26, 7–24.

———. (1996) 'From *Lieux de mémoire* to *Realms of Memory*. Preface to the English-language Edition', in P. Nora and L.D. Kritzman (eds), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past. Volume I: Conflicts and Divisions* (New York: Columbia University Press), pp. xv–xxiv.

Siani-Davies, P. (2007) *The Romanian Revolution of December 1989* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).

Surosz, M. (2012) 'Karny Czecha Panenki. Wywiad z Antoninem Panenką' ['Czech Panenka's Penalty. Interview with Antonin Panenka'], *Gazeta Wyborcza ('Ale Historia' supplement)*, 11 June, p. 6.

Szczepłek, S. (2007) *Moja historia futbolu. Tom 2. Polska* [*My History of Football. Volume 2: Poland*] (Warsaw: Presspublica).

Szpociński, A. (2008) 'Miejsca pamięci (lieux de memoire)' ['Sites of Memory'], *Teksy drugie* [*Second Texts*], 4, 12–15.

Tönnies, F. (2005) *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft).

Wilson, J. (2006) *Behind the Curtain. Travels in Eastern European Football* (London: Orion Books).

Wood, N. (1994) 'Memory's Remains: Les lieux de mémoire', *History and Memory*, 16(1), 123–150.

Załęski, P. (2011) 'Tönnies i społeczeństwo cywilne. Źródła nowoczesnej koncepcji społeczeństwa' ['Tönnies and Civil Society: Sources of the Modern Concept of Society'], *Przegląd socjologii jakościowej* [*Qualitative Sociology Review*], 7(2), 72–83.

Ziegenhagen, J. and Mohr, D. (2008) 'Die Fußballweltmeisterschaften von 1954, 1974, 1990 und 2006 – Ausdruck gemeinsamer oder geteilter nationaler Identität?', in J. Braun and U. Hagemann (eds), *Deutschland – einig Fussballland?* (Hohengehren: Schneider-Verlag), pp. 91–127.

11
Rituals and Practices of Memorial Culture in Football

Markwart Herzog

Introduction

At first sight, death and sports seem to be part of two completely different worlds that never meet. Death has no place 'in sports events ... it is situated near the borders of sports' (Gebauer, 1986, p. 277). This is not only true for sport as contest, but also as regards the location of sports competitions. Whenever stadia or gymnasia function as a place of death, it is either a case of artistic fiction (Herzog, 2005, p. 183) or concerns unusual exceptions, such as the Nuremberg Trials, at the end of which the main culprits died hanging from the gallows erected in a sports hall. Similarly, sports grounds may turn into places of death in military dictatorships, when opponents of the regime are imprisoned, tortured, executed or murdered, as for example in 1973 after Augusto Pinochet's military coup in Chile (Marschik, 2006, pp. 81–82). Nor should it be forgotten that the 'revolutionary icon' Che Guevara initiated show trials for the benefit of thousands of 'fans' against alleged 'losers' and 'dissenters', to be played out before revolutionary tribunals in a sports palace which had been erected under Fulgencio Batista. The trials were broadcast as a kind of reality TV series and culminated in random death sentences (Koenen, 2008, p. 191).

Generally speaking, sports grounds as well as the *sports activities* conducted therein are an essential part of life rather than death. Sports competitions belong after all to the most intensive forms of expression of physical vitality. Sport serves to enhance life, it conveys *joie de vivre*, it requires athleticism and fitness rather than bodily decay, disease, the process of dying, death and mourning. However, as soon as we include those *cultural and social contexts* of sport, which go beyond the *immediacy of physical activity* 'on the pitch', it is inevitable that

we come up against themes of death and the practices of mourning, remembrance and memorial culture which are so closely connected with death. This is particularly true for the rituals of collective mourning that attract the particular attention of the media and social sciences, and are called forth by particularly catastrophic events that can happen in stadia (Williams, 2010, pp. 367–386; Eyre, 2013). Three tragedies may serve as examples: those which took place in Ibrox Park (Glasgow), at the Hillsborough Stadium (Sheffield) or, as is dealt with in Clemens Kech's chapter in this book, at the Heysel Stadium (Brussels). Apart from such spectacularly exceptional cases – such as the 1958 crash in Munich of the plane carrying the Manchester United team (plus reserves, managerial and coaching staff, and indeed journalists) (Ward and Williams, 2009, pp. 73–81) or the 'Superga' air crash in which the legendary team of Torino FC was wiped out on 4 May 1949 (Dietschy, 2004) – the most diverse social practices of memory and remembrance have developed into integral parts of the memorial culture of football across Europe; they belong to the daily routines established for the social life within football clubs.

Despite the boom of memorial culture as a theme in the social sciences and cultural history, so far there has been hardly any scholarly publication debating the relationship between football and death (Huggins, 2013, p. 926). Until the end of the twentieth century, German sports history and scholarly exploration of the collective memory of sport either remained firmly in the context of the formulation of political injustice under the two German dictatorships or focused on the history of racism as well as on that of social exclusion and discrimination. The broad and rather diverse range of collective memory of sport was left out (Herzog, 2013c). In what follows, some specific fields regarding the memorial and sepulchral culture of football will be presented in the form of a survey as well as being discussed as far as their importance for the future of the memorial culture of football is concerned.

1. 'Memoria': media and rituals of remembrance and memory

The link between sports and death, football club and remembrance is the result – with a certain necessity and up to a point – of the fact that in modern times, most types of sport have been organised in clubs and associations and are practised as part of club life. Active and passive members, sportsmen and women as well as functionaries are often part of long-lasting traditions which span several generations and therefore

relate to deceased members in many ways. History, remembrance and memory are indispensable elements of community-creating practices of football clubs. These practices are for the most part conventional forms of mourning culture which have entered into the culture of clubs and associations (Herzog, 2005, pp. 183–192). They include among other elements the memorial plaques on sports grounds and published lists of honour with the names and biographical details of members who died in the war as well as the announcements and obituaries in club journals. Additional important aids of remembrance are statues (Stride, Wilson and Thomas, 2013) as well as fan articles and devotional objects which can be bought at auction (Herzog, 2002, pp. 26–27). Intensive study of the pictorial language of individual football clubs and of the photo albums owned by club veterans reveals that in previous decades, players and teams liked to have their pictures taken in front of the war memorials of their respective clubs. Each photo of this kind represents the idea of a transgenerational community of living and dead club members (Herzog, 2003, pp. 201–203; Herzog, 2005, pp. 185–192). This community-creating process is also demonstrated by the 'commemorative shirts', for example, those of the Scottish Heart of Midlothian FC, which are embroidered with the names of the players who died in the First World War (Herzog, 2013a, pp. 36–38).

These and other media used by clubs and associations are widespread throughout Europe; so is a multitude of diverse traditions, ceremonies and rituals. Among these may be counted the minutes of silence kept as a permanent point on the agenda at the beginning of the annual general meeting of sports clubs and associations, as well as the ceremonial gatherings on the Sunday before Advent, when the dead are remembered in Germany, or on Remembrance Sunday and Armistice Day, when this happens in Britain. The death of important players and functionaries is remembered by the fan clubs with special choreographies and online presentations (Thoma, 2013, pp. 105–110; Zwicker, 2013, pp. 402–403); the players and clubs perform in the next home match following such a bereavement with black armbands or crepe on their jerseys and after a minute's silence at the beginning of the match (Foster and Woodthorpe, 2012; Hebenstreit, 2012). The ritual silence, developed from military traditions of remembering the dead in Britain, sometimes stood in opposition to the minute's applause performed in Italian stadiums – in particular when the British and Italian football clubs met in European Championships. As a matter of fact, British fans may have misunderstood the minute's applause of the Italian football fans as a provocative interruption of their own ritual of a minute of silence. Nonetheless, since

it is so much easier to perform, even in Britain the practice of a minute's applause as an act of remembering the dead has now almost completely replaced silence in British stadiums (Herzog, 2013a, pp. 27–28).

Moreover, through the naming of streets, squares and sports facilities in memory of important athletes, the remembrance of sports idols continues. Particularly passionate fans christen their children with the names of football players. A follower of Celtic FC went so far as to name his son after the entire team of players then part of the Celtic eleven: '"The subs wouldn't fit on the birth certificate," he grumbled' (Kuper, 2004). This kind of fan practice corresponds to the Christian tradition of baptising children with saints' names or, alternatively, of giving them the names of late family members in order to keep their memory alive (Mitterauer, 1993).

2. 'Gloria': fame and honour

As far as performative practices within the memorial culture of football are concerned (Herzog, 2005, pp. 205–208; Osborne and Coombs, 2013), the funeral of the former Chelsea striker Peter Osgood (1947–2006) at the Stamford Bridge Stadium on 1 October 2006 (Peterosgood, 2006) may serve as a highly meaningful example: the ashes of the 'King of Stamford Bridge' were buried beneath the penalty spot at Shed End in the presence of more than 2,500 fans, of numerous players of the first eleven and of club veterans. The event was accompanied by a range of ceremonies and media presentations. The green keeper buried the urn, while the players Ron Harris and John Terry revealed a plaque on the sidelines. Video clips celebrating Osgood were displayed on the stadium's screens. During the slide show, the crowds sang 'Osgood is good, Osgood is good'. The chanting stopped when hundreds of blue balloons bearing the number of Osgood's jersey rose into the London sky. These ceremonies were not only aimed at remembering one single, deceased, extraordinary football player, but also served to celebrate the glory and honour of Chelsea FC, to whom Osgood had rendered such outstanding service.

Indeed, as soon as there is talk about the successes of a particular club, the achievements of former top performers are remembered – and thus of those who established and increased the fame of the club (Herzog, 2014a, pp. 140–141). The 'Halls of Fame' in particular keep the memory and remembrance of extraordinary players alive and herald past and present glory. Such virtual halls of fame can also be accessed online.

The existence of the National Football Museum in Manchester, formerly in Preston, constitutes a particular piece of luck for the study of

football's memorial culture. To fans passionately interested in football history, this museum, which includes the official Hall of Fame of English football, is a veritable Mecca. The Museum even became the final resting place of the late England International, Tommy Lawton, who is also commemorated in the local Hall of Fame. Lawton's greatest successes happened during his time as club player for Everton FC. For this reason, he wished to be buried in the stadium at Goodison Park. The plans of the club to move to a new stadium prompted the decision of Lawton's son in favour of the museum, 'fearing that the club's plans to move might see his father's last resting place become a supermarket' (Szczepanik, 2004). This unique case had its own remarkable aftermath, for possession of Lawton's urn was contested by the museum management and his son as soon as the plans to move the museum from Preston to Manchester had been made public (Herzog, 2011, pp. 178–179); this move finally took place in 2012.

3. 'Damnatio memoriae': the destruction of memory

As mentioned above, the investigation of the memorial culture of German football remained almost identical to the process of coming to terms with the Nazi past well beyond the turn of the millennium. Between 1933 and 1945, numerous Jewish sportsmen and women were excluded, expelled and murdered; their own achievements cancelled from the collective memory of sport. To this end, a wide range of practices of *damnatio memoriae* were activated. The names of the sportsmen were cancelled from the chronicles of football clubs, their achievements were deleted from the documents, their portraits were taken from illustrated volumes and historical records kept their merits secret. Only from the end of the twentieth century did German sports history begin to reconstruct the names, achievements and destinies of Jewish athletes, in order to pluck them from a *damnatio memoriae*, which had been inflicted by the memorial politics of National Socialism. An important step was made by the foundation *Neue Synagoge – Centrum Judaicum Berlin* with the touring exhibition 'Kicker – Kämpfer – Legenden: Juden im deutschen Fußball' (Schollmeyer and Schütz, 2006) and organised in order to counteract the long-lasting deletion of memory of the National Socialist State. From 2005 onwards, several historical studies regarding the history of German football clubs during the National Socialist period have been published. All of these studies include dedicated chapters concerning the destinies of Jewish sportsmen and functionaries as far as these could be ascertained (Herzog, 2013e, pp. 408–411). This kind of

research is often very time-consuming. The example of 1. FC Kaiserslautern could be used to illustrate a peculiar asymmetry within a club's memory typical of the history of memorial culture: there is no problem in identifying the names and biographical details of all those club members who died in the Second World War 'für Führer, Volk und Vaterland'. By contrast, the Jewish members who fell victim to Nazi racial politics or were forced to flee and emigrate can only be determined by chance (Herzog, 2009, pp. 32–52 and 55–64).

Nonetheless, in the history of sport, the practices of *damnatio memoriae* are to be found not only in the period of National Socialism. The second German dictatorship, the German Democratic Republic, succeeded to the inheritance of National Socialism by using the same measures of memory cancellation in order to eliminate politically unreliable football players from the collective memory of sport. This chapter of German sports history is only just being written at the moment (Braun and Barsuhn, 2013, pp. 429–432).

It should, however, not be forgotten that the policy of *damnatio memoriae* has been practised worldwide for millennia. Even the sports associations of the US were happy to employ them when trying to delete non-white sportsmen and women from the collective memory. Today, their Halls of Fame attempt to reverse the racist *damnatio memoriae* of earlier decades. In this case as well, it is important to steer against the asymmetry of retrospection and remembrance of the achievements of sports associations and to give the merits of Afro-American sportsmen and women their dues without prejudice (Gietschier, 2004, p. 248; Kalwa, 2006).

Generally, it can be said that social memory is always selective. It is biased in terms of sociocultural criteria and is constantly under review. Naturally, it cannot comprise all dead. Memory of certain people survives, while others are forgotten. Remembrance never works without forgetting. Nonetheless, a politically motivated destruction of memory is quite different from these anthropological mechanisms. Such a policy of *damnatio memoriae* was practised across Europe in particular under fascist and socialist dictatorships (Herzog, 2013a, pp. 44–54; Zwicker, 2013, pp. 403–405).

4. 'Sepultura': tomb, coffin, burial and fan-cemeteries

Sport and death meet not only as part of established practices of remembrance but also in sepulchral art, in the iconography of tomb stones, in funereal rites, in the design of coffins and, last but not least, in fan cemeteries.

4.1. *Gravestones*

An early example is given by the grave of a player at Aston Villa FC, murdered in 1923. To this day it is marked by a football made from granite (Sharpe, 2001, p. 200). As regards gravestones of deceased athletes furnished with information about their active career or with sports insignia, these are a minority in Germany (Cardorff and Böttger, 2005, p. 21) as well as in Britain (Huggins, 2012, pp. 3–7). Some examples of remarkable gravestones of football players which have been designed with a specific sports iconography can be found in the illustrated volumes published by Cardorff and Böttger (2005) as well as by Wangen (2009).

4.2. *Coffins*

Not only the design of gravestones but also that of coffins and their furnishings is currently undergoing a trend towards 'individually themed burials' across Europe. The relatives of deceased fans are now able to purchase designer coffins and urns which are decorated with club insignia. The range of products available on the German market includes, for example, for the fan of Borussia Dortmund the black and yellow urn in the shape of a football, for the fan of Schalke 04 the Tory blue coffin made from cherry wood, and for the follower of 1. FC Kaiserslautern a coffin varnished in the hell-fire red of the 'red devils from the Betzenberg'. Thereby, coffin, urn and funeral become the last stage for fans who wish to attest in public and beyond death to their lifelong loyalty to a specific club. Particularly avant-garde variants of football designer coffins, 'crazy coffins', originate in England (Crazy Coffins, 2013), for example, those produced by a company in Portsmouth which offers the fans of a local football club a wooden coffin made to look like a football boot (Neumann and Neurath-Sippel, 2005, pp. 86–87).

4.3. *Funerals*

What is the ideal burial of a fan? For Schalke fans, diverse undertakers offer 'themed funerals' kept in white and blue, including the necessary requisites and services, including the blue and white football urn, the blue and white coffin or the funeral service with the chanting of the club anthem at the open grave. In Britain all these elements of funerary ceremonies are also widespread. The most diverse range of products and services in Europe is being offered by Dutch undertakers. 'Vredehof Uitvaartverzorging' enables the fans of FC Twente to choose from a wide range of offerings for fan burials: from condolence cards to flower arrangements, funerary objects, coffin and urn in the club colours to the

'commemorative brick' in the 'Wall of Fame' and the gravestone with the club's coat of arms. Even the transfer of the funeral party in the team bus of FC Twente can be booked. The respective richly illustrated brochure is entitled 'De FC Twente Uitvaart' ('The FC Twente Funeral') and is headed by the motto of 'you'll never walk alone' (Vredehof, 2013).

4.4. *Fan cemeteries*

And, finally, there has been a new development in several European and extra-European countries. There are plans and completed initiatives for the establishment of cemeteries exclusively set aside for the fans of single football clubs. Such plans were carried out in 2006 at Buenos Aires by Club Atlético Boca Juniors. The private cemetery can be extended to up to 27,000 graves if necessary (Franklin, 2007, pp. 16 and 120–125). In 2006 the German funeral industry declared its interest in the idea of a 'Hertha-Friedhof' reserved for the followers of Hertha BSC Berlin (Wanzeck and Seufert, 2006). As early as mid-2006, a fan necropolis for the fans of Hamburger Sport-Verein (HSV) became a done deal; it was opened, interestingly enough, on Cemeteries Day in 2008. The fan cemetery is situated within the main cemetery Hamburg-Altona, within chanting distance from the arena of HSV. The Dutch football clubs FC Twente and Maastrichtse Voetbal Vereniging are planning dedicated burial grounds for their followers, whereas in 2012, a stadium-shaped communal burial field on the Friedhof Beckhausen-Sutum with a view of the Veltins-Arena became a reality for Schalke fans (Herzog, 2013a, p. 33).

The archetype of all football necropolises was, however, founded as early as 1996 at the Amsterdam cemetery Westgaarde (Herzog, 2005, pp. 194–196): this is a field for scattering ashes with a substitutes' bench and turf from Ajax Amsterdam's former stadium 'De Meer'. In this case burials may be carried out independently of specific club 'confessions'. For the initiative of the establishment of this Ajax scattering ground – in contrast with the necropolis of the Boca Juniors – was not started by a football club, but by the cemetery administration, which was able to read the signs of the times and was keen to assert itself in a changing market.

5. 'Arena': 'the ashes of our fathers'

The UK has experienced the peculiar symbiosis between cemetery and football ground since at least the 1980s: the use of the sports grounds as fields for the scattering of ashes or as a 'grove' for the burial of urns. If for Klaus Theweleit (2006, pp. 65–66) the idea of a football pitch as

the burial ground for the dead was an affliction born of surreal and feverish nightmares, this practice is possible in the UK due to funeral and cemetery law that is quite radically different from those in most other European countries. For this reason, the grass sods from British clubs do not need to be transported to a cemetery – as would be the case in Amsterdam, Buenos Aires, Hamburg or Gelsenkirchen – before gaining a scattering ground on 'used football turf'; rather, the stadiums themselves may become final resting places. Each British club develops its own respective tradition (e.g. scattering of ashes or urn burials) of a club-specific sepulchral culture. There are important differences in terms of quantity as well as quality, although the available data are not always very reliable (Sharpe, 2001, pp. 1–18; Herzog, 2005, pp. 196–203; Herzog, 2011, pp. 173–179).

In its most primordial form, the scattering of ashes takes place directly on the football pitch. Nonetheless, numerous clubs are afraid of health risks for the players and damage to the turf. Therefore, they have tried to limit such scattering ceremonies or to prevent them completely; alternatively, they have insisted that the ashes should either be 'scattered' or 'buried' next to the pitch or behind the goal mouths.

There is no single rule as to how the British football clubs deal with their fans' wishes: some clubs permitted the scattering of ashes in the past, whilst prohibiting the practice today. Some of them never permitted the practice, for several reasons (some administrative), or they claim that they have so far not been faced with such demands. Other football clubs meet the problem proactively by creating in their own grounds a 'garden of remembrance' or alternatively a 'memorial garden', where the scattering of ashes is allowed. In this way they offer the deceased fans a post-mortem abode and at the same time take into account the fears of contact harboured by the people involved in the match operations. In 2003, when Manchester City FC moved from the Main Road Stadium into the City of Manchester Stadium (currently known as the Etihad Stadium), the club established its own 'memorial garden' 'because demand to scatter ashes was so high, there were worries it would affect the pitch' (Cook, 2006). In any event, there is a clear trend towards a relocation of the scattering of ashes onto fields outside the 'holy ground' of the pitch.

Particular mention in this context is due to Birmingham City FC and Derby County FC, which have gone well beyond the stadium-bound possibilities of fan burials by offering not only the scattering of ashes but also burials in the stadium in collaboration with the 'Midlands Co-operative Society': 'football funerals' (Football Funerals, 2013). The

relatives of deceased fans may buy coffins decorated with club insignia which form part of the product range of 'individually themed burials' of the German market as well. Single undertakers, e.g. Geo. Edward Gamble & Sons: Funeral Directors in Syston near Leicester, have included the scattering of ashes on football grounds, cricket pitches, golf courses and other public spaces in their range of offers (Geo, 2013). The company Natural Endings in Manchester also offers a wide range of services: under the heading of 'alternative funerals' can be found 'football funerals' in Old Trafford as well as in the Etihad Stadium. The company acts according to the motto that 'a funeral service should be a reflection of a person's life – their loves, their achievements and the things that made them who they were' (Natural Endings, 2013).

A decisive factor in the foundation of fan cemeteries were, among other factors, the above-mentioned issues as the result of the scattering of ashes on the pitch. Apparently the burials at the Stadium La Bombonera in Buenos Aires became so frequent that the quality of the lawn deteriorated dramatically. Therefore, the board of the club decided upon the foundation of the Boca Juniors Cemetery south of the Argentinian capital. This is a large field within the private cemetery Cemeterio Parque Iraloa (Cemeterio Parque Iraloa, 2013). Here, fans are given their final resting place buried in 'earth that has been played on', originally from the Stadium. Numerous Boca Juniors stars have already been reburied at the new cemetery, while urns of deceased fans arrive at the necropolis from all five continents (Franklin, 2007, pp. 116 and 121–122).

6. 'Translatio': the building of and the move to a new stadium

Sharpe's documentation regarding the funeral culture of British football as well as Internet forums have often focused on the special problems that arise when a club has to abandon a long-used stadium in order to move to a new venue (Sharpe, 2001, p. 7; Herzog, 2005, pp. 202–203; Herzog, 2011, pp. 177–179). For security reasons alone, the *ex novo* erection of a stadium or, alternatively, the conversion and modernisation of an existing stadium had become unavoidable in many cases, as a result of the Hillsborough disaster in 1989 and the subsequent Taylor Report on football ground safety. Nonetheless, fans may feel that to give up a time-honoured stadium and to move to a new place amounts to a painful breach with tradition. The example of Arsenal FC, which decided to move for economic reasons, among others, from Highbury Stadium into the Emirates Stadium, attests powerfully to how important it is in such

cases 'to incorporate history into the new stadium'. This incorporation may happen via 'material and remembered features of the old Highbury Stadium' (Church and Penny, 2013, p. 825) as well as by re-using the names of the respective Highbury grandstands for the new grandstands in the Emirates Stadium (Church and Penny, 2013, pp. 827–828).

An additional means of building 'spiritual bridges' between the old stadium and its history and the new one is provided by the 'commemorative walls' offered by many football clubs, built from thousands of 'commemorative bricks'. The fans may purchase these 'commemorative bricks', with the option of having them inscribed. Such inscriptions cover a wide field of possibilities: the dates of birth and death of loved ones, declarations of love as well as congratulations on birthdays and other feast days, but also the records of particular experiences at the stadium, of title wins and spectacular matches, the memory of which is kept alive by the 'commemorative bricks' (Herzog, 2013b). In this way, the biographies of fans and their families become intertwined with the historical dates of a football club and thus constitute an impressive commemorative mosaic. In the case of the *ex novo* construction of stadiums, the 'commemorative walls' become the bearers of the collective memory of the old stadium.

Moreover, where a new stadium was constructed, football clubs had to deal with the question of what was going to happen to the ashes of deceased fans who had been buried in the old stadium: 'would someone whose desire it had been to be scattered at the ground where presumably they had spent their happiest hours, wish to be re-housed, as it were, elsewhere, albeit at the current location of their favourite team?' (Sharpe, 2001, p. 7). Particular consideration was shown by Sunderland AFC on the occasion of its 1997 move from Roker Park Stadium, which had been used by the club for 99 years, to the Stadium of Light, for the club management was prepared to give those buried in Roker Park 'a permanent home' in the new stadium (Szczepanik, 2004). Everton FC also showed cooperation by offering the possibility of relocating the ashes of fans to the new stadium in the event of a move: 'At any stadium we propose to move to, provision will be made for the remains to be relocated' (Szczepanik, 2004).

In the UK, *ex novo* stadium construction is often contested since the old football grounds stand for the beginnings and the traditions of the clubs, and are tightly connected to the memories passed on by fathers to their sons and grandsons. For many fans, the move to another stadium means an expulsion from their 'spiritual home' or 'second home' (Carter, 2001; Herzog, 2009, p. 278; Taylor, 2006, pp. 65–69). A statement

by a fan on the homepage of the Welsh team Swansea City AFC points to the central problem that the move to another stadium may bring with it: 'some of our deceased supporters had their ashes sprinkled across the playing field as proud relatives solemnly looked on'. The Vetch Field Stadium being as it was 'a place of remembrance and sacrifice that is forged into the historic roots of our City', it is also 'a graveyard of glorious memories, a place which our Fathers can take pride in as they tell their sons the stories of past great players and performances in times long gone' (Swansea City, 2002).

The directors of the club took these arguments seriously and on the occasion of the relocation of the stadium from Vetch Field to Liberty Stadium ensured that sepulchral culture within the transgenerational football family was able to continue and stay intact. The approximately 50 urns in the old stadium, which could not be returned to the relatives due to missing documentation, were relocated to the new stadium. Reverend Kevin Johns explained the importance of the fans buried at Vetch Field: 'They were part of our family at the Vetch Field and they will be part of the new ground.' In addition, in the new stadium a 'book of remembrance' would be set up 'to record the details of anyone whose ashes are scattered there' (Anon., 2005).

In 2002 a study was conducted at the University of Sheffield and at London Metropolitan University, entitled 'Where Have All the Ashes Gone? New Rituals of Mourning in the UK'. The investigation came to the conclusion that in the UK, approximately 50,000 deceased people were cremated in 1946 and that while during the early 1970s, only 12 per cent of relatives picked up the ashes of their loved ones from the crematoria, this percentage has increased greatly to this day (Kellaher and Hockey, 2002, pp. 14–19). Therefore, it is no wonder that the green spaces of sports arenas are quickly rising in popularity.

7. 'In aeternum': the concept of the eternal fan

The relationship between cemetery and stadium discussed in this chapter can be interpreted from different points of view. First of all, this relationship is a highly meaningful confirmation of the thesis regarding the stadium as a holy space: 'stadium as a much loved place or a sacred place, analogous to a cathedral' (Bale, 1991, p. 131). In addition, the stadiums of successful football clubs attract a considerable increase in prestige for their town and its inhabitants: 'The Ground as an Emblem of Locality' (Taylor, 1989, pp. 93–94). They offer a possibility of identification that may influence an entire life, give structure through the rhythm of the match schedules and even reveal eschatological perspectives.

Basically, the chronological dimension of community-creating practices in a football club may – at least as far as the aspirations of the fans are concerned – go way beyond the boundaries drawn by birth and death. Highly enthusiastic fans attempt to enrol their own children as early as possible as members of the football club, to present them clad in a romper suit in the club colours with emblems (Prosser, 2002, p. 288) or to negotiate even pre-natal memberships (Herzog, 2002, p. 24, note 56; Herzog, 2011, pp. 163–165). They also make every attempt to extend their own identification with the respective football club beyond the end of their lives. Thereby, the 'eternal fan' enters the stage of football history and becomes a consumer of appropriate merchandising products as well as of the services of funeral parlours. As a result of the above-mentioned 'football funerals' available to the fans of Birmingham City FC, the football club is considered as 'one of the clubs to have really embraced the concept of the eternal fan' (McNamee and Gallagher, 2004). The concept of the 'eternal fan' helps us focus on current trends in contemporary football culture which aim at extending possible identification with a club into the pre-natal as well as the post-mortal time range. And, with the help of a 'memorial wall' like that offered by Chelsea FC to the families of deceased fans as a 'permanent memorial', football clubs enable their fans to bear witness to their 'eternal support for the club' (Anon., 2013). In his bestseller *Fever Pitch*, the author and Arsenal fan Nick Hornby has composed a paragraph about the eschatological experiences of a football fan. Entitled 'A matter of life and death', it reflects Hornby's musings on the possibility of spending eternity at the Highbury Stadium:

> I am one of those who would, I think, be happy to have my ashes scattered over the Highbury pitch (although I understand that there are restrictions: too many widows contact the club, and there are fears that the turf would not respond kindly to the contents of urn after urn). It would be nice to think that I could hang around inside the stadium in some form, and watch the first team one Saturday, the reserves the next; I would like to feel that my children and grandchildren will be Arsenal fans and that I could watch with them. It doesn't seem a bad way to spend eternity, and certainly I'd rather be sprinkled over the East Stand than dumped into the Atlantic or left up some mountain … I want to float around Highbury as a ghost watching reserve games for the rest of time. (Hornby, 2000, p. 64)

In these deliberations, Hornby explored the 'concept of the eternal fan' in an impressively poignant way. Instead of churches and cemeteries,

now football stadiums become 'cathedrals of modernity' and guarantors of eternity, even though the eternity is relative and may end when the club relocates to a new stadium. After all, from 2006, the headquarters of Arsenal FC is no longer the Highbury Stadium with its rich tradition, but the Emirates Stadium. Following the exodus of his club from Highbury, Hornby will have to reconsider his options.

Nonetheless, Hornby indirectly confirms a study commissioned by Age Concern: 'people today would rather have their ashes scattered in a personal place or landmark rather than a churchyard' (Anon., 2004); 'people today are keen to look beyond tradition when planning their funerals and want a final resting place that reflects and celebrates their life' (Michael Aubrey-Bugg, cited in Anon., 2004). Today, football clubs and fan associations as transgenerationally constituted sub-cultural societies take over former dominions of the churches: 'In Britain, the following of clubs, especially ones with strong community ties, has replaced the function of organised religion as a defining principle in people's lives' (Mike Cronin, cited in Edemariam, 2004; cf. Herzog, 2014b; Herzog, 2014c, pp. 1489–1490).

Cultural changes in sport, the intensification of emotional ties between supporters and club through the clever marketing of devotional objects as well as the public performance of such loyalties in conjunction with a commercialisation of the allegiance through funeral parlours form a powerful conglomerate of motives and interests. This heady mix of ingredients gives rise to the forms of fan behaviour recorded in this chapter as well as to alliances between football and sepulchral culture which have only recently been documented.

Conclusion: European opportunities and perspectives

The majority of the media, places, ceremonies, rituals and practices of commemoration relating to football history and the remembrance of dead sportsmen and women are relatively new forms of memorial culture in football – and they have strong roots in the UK. In particular, the Hillsborough disaster of 1989 and public reaction to the death of Diana, Princess of Wales in 1997 have acted as catalysts in this development (Russell, 2013, pp. 223–224; Stride, Wilson and Thomas, 2013, p. 762). They have led towards a 'mourning inflation' and have brought forth 'new cultures of memorialisation and commemoration' (Russell, 2013, p. 227). Generally speaking, since the 1990s, an increasing emotionalisation of the relationship between fan and club can be observed. Richard Holt (cited in Edemariam, 2004) was right to claim that 'no one

wore the team shirt to a match a generation ago; now they pay more and expect more, even unto death'. It is equally telling that in the UK, the vast majority of statues dedicated to the memory of football greats were created after 1995 (Stride, Wilson and Thomas, 2013, pp. 752–756).

In the past, the proverbial motto was: 'Football is our life!' Today the fans' afterlives have extended the agenda. 'Individually themed burials' for club-specific events require appropriate locations (fan cemeteries, memorial gardens), requisites (coffins, urns, gravestones), ceremonies (the minute's applause, minute's silence, choreographies) and funerary rituals (including the club anthem and funeral party participants wearing fan cowls). In a wider context these forms of memorial and sepulchral culture remain heavily influenced by ecclesiastical traditions and bourgeois ceremonial – funeral processions (Huggins, 2008 and 2011), erecting monuments, festive pageants, *Stolpersteine* (tripping stones), commemorative bricks and walls – at least in those countries in which the mandatory use of a cemetery is rigidly prescribed even for funerals with cremations and the scattering of ashes. In countries with less restrictive legislation, for example, the UK and the Netherlands, there is a greater chance of changing conventions and traditions. It should not be forgotten that the diverse forms of remembering the dead practised in European countries compete with one another to the point where they influence each other. The conflictual relationship between one minute's silence and one minute's applause during matches played between British and Italian teams illustrates this fact very impressively. In addition, the stadium funerals which were practised in the UK as a matter of course gave important impulses towards the foundation of the first fan cemeteries on the Continent. After all, among other factors, it was the frequently expressed wish made to the Hamburg SV management to allow stadium funerals along British lines (Herzog, 2011, p. 169) which finally tipped the balance in favour of the location of the Hamburg SV fan cemetery inside the main Hamburg-Altona cemetery. And, last but not least, the general trend towards an exodus from ecclesiastical and civic cemeteries is being accelerated by the sepulchral culture of football clubs and fan associations. The memorial culture of football therefore contributes to an extent which should not be underestimated to the emerging undermining of the mandatory use of cemeteries for funerals in Europe, which will ultimately lead to the abolition of this restriction in many countries by 2020. In the UK, the funeral system, as mentioned above, is not nearly as rigidly regulated, normalised and standardised as is the case in numerous European countries. The mandatory use of cemeteries for the scattering of ashes is unknown in Britain.

The fewer the limits on the ability of fans or their relatives to decide the form of a funeral in their will, the easier it becomes for an association representing any sub-culture (Richter, 2005, p. 247; Sörries, 2008, pp. 62–67) to create and use rites that are different from the traditional customs and valid norms, and also to use special funeral spaces which hitherto have played no part in funereal culture. All this offers attractive possibilities for the development of a pan-European memorial culture in football which may ultimately help overcome – at least temporarily – the antagonism between European football clubs. An important confirmation of this prospect lies in the international support expressed after catastrophic events and accidents which connects football clubs across borders in their grief, as did the condolences expressed by many European football clubs on the occasion of the tragic death of the German international goalkeeper Robert Enke (Queckenstedt, 2013, p. 251). We may conclude that the culture of mourning, memory and funerals (whether with cremation or burial) is therefore an important field on which football may once again prove its creative potential.

References

Anon. (2004) 'Funerals: Scatter My Ashes on a Football Pitch', *Peterborough Today*, 15 October, www.peterboroughtoday.co.uk/news/local/funerals-scatter-my-ashes-on-a-football-pitch-1-151884 (date accessed 17 November 2014).

———. (2005) 'Club's Appeal over Fans' Ashes', *BBC News*, 2 March, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/4312751.stm (date accessed 17 November 2014).

———. (2013) 'Stamford Bridge (Stadium)', *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stamford_Bridge_(stadium) (date accessed 17 November 2014).

Bale, J. (1991) 'Playing at Home: British Football and a Sense of Place', in J. Williams and S. Wagg (eds), *British Football and Social Change: Getting into Europe* (Leicester University Press), pp. 130–144.

Boyle, R. (2001) 'Football and Religion: Merseyside and Glasgow', in J. Williams, S. Hopkins and C. Long (eds), *Passing Rhythms: Liverpool FC and the Transformation of Football* (Oxford: Berg), pp. 39–52.

Braun, J. and Barsuhn, M. (2013) 'Der Platz blieb leer: "Kaltstellung" und "damnatio memoriae" im Fußball der DDR', in M. Herzog (ed.), *Memorialkultur im Fußballsport. Medien, Rituale und Praktiken des Erinnerns, Gedenkens und Vergessens* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), pp. 421–434.

Cardorff, P. and Böttger, C. (2005) *Der letzte Pass. Fußballzauber in Friedhofswelten – Zuschauer erwünscht* (Göttingen: Die Werkstatt).

Carter, H. (2001) 'The Final Whistle', *The Guardian*, 24 October, www.theguardian.com/society/2001/oct/24/communities.football (date accessed 17 November 2014).

Cemeterio Parque Iraloa (2013) 'Cemeterio Parque Iraloa', www.cementerioiraola.com.ar (date accessed 17 November 2014).

Church, A. and Penny, S. (2013) 'Power, Space and the New Stadium: The Example of Arsenal Football Club', *Sport in Society*, 16(6), 819–834.

Cook, E. (2006) 'Saying Goodbye Our Way', *The Guardian*, 19 August, www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2006/aug/19/familyandrelationships.family (date accessed 17 November 2014).

Crazy Coffins (2013) 'Crazy Coffins', www.crazycoffins.co.uk (date accessed 17 November 2014).

Dietschy, P. (2004), 'The Superga Disaster and the Death of the "Great Torino"', *Soccer and Society*, 5(2), 298–310.

Edemariam, A. (2004) 'Sporting Life: Some of the Crowd are on the Pitch ...', *The Guardian*, 17 June, www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2004/jun/17/features11.g2 (date accessed 17 November 2014).

Eyre, A. (2013) '"The Fields of Anfield Road". Understanding the Memorial and Sepulchral Culture of Liverpool FC', in M. Herzog (ed.), *Memorialkultur im Fußballsport. Medien, Rituale und Praktiken des Erinnerns, Gedenkens und Vergessens* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), pp. 173–198.

Football Funerals (2013) 'Football Funerals', www.midlands.coop/funeral-services/football-funerals (date accessed 17 November 2014).

Foster, L. and Woodthorpe, K. (2012) 'A Golden Silence? Acts of Remembrance and Commemoration at UK Football Games', *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 36(1), pp. 50–67.

Frame, D. (2005) 'Funeral Plan at Reds' Ground', *Manchester Evening News*, 8 September, www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/funeral-plan-at-reds-ground-1083842 (date accessed 17 November 2014).

Franklin, J. (2007) 'Immortal Beloved', *Rogue Magazine*, 52 (August), 114–125, www.addictvillage.com/pdf/bocajuniors02.pdf (date accessed 17 November 2014).

Gebauer, G. (1986) 'Das Spiel gegen den Tod. Epilog', in G. Hortleder and G. Gebauer (eds), *Sport – Eros – Tod* (Frankfurt: Edition Suhrkamp), pp. 271–282.

Geo (2013) 'Geo. Edward Gamble & Sons: Funeral Directors', www.gamblefunerals.co.uk/services.htm (date accessed 17 November 2014).

Gietschier, S. (2004) 'The International Bowling Museum and Hall of Fame', *Journal of Sport History*, 31, 246–248.

Hebenstreit, S. (2012) '"Bitte erheben Sie sich zur Schweigeminute!" Stille als auditiver Gegensatz zur Normalität des Lärms im Fußballstadion', *Kuckuck: Notizen zur Alltagskultur*, 27(1), 30–35.

Herzog, M. (2002) 'Von der "Fußlümmelei" zur "Kunst am Ball". Über die kulturgeschichtliche Karriere des Fußballsports', in M. Herzog (ed.), *Fußball als Kulturphänomen: Kunst – Kult – Kommerz* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), pp. 11–43, available at: www.schwabenakademie.de/cms/uploads/media/Fussball_als_Kulturphaenomen_01.pdf (date accessed 17 November 2014).

———. (2003) 'Familie – Männerbund – Söldnertrupp. Zur Selbststilisierung von Sportvereinen am Beispiel der "FCK-Familie"', in W.E.J. Weber and M. Herzog (eds) *'Ein Herz und eine Seele'? Familie heute* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), pp. 167–230, available online at: www.schwabenakademie.de/cms/uploads/media/Weber-Herzog_Familie-heute_01.pdf (date accessed 17 November 2014).

———. (2005) 'Trauer- und Bestattungsrituale der Fußballvereinskultur. Totenmemoria – Ahnenbiographien – Stadionbegräbnis – Performance', in N. Fischer and M. Herzog (eds), *Nekropolis: Der Friedhof als Ort der Toten und der Lebenden* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), pp. 181–210, available at: http://friedhofskultur.de/uploads/media/Herzog_Nekropolis-Beitrag.pdf (date accessed 17 November 2014).

———. (2009) *Der 'Betze' unterm Hakenkreuz. Der 1. FC Kaiserslautern in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*, 2nd edn (Göttingen: Die Werkstatt).

———. (2011) '"Wahre Leidenschaft kennt keinen Abpfiff": Postmortale Inszenierung, Memorialisierung und Verewigung in Fangemeinschaften des Vereinsfußballs', in D. Groß, B. Tag and D. Schweikardt (eds), *Who Wants to Live Forever? Postmoderne Formen des Weiterwirkens nach dem Tod* (Frankfurt: Campus), pp. 163–188, available online at: http://friedhofskultur.de/uploads/media/Herzog_WahreLeidenschaft.pdf (date accessed 17 November 2014).

———. (2013a) 'Erinnern, Gedenken und Vergessen im Fußballsport. Visuelle und akustische Medien – schriftliche Überlieferung – soziale Praktiken', in M. Herzog (ed.), *Memorialkultur im Fußballsport. Medien, Rituale und Praktiken des Erinnerns, Gedenkens und Vergessens* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), pp. 17–70.

———. (2013b) '"Be a Part of Ibrox Forever". Clubgeschichten und Fanbiographien in den "commemorative bricks" und "memorials" der Fußballclubs Rangers und Celtic', in M. Herzog (ed.), *Memorialkultur im Fußballsport. Medien, Rituale und Praktiken des Erinnerns, Gedenkens und Vergessens* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), pp. 133–155.

———. (2013c) 'A Culture of Memory: Media, Rituals, and the Practice of Remembrance, Commemoration, and Oblivion in the World of Football', paper presented at the FREE 'European Football and Collective Memory' Conference, University of Stuttgart, 22 and 23 February, available at: www.free-project.eu/documents-free/Working Papers/A Culture of Memory Book presentation (M Herzog).pdf (date accessed 17 November 2014).

———. (2013d) '"The Concept of the Eternal Fan". Bemerkungen zur Memorial- und Sepulkralkultur des Fußballsports', in *Kirchliches Jahrbuch für die Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland*, vol. 134 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007), pp. 345–363.

———. (2013e) '"Kleine Strukturen" im Fußballsport der NS-Zeit. Offizielle Vorgaben und ihre regionale und lokale Umsetzung', in P. Fassl, W. Liebhart and W. Wüst (eds), *Groß im Kleinen – Klein im Großen. Beiträge zur Mikro- und Landesgeschichte. Gedenkschrift für Pankraz Fried* (Konstanz and Munich: UVK), pp. 403–428.

———. (2014a) 'Win Globally – Party Locally: The "Miracle of Berne" and its Local Reception', in S. Rinke and K. Schiller (eds), *The FIFA World Cup, 1930–2010: Politics, Commerce, Spectacle and Identities* (Göttingen: Wallstein), pp. 125–141.

———. (2014b) 'Kontingenzbewältigung im Fußballsport – eine pastoraltheologische Herausforderung', *Diakonia. Internationale Zeitschrift für die Praxis der Kirche*, 45, 111–120.

———. (2014c) 'German Blitzkrieg-Football against the English "Wall Tactic". The Football System Dispute in the German Empire 1939–1941', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 31(12), 1489–1508.

Hornby, N. (2000) *Fever Pitch* (London: Penguin).

Huggins, M. (2008) 'Death, Memorialisation and the Victorian Sporting Hero', *The Local Historian*, 38(4), 257–265.

———. (2011) 'Reading the Funeral Rite. A Cultural Analysis of the Funeral Ceremonials and Burial of Selected Leading Sportsmen in Victorian England, 1864–1888', *Journal of Sport History*, 38(3), 407–424.

———. (2012) 'Gone But Not Forgotten: Sporting Heroes, Heritage and Graveyard Commemoration', *Rethinking History. The Journal of Theory and Practice*, 16(4), 479–495.

———. (2013) 'Book Review: "Memorialkultur im Fußballsport: Medien, Rituale und Praktiken des Erinnerns, Gedenkens und Vergessens", ed M. Herzog (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer)', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 30(8), 926–928.

Kalwa, J. (2006) 'Historische Schieflage wird korrigiert: Baseball ist nicht nur weiß. Die Hall of Fame bringt es an den Tag', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Sport), 3 August.

Kellaher, L. and Hockey, J (2002) 'Where Have All the Ashes Gone?', *Pharos: International Journal of the Death Care Industry*, 68(4), 14–19.

Koenen, G. (2008) *Traumpfade der Weltrevolution. Das Guevara-Projekt* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch).

Kuper, S. (2004) 'Faith in Football', *Time*, 27 June, www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816,901040705-658294,00.html (date accessed 10 August 2010, now defunct).

Marschik, M. (2006) 'Die Kathedralen der Moderne. Über die außersportliche Nutzung von Stadien', *Informationen zur modernen Stadtgeschichte*, 1, 70–83.

Martell, P. (2004) 'Cremation Researchers Will Grill Bereaved Over Fate of Ashes', *The Scotsman*, 19 September, www.scotsman.com/news/uk/cremation-researchers-will-grill-bereaved-over-fate-of-ashes-1-1397787 (date accessed 17 November 2014).

McNamee, J. and Gallagher, M. (2004) 'Life/Death Experience', *Irish Examiner*, 31 March, www.archives.tcm.ie/irishexaminer/2004/03/31/story138377866.asp (date accessed 10 August 2010, now defunct).

Mitterauer, M. (1993) *Ahnen und Heilige. Namengebung in der europäischen Geschichte* (Munich: C.H. Beck).

Natural Endings (2013), www.naturalendings.co.uk/alternative-funerals/football-funerals (date accessed 17 November 2014).

Neumann, W. and Neurath-Sippel, U. (2005) *Crazy Coffins. Verrückte Särge aus England* (Kassel: Museum für Sepulkralkultur).

Osborne, A.C. and Coombs, D.S. (2013) 'Performative Sport Fandom: An Approach to Retheorizing Sport Fans', *Sport in Society*, 16(5), 672–681.

Percy, M. and Taylor, R. (1997) 'Something for the Weekend, Sir? Leisure, Ecstasy and Identity in Football and Contemporary Religion', *Leisure Studies*, 16(1), pp. 37–49.

Peterosgood (2006) 'The Peter Osgood Memorial Service', http://peterosgood.co.uk/page19.html (date accessed 17 November 2014).

Prosser, M. (2002) '"Fußballverzückung" beim Stadionbesuch. Zum rituell-festiven Charakter von Fußballveranstaltungen in Deutschland', in M. Herzog (ed.), *Fußball als Kulturphänomen: Kunst – Kult – Kommerz* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), pp. 269–292.

Queckenstedt, H. (2013) 'Auf ewig unsere Nummer Eins? Hannover 96 und die Erinnerung an Robert Enke', in M. Herzog (ed.), *Memorialkultur im Fußballsport. Medien, Rituale und Praktiken des Erinnerns, Gedenkens und Vergessens* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), pp. 249–284.

Richter, G.R. (2005) 'Tendenzen zur Entwicklung von Beisetzungsräumen der Zukunft', in N. Fischer and M. Herzog (eds), *Nekropolis: Der Friedhof als Ort der Toten und der Lebenden* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), pp. 243–250.

Russell, D. (2013) '"We All Agree, Name the Stand after Shankly". Cultures of Commemoration in Late Twentieth and Early Twenty-First Century English

Football Culture', in M. Herzog (ed.), *Memorialkultur im Fußballsport. Medien, Rituale und Praktiken des Erinnerns, Gedenkens und Vergessens* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), pp. 223–247.

Schollmeyer, S. and Schütz, C. (eds) (2006) *Kicker – Kämpfer – Legenden. Juden im deutschen Fußball: Stadionmagazin zur Ausstellung der Stiftung Neue Synagoge – Centrum Judaicum* (Berlin: Stiftung Neue Synagoge – Centrum Judaicum).

Sharpe, G. (2001) *The Final Whistle: Midfield Farewells, Sudden Deaths and Other Strange But True Passings from Football's History* (London: Robson).

Sörries, R. (2008). *Alternative Bestattungen. Formen und Folgen: Ein Wegweiser* (Frankfurt: Fachhochschulverlag).

Stride, C., Wilson, J.P. and Thomas, F. (2013) 'Honouring Heroes by Branding in Bronze: Theorizing the UK's Football Statuary', *Sport in Society*, 16(6), 749–771.

Swansea City (2002) 'Swansea City Football Club: Guestbook, From: Peter – Swansea – Sunday, 22 December 2002, Re: Vetch', www.scfc.co.uk/gb221202.html (date accessed 21 December 2006, now defunct).

Szczepanik, N. (2004) 'Scattering of Support Given Free Admission', *The Times*, 22 March, www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/sport/football/article2269633.ece (date accessed 17 November 2014).

Taylor, I. (1989) 'Hillsborough, 15 April 1989: Some Personal Contemplations', *New Left Review*, 177, 89–110.

Taylor, M. (2006) 'Soccer and the City: Urban Development, Identity and the Rise of Football', *Informationen zur modernen Stadtgeschichte*, 1, 54–69.

Theweleit, K. (2006) *Tor zur Welt. Fußball als Realitätsmodell*, 2nd edn (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch).

Thoma, M. (2013) '"Wer mit dem Adler fliegt – der auch den Tod besiegt". Die Gedenk- und Trauerkultur bei Eintracht Frankfurt', in M. Herzog (ed.), *Memorialkultur im Fußballsport. Medien, Rituale und Praktiken des Erinnerns, Gedenkens und Vergessens* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), pp. 91–112.

Vredehof (2013) 'Vredehof Uitvaartverzorging', www.vredehof.nl/fctwente (date accessed 17 November 2014).

Wangen, E. (2009) *Die Gräber der Götter. Fußballhelden und ihre letzte Ruhestätte* (Göttingen: Die Werkstatt).

Wanzeck, M. and Seufert, C. (2006) '"Ein Hertha-Friedhof wäre interessant" – Interview mit Carolin Seufert (Bestattungsunternehmen Ahorn-Grieneisen)', *taz*, 25 November, www.taz.de/1/archiv/archiv/?dig=2006/11/25/a0236 (date accessed 17 November 2014).

Ward, A. and Williams, J. (2009) *Football Nation: Sixty Years of the Beautiful Game* (London: Bloomsbury).

Williams, J. (2010) *Red Men. Liverpool Football Club: The Biography* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing).

Zwicker, S. (2013) 'Aspekte der Memorialkultur des Fußballs in den böhmischen Ländern, der Tschechoslowakei und der Tschechischen Republik', in M. Herzog (ed.), *Memorialkultur im Fußballsport. Medien, Rituale und Praktiken des Erinnerns, Gedenkens und Vergessens* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), pp. 387–408.

Index