THE POSITION OF FOOTBALL IN POST-COLONIAL EUROPE

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Dedication:

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Introduction:

Entrenched, idolized, and exploited, a phenomenon that arose from Great Britain and made its way across Europe, Asia, Africa, and every other habitable area on the Earth, transformed societies as it went along and left lasting and active legacies, all the more vigorous in the twenty-first century; football. Various adaptations of the game that essentially became football, referred to as soccer in the States, were played by civilizations for centuries around the world before the British professionalized it in 1863 by consolidating the various rules of football associations around the country into one Football Association in London, and then popularized the game throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The popularity of the game rose parallel to that of imperial conquest, as Great Britain exported the game, complete with newly made rules and injunctions throughout the world, where it was lapped up by the other imperial contenders in Europe and the colonies. The game’s popularity, the strength and talent of players, and the depth of passion and support by fans grew, as did the importance the game played within European society, so much so that, arguably, football also took on aspects of the original imperial mission, outlasting its existence and providing a platform for reverberating imperialist desires.

Indisputably the most popular game worldwide, football has historically and to present day held a far greater position within European society than that of a leisurely pastime. It has the power to reduce grown adults and children (male and female) alike to tears, to dictate the emotional state of millions of fans across the globe, to unite a fan from Africa to one in England over the same game whilst invoking the same thoughts and reactions, to fuel the dreams and hopes of those living in impossible situations, and to incite a minority of others to passionate violence. These qualities as well as several others have thrown into question the true import of
football in forming the social and cultural fabric of European society. This paper attempts to also examine how football allowed for the continuation of certain aspects of the imperial spirit within Europe after the fall of colonialism. Aspects such as national fervor, racism, globalized support for political movements, and even religious sentiment have been essentially transferred into the game and perpetuated by teams, players, and most importantly fans and hooligans. The importance of football is seen both by the country itself through representation of the national football team, or in the form of local team giants with global reach, such as Manchester United or Chelsea, who vie with one another for the most number of supporters.

Upon careful study of football over the last eighty years, many roles have emerged within European society, of which, six different arenas will be explored to provide a glimpse of the power vested in football; politics, nationalism, religion, hooliganism, racism, and as an agent of peace. In each section, different case studies or moments within footballing history are examined through journalistic reports on the happenings, official websites for teams both national and local, interviews, statistics, fan blogs, and commentary from games, all grounded in the work of sports historians and sociologists. Historians, anthropologists, sociologists, politicians, and even former hooligans have written prolifically on the subject of football since its expansion, on varying aspects of the game, which this paper categorizes and expands upon, putting together a general narrative across Europe through football. The different facets mentioned are inextricably linked with the legacy, power, and passionate following that football holds, helping to expose the prominent role that it plays throughout Europe, focusing primarily on the creators of professional football, Great Britain, and the most prominent stages in the footballing world, Italy, France, Spain, Germany and the Balkans. The paper also looks at Palestine/Israel, which although
geographically located in the Middle East, has tied itself politically and ideologically with Europe.

Finally, personal experiences and passion for the game and teams such as Manchester United or AC Milan have helped inform the manner in which the material was approached, yet a cognizance of said bias and fandom allowed for a removable from it during direct analysis of information. Through these means football can be exposed in its many faces and roles within European society and the agendas undertaken through it, revealing in part the reasons for the passionate support and following it has engendered within society and continues to do. Football has played and continues to play a critical role in the formation of post-colonial European society as both a lucrative tool and a medium for developing nationalism, political careers, racial understanding (and misunderstanding), religious fervor in a secular age, and to some extent peace-making.
Chapter 1: Politics

The world watched astounded as the Italian national team stepped onto the field in all black during the 1938 World Cup, the prestigious Union des Associations Européennes de Football (UEFA) was conceived in 1954, chaos erupted on the pitch in 1990 as Red Star Belgrade and Dynamo Zagreb fans clashed, AC Milan rose to prominence and won the Serie A championship for the first time in nine years in 1986 and began an era of domination, and the Israeli Cup was lifted by Sakhnin United in 2004, who afterward received a generous donation for their stadium fund by an unlikely source. Behind these explosive and equally memorable events within the chain of football history lurked the influence or agenda of a politician, vying for prestige and ultimately control. The disempowerment of Europe’s colonizing countries rendered a competitive void, once filled and demonstrated by the domination and exploitation of a weaker entity. Shrewd leaders and politicians quickly filled the gap, in fact laying the groundwork for it during the Second World War, with the world's most lucrative game; football.

The political power vested in football is undeniable given the success its exploitation has provided various regimes and leaders from Mussolini, an early abuser, to current politicians such as Silvio Berlusconi. Since the fall of colonial power, countries have been looking to dominate through other means, including the political field, forcing politicians within Europe to have a sound understanding of football in order to be successful given the sway it holds amongst the masses. It is this historic manifestation that makes football the ideal arena and breeding-ground to garner support, and many governments and individuals have abused this fact to help push their own political schemes. In the late twentieth and now twenty-first centuries’ football teams and players have come to resemble imperial entities, fostering fan communities in countries around the world and thus providing the league’s home country prestigious and almost divine status,
whilst creating a greater awareness for foreign countries attached to various players. Tracing the evolution of this phenomenon from the man who started it all to the super clubs of today, AC Milan, Manchester United, and Real Madrid to name a few, the concept of football as a prevailing political tool can be realized.

International football and its governing body FIFA were both shaped in 1904 in light of the political circumstances in Europe and were in turn directly tied to England’s recalcitrant relationship with the organizations given its vested power via its ancient standing as the promulgator of football. FIFA, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association, formed in 1904 brought together the football associations of six European nations including France, Belgium, Denmark, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland. These combined entities attempted to gain the support and backing of England, without whose presence any international competitions would be difficult if not implausible to create. With exerted efforts, the English FA (Football Association) was convinced to join FIFA in 1905 and the other three home nations also followed suite. The first World Cup was not played until 1930 due to the interruptions of the First World War, though football was successfully introduced into the Olympics. Bill Murray in his history of FIFA finds that England had intertwined international politics with football and thus left and rejoined for these very reasons, exploiting the power of football in disseminating political messages or ideals. Murray writes,

It was the British FA’s wish to inject a specifically political note that led to their first split with FIFA. This was on 29 December 1919 when it was proposed by the UK associations, supported by France, Belgium and Luxemburg, that they would have not contacts with the defeated belligerents in the recent war. They wanted to leave FIFA to form their own Federation of National Football Associations and pressured even neutrals not to play against the defeated central powers of Germany, Austria and Hungary.... And so it was that the champions of sport for sport’s sake left FIFA on 23 April 1920 and expelled FIFA’s two members from the International Board.¹

They withdrew from FIFA due to what was cited as lack of compromise on the payment of amateur players, but which actually resulted from political prejudices. This snubbing by the British of the central powers in the inter-war years via football may have been another aspect that heightened tensions with the Germans especially, and thus contributed to the increased hostility between both. The British then rejoined FIFA in 1924 as Northern Ireland joined FIFA in its bid as its own national entity. The problems with the FA did not stop, however, as the FA once again broke from FIFA in 1928, mostly over the issue of the definition of amateurism as cited by the FA site, but also because of Britain’s own footballing pride and ancestry, as “The FA was peeved that in the organization of soccer for the Olympic Games, FIFA had made the ‘inflammatory’ statement that it was the final authority in the game.”\(^2\) With both of these issues and the turbulent past marring the relationships between both struggling powers the FA once again quit FIFA not to return until after the Second World War. The official FA website cites in their history of the English national team and World Cup appearances that, “Because of a disagreement with FIFA over payments to amateur players, England did not enter the World Cups in 1930, '34 and '38.”\(^3\) Thus England missed the first three World Cup excursions, even the first when Uruguay hosted the competition and took responsibility for paying the costs to run it and host the teams during the economic crisis of the Great Depression. Nonetheless Uruguay was disappointed by the showing of only four European teams at the competition, which did not include England or the home nations, dealing a blow to the international game.

A similar pattern of political factions and divides within the international games arena also unfolded within one of the worst managed British colonies, Palestine/Israel, as politics

\(^2\) Ibid, 33.
restricted the game. Football was first introduced there by the British in 1917, as it was in all of its colonies, and the political forces at hand quickly took over, mostly under the dominant Jewish elite. Football did not become an official movement until it was linked with FIFA (International Federation of Association Football) through the Zionist Maccabi teams, created to foster Zionist sentiment and gain political support as the Palestinian Football Association (PFA) in 1921. Their political Zionist party rivals, ha-Po’el also started their own teams in response to Maccabi’s, with a few independent yet highly marginalized and financially bereft Arab teams present as well. The clubs and teams of the ha-Po’el and Maccabi factions generally played each other, and the club with the largest political followings fared the best within the leagues. The few Arab teams that existed languished at the bottom, until an Arab faction took over in the aftermath of the Second World War.

Benito Mussolini used the circumstances of the war period to his advantage, molding football for his own particular use via the national team. Mussolini’s methods differed from those of the English Football Association, exercising participation with the aim of dominating on the world footballing stage rather than withdrawing from it to succeed. Italy generally renowned for its free-flowing, artistic, and breath-taking football is not usually by many recalled as its national team being the first to be used for the indoctrination and defense of fascism. Benito Mussolini, the creator of Fascism, was worshiped by football fans and players alike as he successfully used the sport as a vehicle to equate the national teams’ physical prowess to the superiority of his political regime. Authors Robert S. Gordon and John London found that, “journalist, Luigi Freddi- a veteran Fascist and a key figure in the press and cinema of the regime- went on to reinforce the link by quoting his master [Mussolini]: ‘we have seen the

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azzurri continuously apply the teaching of the Duce, who wants to make out of our people a ‘methodical, tenacious, and persevering’ race (razza).”5 Football was perhaps the best representation of his ideals of fascism, the cohesion of players from different areas of Italy, all striving together to do their nation proud, as well as the fact that excellence in sports was an admirable trait of the ancient Roman past. Mussolini had found a way to mobilize even Italians abroad when he asked for a team of Italian footballers from the ‘Little Italy’ of Manchester, England to play a game in Rome, at the end of which he presented each with a personalized medal.6 The World Cup of 1938, however, was the perfect venue in which to display nationalist and political sentiments as Italy won a second consecutive World Cup championship by defeating Hungary 4-0 in the final. Although it has been argued that the referees were paid off, a trait that still seems to be associated with Italian football at the club level, the true story was the arrival of the Italian team on the pitch in fully black kits for their quarter-final match-up against rival France. As both France and Italy could not take the field in their traditional blue, Italy was forced to change into their away kits, which are always regulated as white. Author Simon Martin accurately states in his book Football and Fascism, “the decision is often cited as having emanated from the earlier poor reception...nonetheless, given the maglia nera (black shirt) was never worn again, one can safely assume it was intended to both represent the regime and confront vocal anti-fascists.”7 Although some former Italian fans in the stadium shouted abuses at the team because of the fasces insignia on their shirts, as well as their use of the Roman salute

at the first game Italy played in the 1938 Cup, the staunch supporters of the Italian national team embraced the display of fascism as part of the support for the team and country.

Apparently *Il Duce* had gotten his point across, and upon his arrival at the stadium during the final match, was thunderously welcomed. Indeed, upon his entering, “according to Luigi Freddi in *Il Popolo d’Italia* ... having ‘forgot they were here for a sporting contest,’ the fans offered him ‘the staggering sight of their uncontrollable passion’... more like a Fascist rally than a sporting contest.” The newspaper was founded by Mussolini himself in 1914 and Luigi Freddi was its editor, thus the account of the reception cannot be taken as completely accurate, although it would speak of Mussolini’s success in harnessing the support of Italian football fans for his party. It also speaks to his ingenious use of the media in propagating his achievements, just as the media has been used as a means to affect the outcome and reception given football teams in Italy today. Surprisingly, the black team shirts and fascist insignia of that often suspect World Cup win, still holds sway with the fanatical supporters of the team today, more specifically the Ultras (Italy’s infamous hooligan group). A store on ebay.com still sells black and navy t-shirts with the official fascist insignia from that year, as well as caps, sweatshirts, and clothing patches donning the symbol. Although neither the black kit nor the insignia were officially used again, the symbols remain historically strong amongst the most intense and jingoistic supporters. The model for greatness and propaganda through football was set, and the rest of Europe followed in Mussolini’s footsteps to the best of their abilities.

Football on the international level ceased its competitions during the Second World War with the 1942 and 1946 World Cups cancelled by FIFA, returning to such competitions in 1950 as an effort to reunite Europe, mostly through the efforts of the French, specifically Jules Rimet.

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the founder of the World Cup. The end of the World War heralded a period of reconstruction for most of Europe, whilst Britain attempted to figure out its place within the new order, the struggle of which is demonstrated by the decision of the FA to officially rejoin FIFA as well as hesitantly joining the Union des Associations Européennes de Football (UEFA) a year after its initial inception in 1954. The English FA rejoined FIFA in 1946, and the momentousness of the occasion was honored through the “Match of the Century.” The return to the international organization may have had to do with the landslide victory of Labour Party leader Clement Attlee over Winston Churchill in the General Election, and the subsequent creation of the welfare state. Nicholas Fishwick made the connection at the very end of his book, when he wrote,

Social change may have affected the Labour Party and the game in comparable ways. Both were dependent on a particular stage of working-class culture that reached its apogee immediately after the Second World War. Footballers embodied the contemporary Labour social ideal: they were not poor, but not very rich; they did their best for their country, and usually did it well; they seemed cheerful and appealed to people of all social classes. ... The unique post-war coincidence of social and national solidarity was thus reflected by football...the football grounds of England were the Labour Party at prayer.9

The match played on May 10, 1947 dubbed the “Match of the Century,” however, highlighted the position of England within FIFA and the footballing world as a whole, a member, yet also separate. The match itself was “between Great Britain and a 'Rest of Europe XI' played at Hampden Park, Glasgow ... it drew a crowd of 135,000 spectators and receipts amounted to £35,000. As a sign of goodwill, this sum was placed at FIFA's disposal in order to help the governing body surmount financial difficulties brought on by the war years. The British won the game 6-1.”10 The premise that it was England against the rest of the world can be seen in light of respect from the rest of the footballing world, as well as ironically symbolic of England’s qualms

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towards joining the comraderie and solidarity of the rest of Europe, as promulgated by France. The tension between the English FA and the domination of the French in sponsoring international and governing bodies for football kept the situation between both countries tenuous as England still held to its status of the codifier of football.

France, given the task of reinventing its inadequate history within the context of the Second World War and the perceived expectation of reunifying Europe given the USSR’s divisive efforts, found through Jules Rimet’s talent and efficiency the means to do so through football. Pieter Lagrou, author and Chair in Comparative History of States and Societies since 1914 at Bruxelles University, wrote in his interpretation of France’s exulted post-war position,

Yet the impression is that France, and France alone among the defeated, occupied, and collaborating countries, somehow managed to return to the concert of nations, as the fourth of the Big Three, despite its wartime record. It was temporarily restored to its colonial splendour and, with considerable skill, it negotiated a postwar European settlement in which its role was incommensurate with its economic or military weight. Partly, this was the result of the strategic choices made by the victors of the war. Only France, they believed, could lead European reconstruction and contain a defeated Germany, and to a lesser extent, Italy. However, it is often suggested that France usurped this position by imposture and denial and that this strategy of ‘invented honour’ not only served for external use, but also involved a substantial degree of self-delusion, whereby postwar France reinvented itself as a triumphant and fighting nation, fully entitled to its status as a world power.¹¹

One of the ways in which this glory and power was demonstrated issued from the continuation of the World Cup, in 1950 which included England and ended both in West Germany’s victory, and in the creation of a more directly European solidification in football through UEFA. Frenchman Jules Rimet is acknowledged as the founder of the prestigious World Cup, and the trophy or cup won at the end of the tournament was given his name, the Jules Rimet Cup. It was through his diplomatic efforts that two members of the English FA were persuaded to rejoin FIFA in 1947.

He also pioneered on June 15, 1954 the creation of UEFA, the Union des Associations Européennes de Football, to foster the desired solidarity within post-war Europe while promoting the image of a powerful France, retiring just days after. Created in Basel, Switzerland with the FA’s of France, Italy and Belgium, its core goal remained, “working and acting on behalf of Europe’s national football associations to promote football and strengthen its position as arguably the most popular sport in the world... the fostering and development of unity and solidarity among the European football community.”\(^{12}\) It was indeed fruitful in its creation of the second-most prestigious footballing competition in the world, the European Championship, or Euro, in which the top national teams of FA’s throughout Europe compete against one another to decide who is the greatest footballing power within Europe, as well as the UEFA Champion’s League, which similarly pits the top league level teams against one another to see which domestic team outranks all other European ones. England and the FA joined UEFA a year after its inception, although earlier than its previous permanent acceptance into FIFA, nonetheless displays the uncertainty it held in regards to its position within Europe. Perhaps tempered by the threat of Communism and the need for solidarity against such a front, England joined faster than it had FIFA, yet England did wrestle with the fact that in the war, it

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\text{Did not experience defeat, and as result lost faith neither in its capacity for independent national action, nor in the efficacy of its political institutions. This meant that it was much less prepared than were most of its Continental neighbors to participate willingly in the type of supranatural experiments in integration and co-operation which were launched in post-war Europe.}^{13}\]


The author, Ludlow continues in assessing postwar Britain as having to realize slowly, painfully, and over time that with decolonization and loss of imperial power cooperation with the rest of Europe was necessary for success. This realization was initially hindered by its wartime victory. The FA’s hesitation in joining UEFA was then not surprising, but England’s acceptance in the union despite being in the midst of the painful 1950s letdown, allowed for both UEFA to prosper and England to continue its elite footballing legacy in the world.

Meanwhile, in another part of the postwar world Arab teams finally found some comfort with the state of football in Palestine/Israel, first in the attempts at a separate governing entity through a new political group within the framework, and then the successful creation of Arab team, Sakhnin United through the unification of estranged political parties. Arab teams in Israel increased after the Al’Ard political party decided to sponsor them, but only as independent teams, which the Israeli government banned from playing in 1964 due to the political power and activity wielded through the teams by Al’Ard. Implicit in the name was also the idea, that ‘ard (land) belonged to the Palestinians, much like ertz, the equivalent Hebrew term, holds. Both words, however, share the same common roots, although when used, are highly politicized and polarized, as evident even through the formation of football and sports teams. The history of football in Israel centered on the struggle between the Maccabi, ha-Po’el, and Arab teams, and the difficulty of Arab teams to be successful in the Israeli dominated field, within a landscape of religious and political strife. It was for this reason that Sakhnin United was seen as such a monumental team. Sakhnin United did not come into existence until 1992, only twelve years before it lifted the Israeli Cup and subsequently made it into the UEFA Champions League. Sakhnin, like a microcosm of Israeli football, had two teams, each of different political orientation. Ha-Po’el created theirs’ first in 1961, and was five years later followed by the creation of the Maccabi
team. This split polarized citizens and fans into two warring sides; the formally recognized and established team Ha-Po’el drew in the stronger and wealthier families closely associated to the ruling Zionist family. Maccabi was then the leftovers’ reservoir, gaining support from the less affluent or politically connected families, which sided more with the Communist party anyway. This rift existed until 1992, wearing down the unity of the already diminutive and torn village. It was then in 1992, in a momentous event both sides came together to consolidate into one unified team that could truly do justice when representing Sakhnin. Up to this point, both teams were having little success in the tables and competitions, in part due to the lack of resources and skill, but also the fissure between the two camps. The pooling of players, talent, and resources allowed for the newly created ‘Ittihad Abna’ Sakhnin (United Sons of Sakhnin), to rise in status and prestige, creating a source of pride for its citizens. The team started out towards the bottom of the fourth division and within four years had moved up to second division within the Israeli Football Association, a remarkable leap, disproportionate to its assets. As The Guardian asserts, “with a budget of 10m shekels a year, Sakhnin is the poorest team in the Israeli premier league.” Despite this glaring impediment the team made monumental bounds.

The end of the twentieth century, although a good time for football in Palestine/Israel, signaled the explosion of conflict in the Balkans along ethnic lines, with football exploited in the name of politics. Yugoslavian leader Slobodan Milosevic, much like Mussolini, fortified his political strength through the garnering of support from fans of football team Red Star Belgrade.

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15 An example of a similar division is within Manchester, England, which has both a Manchester City and Manchester United team. The supporters of each are arch enemies, the rivalry of which partitions not only those living within Manchester, but effects supporters worldwide, a fact to which I can personally testify to as an avid Manchester United fan.
and their leader, Zeljko Raznatovic, more commonly known as Arkan. Arkan, himself, then launched a political career post-war and bought his own club, Obilic in 1995. With the fall of communism, Yugoslavia began to come apart with racism and ethnic hostility resurfacing and giving rise to a bloody period of civil wars. The Yugoslav Wars began in 1990 with the Croatian War and then the Bosnian War which spawned the Bosnian-Serb Republic in 1993. The wars were characterized by immense bloodshed, ethnic cleansing, and the perpetration of horrific war crimes. Slobodan Milosevic, in his attempts to build a strong (both physically and emotionally) base turned to a historically ubiquitous group of individuals that fit the role perfectly, football fans. He ingeniously picked out the fan group for the most followed and beloved team of the country, Red Star Belgrade, the leader of which just happened to be the son of a military colonel, who was infamous for several harrowing prison breaks in his own right. Author of one of Milosevic’s biographies, Adam LeBor, wrote,

Many of the young unemployed men whom Milosevic deployed on the ‘rallies for truth’ in the late 1980’s were hard-core football fans. The same slogans and nationalistic flags appeared at both soccer matches and the demonstrations. The same chant was heard at both: ‘Serbian Slobo, Serbia is with you.’ Football, war and patriotism merged into an intoxicating cocktail.¹⁷

Indeed, given the intensity with which football fans, especially the most violent or elite of the fan club, understand football and loyalty, the conversion to followers of a political regime is not difficult to comprehend, though the task does require skill and a trustworthy leader, and this is where Arkan became critical to Milosevic’s plans. Arkan had already been working assassination jobs before his arrangement with Milosevic. He made himself the head of Red Star Belgrade’s fan club in 1989, by which time the fans were explosively and uncontrollably nationalistic.

Although Milosevic had initially recruited these fans for his support group, he quickly realized that without proper leadership and constraints, they would hinder his progress. When they verged on the point of being destructive to the regime, Milosevic approached Arkan with a deal. Adam LeBor chronicled,

The deal was simple: Arkan would bring the rowdy nationalist football hooligans under control and impose tight discipline...In exchange the Serbian Intelligence Service would provide him with a military training camp and all the necessary weapons and equipment for the Tigers’ militia.\(^\text{18}\)

Arkan did impose strict rules and measures on the fans, transforming them into one of the most disciplined units the Yugoslav army had ever seen. The indictment later issued against him stated that,

“On 11 October 1990, amid rising tensions in the former Yugoslavia, Zeljko RAZNJATOVIC, aka "ARKAN," formed a paramilitary group in Serbia, bearing the name "Serbian Volunteer Guard." This organisation was more commonly known as "ARKAN’s Tigers." RAZNJATOVIC recruited members by promoting the group as an instrument for the defence of Serbs living outside Serbia and for the protection of Serbian interests throughout Yugoslavia.”\(^\text{19}\)

The paramilitary unit was named Tigers due to Arkan’s respect for the animal that could be both beautiful and deadly, and Arkan even kept a tiger cub with him as a mascot for the unit. One of the most famous pictures of Arkan is one in which he is decked out in his uniform, complete with beret, with a gun in one hand and the tiger cub in the other, backed by his men. With his troops ready, the opportune moment to spark the war arrived during the much anticipated, or feared, match between rivals Red Star Belgrade and Dynamo Zagreb.

\(^{18}\) Ibid, 188.
\(^{19}\) Louise Arbour, “The Prosecutor of the Tribunal Against Zeljko Raznjatovic also known as ‘Arkan,’ Indictment.” International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, September 23, 1997, [accessed March 18, 2009].
The inauspicious day, the 13th of May 1990, signaled not only one of the worst cases of hooligan activity surrounding a football match, but the beginnings of the Yugoslav Wars. During the match at Maksimir Stadium in Croatia, a riot ensued as fans from opposing sides swarmed the pitch and began to mercilessly beat each other senseless, with the police force either doing nothing or participating in the violence, seeing as how the police force was Serbian-controlled, they lashed out at Croatian fans. The Red Star players quickly fled to their locker-rooms, but many Dynamo players remained on the pitch, one of whom was Zvonimir Boban. Sports Illustrated writes in an article dedicated to violent moments within the game,

Through the haze of tear gas and fireworks, Boban noticed a Croat fan being beaten by a Serb policeman. Incensed, he ran over and flattened the cop with a flying kung-fu kick. The fan escaped into the crowd, and Boban ... was an instant Croat hero. Within a year the Serbs and Croats were engaged in a bloody civil war... and most historians agree that Boban's kick was the first "shot" in Croatia's war for independence.20

A video of the incident can still be seen on youtube.com, and most articles or summaries of Boban include this momentous act, which literally was a flying drop-kick. Ironically, Boban moved to AC Milan the following 1991/1992 season, then firmly in the hands of another political football team owner Silvio Berlusconi. Of course, the events for war were far more premeditated than merely a chance kick by a Croatian player, as police personnel and guerilla units were already being created and plans drafted months prior to the actual breakout of warfare. This was just the moment Arkan was looking for in escalating tensions, and since football matches can be and have been sources of hatred and violence, that violence has been shaped and transformed into competing nationalisms. Christopher S. Stewart, a biographer of Arkan wrote about his presence on the sidelines watching the scene unfold around him and notices that, “there

is a scene of him on the field looking up at his boys as they begin their march of terror. At this point, like the orchestra conductor, Arkan had to do little now to expedite his grand plan, except to watch.\textsuperscript{21} He did not have to wait long as war soon broke out and his units conducted several sordid and grisly raids on towns, indiscriminantly killing men, women, and children they came across.

Once the war was over, Arkan enhanced his socio-political status by marrying a famous singer, opening several bakeries and buying his own football club, Obilic. Arkan became an MP (parliament member) for Kosovo, though only because the majority of Albanian voters boycotted the election. Regardless, his initial ability to enter into the political arena came because of his success as leader of the Tigers during the war, which essentially stemmed from his presidency of Red Star’s fan club. Arkan dedicated the club Obilic to his Tigers, changing their uniforms to yellow, and constructed a memorial wall for those Tigers who had fallen during the wars. In 1997 Arkan was indicted by the International War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague for the atrocities he committed while leading his Tigers, namely the slaughtering of innocents in Bosnia. Arkan vehemently denied such claims, but it was believed that he was brokering a deal with the Tribunal to testify against Slobodan Milosevic in exchange for imperviousness. Unfortunately, the truth never came out in regards to Milosevic as Arkan was gunned to death in the lobby of the Intercontinental Hotel on January 15, 2000. Many speculate the hit was ordered by Milosevic himself, although Arkan was not short of enemies who could effectively exact revenge for past offences. His funeral was attended by thousands, including his Obilic players and several Tigers. Many in Serbia still epitomize him as the true leader of the nation and Serbdom, with several youth citing him in their repertoire of famous sports heroes. An article from the Los Angeles

Times gave an example of this respect and devotion to Arkan: an eighteen year old boy, Velja, explained, “Just as many Americans were entranced by murderous gangster Al Capone, Serbs are now celebrating Arkan. ‘He’s not a model, really, for many of the young kids...But people respected him. And they feared him.”

Arkan truly did find power, wealth, and success through his initial role as Red Star’s fan president, but he also played the role of pawn in the hands of President Milosevic, a fact which may have cost him his life in the end, lucrative career as gangster, paramilitary leader, politician, and football club owner aside.

Although football was used negatively in the Yugoslav wars, it was also a point of unification amongst Serbs and a source of normalcy. Current Manchester United central defender, Nemanja Vidic spoke in an exclusive interview for One United about the hardships of growing up in Belgrade. When asked how important football was in Serbia during the 1990’s Vidic responded, “In the 90s football was everything. It was the best way to show the world who we were. At the time, there were a lot of bad things happening in our country... and it was important that Red Star Belgrade and the national team played well to counteract the negative propaganda.”

When asked about the role that football played during the war, he cited the story about the infamous match between Red Star Belgrade and Dynamo as well as Babon’s kick. Vidic added, however, “The 90s was just a very unstable time and politics went very, very wrong ... these events are bigger than me and they are bigger than football.”

Despite the war, Serbs continued to watch and play football, and support for Red Star Belgrade was especially high. Vidic captained Red Star Belgrade for a year before moving to his current home at

24 Ibid, 2.
Manchester United. Through his recollection of and memory of the Yugoslav War, albiet in the context of football, English fans and in general fans of Manchester United can participate in beginning to understand the history of the wars, and for some may even be the first time hearing about it. This partially hearkens back to the idea of new-age colonialism when Vidic stated that, “of course I knew about Manchester United, I knew they were one of the biggest clubs in the world.”25 The statement may be seen as merely globalization of the sport, but it is indeed more than that as the emotions and connections to the club are strongly forged across national lines and felt as deeply as any Mancunian (resident of Manchester, England). Football then existed dichotomously, both within the estranged politics of the time as a means to incite hatred and as a unifying force for the masses.

A more direct legacy from Mussolini’s era in the form of the use of football for political and ideological purposes was demonstrated by Italy’s current Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, a masterful and proficient adherent of this philosophy. Silvio Berlusconi’s attachment to club level Serie A giants AC Milan, his movie-star looks, infidelity in marriage, and his constant courtship of the media, both for the team and himself, granted him political status. He first took charge of AC Milan as the club’s twenty-first president on March 24, 1986, immediately beginning reconstruction by infusing his money for the purchase of several star players to reverse the lack of success the club was having in the previous season. As the AC Milan official website states in its history section,

The period between 1986 and 1996 was without a doubt the most prolific period, not only in terms of the number of trophies won, but in the excellent performances and exciting style of play. “The Immortals” and “The Invincibles”, as they were known, took the game to new heights... The 2006/2007 season instead was one of excellent work in terms of effort, courage and success on the pitch. Milan [was] given little chance following the penalisation handed out by the sporting judges at the start of the season... Carlo

Ancelotti's players... centred their objectives on fourth place in the league and the **Champions League**. With fourth place secured, the final in Athens confirmed the strength of character of the team as it overcame the injustice, envy and misfortune it was forced to endure.26

Taken in conjunction with Silvio Berlusconi’s political campaigns and rule as prime minister, the club’s success was entwined with his own, as his success was mirrored with that of the team.

Silvio Berlusconi first took office in 1994 for less than a year, at which time AC Milan was on the way to winning its third consecutive Serie A championship, third consecutive Supercoppa Italiana, first UEFA Champions League since 1989, and their first UEFA Super Cup since 1990. This was a perfect opportunity for Berlusconi to showcase the fact that he was successful when put in charge of something as important as a football team, which most of Italy held and continue to hold dear. Berlusconi through the teams’ unprecedented winning record, proved that he could turn a desolate team into a winning one, insinuating that AC Milan’s success could be translated into that of Italy’s were he to be at the helm. Berlusconi did not attempt to hide his linking of football with politics as he shamelessly rallied his organization, Forza Italia. Author Paul Ginsborg writes, “the name itself, which was the traditional chant of the national football team’s supporters, was knowingly chosen and ruthlessly exploited.”27 Ginsborg goes on to display the linkage,

Football metaphors abounded in Berlusconi’s speeches, as he tried to represent politics in terms of a football match, naturally with his side winning: ‘I heard that the game was getting dangerous, and that it was all being played in the two penalty areas, with the midfield being left desolately empty...And so we decided that we had to fill that immense space.’28

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It was his pride and comfort in the team’s accomplishments, as well as his keen understanding of the fact that most of the public had a direct relationship with football and could thus comprehend intricate issues through such a medium, that he ultimately won their affection.

Berlusconi’s next stint at office came in a longer five-year term from 2001-2006, which was marred by court-trials and investigations against him due to bribery of judges in 2001, and AC Milan’s punishment in the 2006 season due to match-fixing. Despite the claims and the fact that the court precedings were not kind to his case, Berlusconi was elected and the case against him did little to tarnish his reputation amongst the general public. A special article on the Economist.com ran,

When Mr Berlusconi founded his political party, Forza Italia ... little was known about his business methods. He portrayed himself to Italians as a self-made man ... He told them that he represented a clean break with Italy’s corrupt past ... however, magistrates have investigated many allegations against Mr Berlusconi, including money-laundering, association with the Mafia, tax evasion, complicity in murder and bribery of politicians, judges and the finance ministry’s police, the Guardia di Finanza.\(^{29}\)

It also confirmed that Berlusconi felt he was being targeted by left-wing judiciaries in opposition to his right-wing party affiliations. These seemingly crippling and career-ending offenses were brushed aside by those faithful to him, saying, “Mr Berlusconi...did only what all businessmen had to do to get ahead: pay off anybody, politicians and judges included, who was in a position to help. Mr Berlusconi’s fault, they say, is simply that he was cleverer, and became richer, than his rivals.”\(^{30}\) The same frame of thinking can be applied to the previous statement in the AC Milan history taken from the official website in which the author felt that Milan was given penalty points unfairly. AC Milan, along with rivals Juventus, Lazio, and Fiorentina were


\(^{30}\) Ibid.
penalized in July 2006, for extensive match-fixing by picking referees and match officials which were partial to each teams’ cause. Initially, AC Milan got off the easiest, as it was only docked fifteen points, the other three teams were relegated to Serie B. After appeals, sentences were lightened so that Milan had only an eight point reduction and were the only team allowed to play in the UEFA Champions League. Was this decision made because of the lack of evidence, or did Berlusconi’s influence and recent survival of similar corruption accusations save the team? The latter seems most likely, although the truth is not veritably known. Perhaps the prevailing sentiment in Italy was such that if the prime minister can get away with equally and in fact worse claims, then why should it matter if his football team does the same? Berlusconi most likely only agreed to such a thing to get his team as far as he could, and he was not alone as three other teams were also complicit. Nonetheless, AC Milan, much like their beloved president, went on to win the UEFA Champions League against all odds.

Palestinian/Israeli team Sakhnin United also became a major news topic, as well as a source of pride for the government(s), when it overcame seemingly insurmountable odds to win the prestigious Israeli Cup in 2004. Prominent Jewish author and native of Sakhnin, Uri Davis highlighted the importance of football in the lives of the citizens in his response to a question on the impact the teams’ qualification had on the community. Davis said that the entire town was out partying joyously, and the win had more than just significance in the realm of professional football. One of the larger triumphs it represented was “making it to the top despite many decades of being victimized by the calculated government policies of underdevelopment, imposed on the community by what is, in law and in practice, an apartheid state.”31 The apartheid that he is referring to is the one that exists between the Jews and Muslims living within

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the border. The Arabs, though the majority culture in the town of Sakhnin, still share the marginalization and inequality of those in minority positions in most other cities. When Sakhnin United won the Israeli Cup and qualified, both Yassir Arafat and Ariel Sharon called up manager Mazen Ghenaim to congratulate him on their teams win. Each was referring to Sakhnin United as his own team, attempting to reap some of the glory and pride for respective political and governmental parties, though in a sense actually demonstrated that the team really belonged to neither one separately, but both as an Arab-Israeli team.

Due to lack of funding, Sakhnin United had no official training ground or stadium to call its own, but that was to change with generous donations from several sources, such as Qatar, but most intriguingly, by a politician named Arcadi Gaydamak. The controversial Arcadi Gaydamak, is a Russian Jew who after moving to Israel created the Social Justice Party and is the owner of prestigious football club Beitar Jerusalem. He is currently wanted in France for illegal arms dealings, but this has not stopped his success in the political field. By supporting Sakhnin United’s stadium building efforts, he gained the trust of Arab-Israelis around the country, and also demonstrated that there is support on a wider scale by Jews for Arab-Israeli teams, and Arabs living in Israel in general. In the Israeli context football used within political crossfire and for dirty work, may be seen through the creation of teams under Maccabi, Ha-Po’el, and Al-Ard, all of which operate under their own political regimes, attempting to gain votes of the fans. As a blogger on The Guardian Chris Taylor wrote, “Gaydamak recently launched his own political party and clearly would not be displeased if his generosity were recognized at the ballot box by

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32 Tamir Sorek, “Between Football and Martyrdom: The Bi-Focal Localism of an Arab-Palestinian Town in Israel.”
Israel’s 1.4 million Arab citizens – or by Beitar’s fans.” He has used this as a launching point for his party and has been successfully gaining support, especially during the Israel-Lebanon conflict in 2006 by building a tent city for families to escape to. Yet another proponent of the model set in place by Mussolini years ago. Politicians would not be able to tap into football as a source of power, if the phenomenon was not entirely embedded within the society, as it apparently is within Sakhnin and Israel, Italy, the Balkans, England, and most countries of the world.

Football during the World Wars and in the post-colonial world served a larger purpose and agent within the arena of politics on the front for European solidarity as well as within specific countries and regimes such as Italians Mussolini and Berlusconi, or Serbians Milosevic and Arkan. The success of such exploitation and promulgation of ideals has been presented through the case studies above, as well as the continued and prolonged success of FIFA and UEFA within the unified European Union. Given its political power in influencing the masses, football can be seen as intimately connected to both the politics and politicians of post-war Europe. Elements of transitioning from the traditional imperialism in the political venue into that of football were extant through the attempts, at times successful, of politicians such as Mussolini or Slobodan Milosevic who used the game to push their cultural and political beliefs. Similarly, such political expansion through football was used to create and extend the power of FIFA and UEFA in their goals to unite and indeed solidify European excellence within the domains of the sport. The competitions created by these institutions forged the stages for football to be used in such political means, as well as the new arena of contestation in the reverberations and desires for reviving the once great imperial power, translated into the football teams of each country and

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their subsequent successes. Politics in Europe, and thus football as well, were also inextricably bound to nationalism and national pride, with aims at restoring former glory. Increased immigration, since the fall of colonialism, however, vastly changed the shape and make-up of Europes’ countries, and football once again was exploited as a tool for representing and dealing with the oftentimes explosive integration of nationalisms within a single national team and the nation as a whole.
Chapter 2: Nationalism

The Italians soar and weave intricately up the field, the English are rather unattractive but very skillful, honest, and successful, the Germans use brute force to push themselves through, the Brazilians samba their way on, the French quickly and delicately stream around the pitch, the Portuguese dance to their own beat as they convert goals seemingly effortlessly, and then there are the likes of the Flying Dutchmen. These descriptive styles of play are loftily espoused by the fans of each country; football is the means for displaying national cultural identity to the world with pride. Just as Mussolini, Slobodan Milosevic, and the other politicians quickly came to realize, football was and remains to an extent the perfect grounds for nationalist sentiment and pride, complete with a ready and deployable fan base. With the end of colonialism, however, also arose the increased phenomenon of immigration, where citizens from former colonies moved to the country that had until recently oppressed them, yet provided the lure of power, opportunity, success, and the much needed escape from civil war and violence. The idea of competing nationalisms was made even more complicated when these former colonists then join the national football team. It is through the lens of international football, both on the national and the local levels that the success of a country and its internal social ills can be revealed.

Nationalism and the idea of a nation is essentially a culturally constructed concept, which football both helps perpetuate and league teams exploit in their own right. Anthropologist Benedict Anderson put forth in his definition of a nation, and thus the phenomenon of nationalism, the psychosocial construction of the ideal when he stated,

In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community... It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. ...The nation is imagined as
limited because even the largest of them encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind. The most messianic nationalists do not dream of a day when all the members of the human race will join their nation in the way that it was possible, in certain epochs, for, say, Christians to dream of a wholly Christian planet. ...Finally, it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.¹

Football has and continues to play an integral role in establishing this notion of nationalism, although within the realm of football this nationalism can be perceived either through the exploits of the national teams’ direct representation of the country and its citizens, or the domination of league teams such as giants Dynamo Moscow FC (football club), as a means of consolidating their nation-state within the world. In the case of the national team, the imagined notion of nationalism and national allegiance is further stretched to allow the players on the pitch to embody the multitude of citizens within their own exploits. Thus, football and the nation are dependent upon each other to perpetuate the continued ideals of communal nationalism. Local footballing giants can simultaneously be seen as nations in their own rights, as they encompass all the proposed requirements for qualification as such; the fan base of such teams are bonded together in an imagined format as fans world-wide partake in the above-mentioned communal relationship with each other. It is limited due to the fact, that despite the desire of many football fans, one team cannot and does not solely dominate the raptures of the world, and indeed would prove impossible as well as the end of the premise of football in regards to rivalry and actual play. Each team also maintains, as all nations require, a hierarchy and system of governance, typified under the umbrella of UEFA (Union des Associations Européennes de Football), then

FIFA (International Federation of Association Football), then each personal national footballing association, and then more directly each manager, owner, and coach over the players and fans themselves. The larger goal remains, however, a type of footballing internationalism, like that of proletarian internationalism, where loyalty of all workers lie foremost with fellow workers rather than national governments, with the football fan now the proletarian joining with others of the same ‘nation’ as his own. Regardless, both models demonstrate since the end of official colonization, the continued urge to return the nation to its former imperial glory through football either through the exploits of the national team or local team giants within the footballing world at large, whether through nationals, political leaders, or fans themselves in declaring their nationalism in regards to country, or nationalism of team. Specific moments of such nationalism are explored through the often contentious relationship between the four home nations of the United Kingdom, the historic rivalry between Germany and Austria in realizing national prowess, a similar rivalry between England and Argentina enflamed by the Falklands War, the issue of competing nationalisms within French society and its rivalry with former colony Algeria, and the attempts of the USSR, all in their quest for national glory and dominance within Europe through this stage.

The need for effective national representation within Europe and throughout history remains extant in the epic embroilments between England and its former entities Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. Football matches between England and one of the latter countries demonstrate the relationship that each maintain with one another within the bounds of imagined national sentiment as well as displaying the power that football provides as a perpetuator of post-imperial interest. Of the three other home countries of Great Britain, Wales is the least hostile, at least in regards to football, where three of its local teams play in the English league football
rather than its own. The Welsh Football Association was officially formed in 1876, making it one of the oldest in the world, and the Welsh national team played its first international game against England on January 18, 1879, losing 2-1. From 1879 to 1984 within the British Home Championship played between Wales, England, Scotland and Northern Ireland, Wales met England 81 times and since then twice more for World Cup qualifying matches. Of the 83 times they met, Wales won 14 games (17%), tied 21 games (25%), and lost 48 games (58%).

Antagonism between both sides has not been as tense as with Scotland, perhaps because of the three Welsh teams that play within the English League, as it was more convenient to play in England than to travel north within Wales. The three teams are Cardiff City, Swansea City, and Wrexham AFC. They play within the FA Cup, Coca-Cola Football League Championship and Non-League competitions, but the fact that they are participants in the much more illustrious, even at the lower levels, English League despite attempts to keep the strongest Welsh teams in Wales, demonstrates that perhaps nationalistic pride and sentiment is not so much a factor as it is within Scotland, where international games have been so heated that future games have been essentially stopped.

The Tartan Army and the English have had several dangerous and intense football encounters and fixtures, made so by the deep nationalist sentiments and underlying hatred that permeated throughout their violent histories of submission, rebellion, and freedom, yet are continually played out on the pitch. The pain of the past, the bloodshed, the glory, and most importantly the pride has been transferred into the football games, as if reliving every battle for freedom once again; a yearning for the past merged with the soldiers of the present, the eleven

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men on the football pitch. The Scottish Football Association was formed in 1863, and the first international game against England was November 30, 1872 which ended in a goalless draw. Of the 110 games played between Scotland and England, Scotland won 36 (33%), tied 24 (22%) and lost 50 (45%). The relish and determination the players have when pitted against one another is evident through the fairly close number of losses and wins, unlike with Wales which predominantly lost to England. Authors Allan Tomlinson and Christopher Young explain the fierce Scottish rivalry through football due to the fact that, “Scotland had weak nationalist politics and channeled much of its detestation of what it perceived as English arrogance and power into rivalries in other areas of life, especially football, because it had so often provided satisfying victories over the ‘significant other.’” The football pitch provided a level playing field and one in which to attain the revenge these countries so desperately sought, and continue to seek.

The case with Ireland was different from either the highly contentious Scotland or the cautious yet rather friendly competition with Wales, in that Ireland chose to break from the English propagated football. To break from the British Empire, the Irish rejected British sports and competitions in favor of Gaelic games, and the Gaelic Athletic Association was formed in 1884, with the main games being hurling and Gaelic football. The official guidelines and statement of the Association states its creation and purpose for existence in purely national terms,

Those who play its games, those who organise its activities and those who control its destinies see in the G.A.A. a means of consolidating our Irish identity. ... The primary purpose of the G.A.A. is the organisation of native pastimes and the promotion of athletic fitness as a means to create a disciplined, self-reliant, national-minded manhood. ... If pride in the attributes of nationhood dies, something good and distinctive in our race dies

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with it. Each national quality that is lost makes us so much poorer as a Nation. Today, the native games take on a new significance when it is realised that they have been a part, and still are a part, of the Nation’s desire to live her own life, govern her own affairs.\(^6\)

Gaelic football is similar to British football except the players are able to use their hands, must bounce the ball on the ground every few steps, and can score either by kicking the ball under the crossbar or over the top as in American football. Patrick McDevitt expands upon the break from British football by stating, “rather than adopting the English sport of cricket, rugby, and soccer like the Welsh, Scots, Australians, Indians, South Africans, and New Zealanders did, the Irish created their own games to symbolically refute British influence.”\(^7\) Nonetheless, both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland had their own Football Associations, the Irish Football Association (IFA) formed in 1880 and the Football Association of Ireland (FAI) formed in 1921 respectively. The IFA was closer politically with England and was oft accused of having Protestant leanings, one of the main reasons for the creation of the FAI post-partition. The FAI website explains its inception as rising from the fact that,

There was always a feeling among clubs from outside the Belfast area that the IFA favoured Ulster based, Protestant, clubs - especially when selecting sides for international matches... Despite this, it was not until after the 1916 Rising and the rise of Nationalism that southern affiliates, such as the Leinster FA, took an aggressive approach in their dealings with the IFA. The clubs often threatened to break away, and in early 1921, Bohemians, St. James's Gate and Shelbourne all withdrew from the Irish League, though all three sides decided to remain involved in Cup competitions. ... A meeting of southern associations and clubs was arranged and on June 1 1921, the Football Association of the Irish Free State (FAIFS) was formed in Molesworth Hall in Dublin.\(^8\)

The Republic of Ireland was accepted into FIFA due to the strained relationship between France and England in 1923 over the payment of amateur players in the Olympics, though it was

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GAA.ie [accessed December 24, 2008].

\(^7\) Patrick F. McDevitt, May the Best Man Win: Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1800-1935 (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 17.

blacklisted by the home nation’s football associations. Regardless, England played the Republic of Ireland in a friendly at Dalymount Park on September 30, 1946 with the Irish losing 0-1, in their first encounter against England since the FAI’s formation. Three years later, however, in their second encounter against England they “got their revenge...when they became the first side to defeat England on English soil. Ireland won the Goodison Park encounter 2-0 thanks to goals from Con Martin and Peter Farrell.”9 The complicated nature of football, both Gaelic and the traditional British version provides an example of the importance of the sport in displaying national identity. The two separate FA’s with differing outlooks towards England and international competition each relayed their own messages of nationalism, while Gaelic football breaking from the British Empire to form its own sphere within the footballing world highlighted the distinction of being Irish.

England had to deal with competing national interests amongst the home nations, the Soviets behind the Iron Curtain became opponents bent on proving their national worth through sport. The initial sport chosen as the vessel with which to reenter the competitive world was not surprisingly football, though other sports such as gymnastics made inroads afterwards. The popular and denigrating belief of sports authorities was to suspend Russia’s participation in this competitive field after the Second World War, as had occurred in the inter-war period with Germany. Stalin protested the proposed ban and in this incident the local team giant from the USSR, Dynamo Moscow, was chosen to represent the nation. Through football and later other sports, Stalin wanted to “show the West that it was stronger than ever on the sporting field. ‘Each new victory,’ said a Communist party resolution in 1949, ‘is a victory for the Soviet form of

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society and the socialist system.” 10 FC Dynamo Moscow was selected for the task given it was the latest winner within the football league during the 1942 spring campaign. Dynamo Moscow did not fail to produce the results desired by Stalin as they went on to rout the top teams in English Premier League football at the time. As the official site of Dynamo Moscow boasts in its historical narrative,

Being a champ it [Dynamo Moscow] also went on the first in the Russian football history tour to Great Britain, the home of the game. The legendary 19:9, the resulting score of the goals in favour of Dynamo, rightly entered the history of our football. Dynamo won two victories (10:1 against Cardiff City and 4:3 against London Arsenal) and had two draws (3:3 against Chelsea and 2:2 against Glasgow Rangers), thus creating a real sensation in the European football. 11

These astounding and unexpected victories served as a point of both national and political pride for the USSR, winning victory for not only itself, but for the other Communist countries behind the Iron Curtain, exacting revenge upon one of their greatest political and national rivals in the West, England.

The country with the greatest desire to prove itself again as a formidable nation and find its rightful place within the assumed hierarchy of football and Europe, England, did so by winning the World Cup in 1966. The first and only time that England ever won the World Cup was in 1966, beating West Germany 4-2 in the final, but creating a seemingly tireless enmity with Argentina and reaching a peak in their game which has yet to be surmounted. Proving oneself in football, no matter how unspectacularly accomplished, held great sway and continues to do so, especially when the citizens needed to believe in their nation’s superiority again in a time where the United States found itself at the center of international politics and various youth

movements were sweeping across Eastern Europe. The 1966 World Cup win proved as much for England, as the French press continued to lavish praise on the players and country that had produced the largest sporting phenomenon the world has yet to rival. The French who fell into the belief that England was the superior side due to this historic role as officiator, praised the English on their victory that year stating, “the French were ‘physically inferior’ while throughout the competition, the English provided ‘a magnificent example with their courage, ambition, determination, and strength.’”\(^\text{12}\) Although the English won that competition, not everyone saw the win as necessarily a good thing as the manner in which the Cup was won, rather controversially and not spectacular by any means, allegedly spawned generations of lackluster players. An article in *The Times* written on the 16 of June 1982 (World Cup Spain where England failed to make it to the semi-finals) stated,

> Retrospectively, the style in which England won the World Cup was blamed for a subsequent generation of unattractive football: “He [manager Alf Ramsey] achieved it... but, like the Great War, it wiped out a whole generation of footballers with individualism and flair.”\(^\text{13}\)

Regardless, the team had indeed won the game and captain Bobby Moore exultantly accepted the trophy from beaming Queen Elizabeth II, famously wiping his hands on his shorts and shirt to offer Her Majesty a clean hand to shake.

> The impact of the 1966 win can be analyzed and appreciated through the treatment of captain Bobby Moore and the other players involved, and the awarding of honors by the English nobility for service to the country. Bobby Moore, despite being the only person ever to captain England to World Cup victory was never knighted and only received an OBE (Officer of the Order of the British Empire), unfortunately forgotten until his untimely death to cancer, although

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his statue was recently unveiled by teammate Sir Bobby Charlton and then Prime Minster Tony Blair. Tom Geoghegan wrote for BBC News Magazine, “every time England crash out of a football tournament, the reputation of the late Bobby Moore is fortified just a little bit more ... the image of the handsome captain in the red shirt evokes a lost age of innocence, grace, hard work and, above all, sporting success.”14 Perhaps the reason he was not knighted was this very fact that England has yet to repeat such a performance and his knighting, and even recognition after his stint as a footballer, was a mechanism with which to deal with the current depths of its footballing woes. Controversially, the system of awards in reference was set up under King George IV and is known as the Order of the British Empire. The order of achievement from the highest level of achievement down is, knight, commander, officer, and member, all of the Order of the British Empire. Prominently showing the importance that football holds within European society, of those involved with the national team throughout history (players and managers), nine have been knighted (including 1966 manager Alf Ramsey), eight have been made commanders, twenty are officers (the last being David Beckham in 2003), and thirty are members. The award can also be given to non-English players of the sport who have contributed to football in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales or in the English Premier League, such as the knighting of Scottish manager Sir Alex Ferguson or the making of an officer of Welsh International Ryan Giggs. Although intended to honor chivalry, the continued use of its title and make-up invoke England’s devastating (although lucrative) colonial and imperial past as those honored become maintainers and notable members of the British Empire. The fact that a sizable number of recipients for the honor have been footballers only reaffirms the idea that football was and remains a potent purveyor of national pride.

The one victory that England holds so dear, however, was questioned by former FIFA president, Joao Havelange who claimed that a conspiracy involving collusion between English and German referees kept Brazil from winning in both the 1966 and 1974 World Cups, in which these two conspirator countries won respectively. He proves his point by stating the following facts,

English referees were used in the games between Brazil and Portugal and Brazil and Hungary. The Germany v Uruguay game also had an English ref and England v Argentina had a German ref. They had German and English referees in the Brazil games. Isn't this strange? The same happened in Germany in 1974.15

Indeed, the evidence seems compelling to support Havelange’s argument, but the real issue here is not the fact that Brazil was stopped from continuing its dominating streak on the international stage. The fact remains that England has yet to win any World Cup, or come close to doing so since that point in history, and thus it seems plausible and indeed conniving to rig the matches and competition for England to win. National sentiment was at a low, given the looming threat of communism, the deaths of John F. Kennedy and Winston Churchill, the independence of South Africa and Rhodesia, and the involvement of the US in the Vietnam war. It is possible to see how important and beneficial a win from the national team for England would be, who up till then had never held the Cup, and thus would push Prime Minister Harold Wilson to agree to such an arrangement. Despite the accusations, the year 1966 remained one of absolute joy for the English football fan, for whom the victory had a deeper meaning than the physical game itself, national pride.

Another historical match-up and intense rivalry within Europe consists of matches between Germany and Austria, whose hostile and oft intertwined past serves as fuel for competition, and also provided Austria with its equivalent of England’s 1966 World Cup victory over Germany. Austria and Germany have continuously been linked with each other politically, with Austria a member of the German Confederation in 1815, subsequently leaving it to become joined with the Kingdom of Hungary in 1867, then becoming the Republic of Austria after World War I in 1920, only to be annexed into Germany by Hitler as his first act of aggression leading up to World War II. The Declaration on Austria within the Moscow Declaration of October 1943 essentially gave Austria its ability to achieve freedom and independence stating,

The governments of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States of America are agreed that Austria, the first free country to fall a victim to Hitlerite aggression, shall be liberated from German domination. They regard the annexation imposed on Austria by Germany on March 15, 1938, as null and void. They consider themselves as in no way bound by any charges effected in Austria since that date. They declare that they wish to see re-established a free and independent Austria and thereby to open the way for the Austrian people themselves.16

One concrete and popular way in which to achieve such liberation from Germany was through besting it at football. The Austrian Football Association was formed in 1904 and its national team progressively gained in stature and prestige since its creation reaching the highest levels of European competition. The most important victory, in regards to Austria and Germany, however was Austria’s surprise and shocking win over the German giants in the 1978 World Cup hosted in Argentina during the final game of the group stages played in Cordoba. Roman Horak explains its significance in “Germany versus Austria: Football, Urbanism, and National Identity” writing that since vast changes in the 1960’s and 70’s, “the game now served...outwardly as an

important visible emblem of national independence, particularly vis-à-vis Germany. It was then that rivalry, which found its pronounced expression in the lasting significance of the victory over the German national team.17 Austria’s most famous footballing legend Hans Krankl scored the winning goal in the 88th minute denying Germany the chance to advance past the group stages. That day, much like the 1966 World Cup English victory, remains a source of pride, and really the only one which the Austrians draw motivation from. An Associated Press article in the Herald Tribune stated that the game, “remains one of the most famous Austrian sports victories over its bigger neighbor, and is known in Germany as the "Shame of Cordoba."18 Indeed the German players, fans, or coaches, continue to the present day to invoke the tragedy of that year to inspire better results, just as the Austrians recollect their famous victory over West Germany.

England’s 1966 World Cup victory also opened the doors for a never-ending and bitter polarization of England and Argentina in the footballing world, of which the echoes of the political situation due to the Falklands War of 1982 have only served to increase the vehemence when both faced each other on the football pitch. During that game, manager Alf Ramsey publicly called the Argentinean players ‘animals,’ a comment he later had to rescind, though the damage was done. There were also reports by Argentine papers that, “after the game an English football official sitting in the vicinity of the royal box had kicked a pregnant Argentine in the stomach.”19 The seeds of enmity and distrust sown, the following months of warfare only served to ignite such sentiments. The Falklands War waged between England and Argentina erupted in 1982 after Argentinian troops re-claimed their ‘rightful’ territory on the Falkland Islands and

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South Georgia as a war of fascist national expansion. The contestation went back to 1820 when Argentina declared the islands rightfully theirs although the islands were first discovered by the British. In 1840 they began colonizing the islands, and on “18 July 1845 at Governor Moody's suggestion the new capital was officially named Port Stanley after the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Edward Stanley, 14th Earl of Derby. In 1845 the structure of Colonial government was created with the establishment of Legislative Council and Executive Council.”

The islands proved useful during both World Wars as they provided a port of landing and refueling, as well as an army base, and a source for the conscription of citizens into the army. The United Nations Declaration 1514, in full, the Declaration On the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People, passed on December 14, 1960 complicated matters and brought them to head as it called for the sovereignty of their territory, to which Argentina pressed its original claims to the islands. The Declaration was important for all colonized entities including Palestine/Israel, and although it did not resolve the problems either there or with Argentina, it stated,

*The General Assembly … Recognizing* the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence … *Recognizing* that the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations … *Solemnly proclaims* the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

Thus, England and Argentina entered talks on the subject, but Argentina was adamant. Despite continued debates the military head of the junta General Galteiri invaded the islands in March and shortly afterwards the British responded. The war itself lasted seventy-four days and ended with British repossessing the islands as their own in June of the same year. Regardless,

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Argentina still feels itself wronged of its possession, and continues to include the conflict within their constitution, stating,

1) The Argentine Nation ratifies its legitimate and non-prescribing sovereignty over the Malvinas, Georgias del Sur and Sandwich del Sur Islands and over the corresponding maritime and insular zones, as they are an integral part of the National territory. 
(2) The recovery of said territories and the full exercise of sovereignty, respectful of the way of life of their inhabitants and according to the principles of international law, are a permanent and unrelinquished goal of the Argentine people.22

The continued disregard of the British victory over the proclaimed Argentinean islands and the lasting resentment from the war coupled with previous insulting behavior of the World Cup winning English football team provided the potent background for revenge in the 1986 World Cup.

Another incident occurred during the 1986 World Cup held in Mexico and sparked a violent response amongst England fans, regardless of level of attachment to the national team, and was infamously dubbed as the “Hand of God.” The quarterfinal match-up between England and Argentina, the first meeting between the two since the Falklands War four years prior, proved a tense, thrilling, and controversial game. Trent Duvall writes in his article “Hand of Who?” about the very nationalistic feelings of revenge present in the mind of the Argentinians, specifically Diego Maradona, as they squared off against the English oppressors,

‘In pre-match interviews we had said that football and politics shouldn't be confused, but that was a lie,’ he told his autobiography, El Diego. ‘We did nothing but think about the Falklands. We knew a lot of Argentinian kids had died there, shot down like little birds. More than defeating a football team, it was defeating a country. Bollocks it was just another match!’23

23 Trent Duvall, “The Hand of Who?” Guardian.co.uk, [accessed September 25, 2008]
In one of the most controversial moments in footballing history, Diego Maradona scored the first goal of the game in the fifty-first minute, rising up and apparently beating keeper Peter Shilton in an aerial battle for the ball in front of the goal, and punching it into the back of the net. The decision for handball was not given, although Shilton had appealed for it. When asked about the incident later, Maradona replied, “That goal was scored a little bit by the hand of God and another bit by Maradona’s head.” Maradona later admitted that the incident did indeed involve his hand, but in his defense neither the referee nor the linesman called the offense, so it was considered a goal and remained as such. His next goal, within three minutes of his first was later dubbed “Goal of the Century” as Maradona single-handedly defeated three defenders and the goalie within seconds, running at a completely different speed and level of performance than any of them to score the second and winning goal of the game. Argentina went on to win that World Cup.

Regardless, football in Argentina meant more on the national and international level than ever because of the country’s lack of a concrete and successful existence. Diego Pablo Simeone, the Argentinean player who, through his guile, forced the referee to send David Beckham off the pitch in the 1998 World Cup, explained football’s importance to the country before the World Cup 2000 (in which Argentina did not get past group stages) by saying, “football is the one way we have to show the world that we are still alive. So we know how big our responsibility will be in the World Cup. And if we win against England we know too that we will be making our compatriots especially happy.”

David Beckham was again targeted by an Argentinean who virtually plunged England in despair before the 2002 World Cup in which England and

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Argentina were again set to meet in the group stages. During a Champions League match on April 20, 2002 whilst playing for Manchester United Beckham was fouled by Deportivo La Coruna’s Alver Pedro Duscher, breaking his metatarsal in the process. The nation’s fervent outpouring of prayer and support for Beckham was not in vain as Beckham recovered in time to deliver justice, scoring the winning goal against Argentina in that match-up. So, national pride, integrity, international respect, and revenge can theoretically be achieved through the game.

Just as contentious a match was the last time Scotland and England met on November 17, 1999 for the UEFA Champions League qualifiers with Scotland winning the last game, yet losing 2-1 on aggregate. During build-up for this fixture, known as “The Battle of Britain,” past incidents of the 1977 match when Scottish fans invaded the pitch and tore down the goal posts were recollected, and the use of political and national history invoked strong emotional attachments to set the stage for an intense game. A BBC Sport column wrote in preparation of the game,

Hampden Park and Wembley have played host to scintillating battles between the two nations... But a bitter rivalry and a thinly-veiled feeling bordering on hatred has often led to scenes which ultimately saw the annual fixture abandoned in 1989... Whether one remembers these matches for the passion that they ignite, the football they produce, or the bitter rivalries they prolong, they are always games which provoke debate.26

Since the marring of several fixtures involving hooligan activity on the part of Scottish and English fans throughout their history, games between both countries have been suspended since 2000. The issue of national representation has come to the fore again, however, as Team Great Britain for the Olympics has failed to field a football team comprised of all the host nations; England, Northern Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. Although FIFA President Sepp Blatter has confirmed such a team will be created for the 2012 Olympics, the specifics of how many from

each country and which players to be included has been left untouched to be dealt with closer to
the affair. Yet Scotland remains skeptical, with due cause, of the effectiveness and fairness of
such a move as Scottish pride dictates the inability to relinquish its own national identity,
especially within football on the world stage, to one of Great Britain which hearkens back to
England’s imperial era of domination over the nation.

Within the idea of national representation of ones country through football and ancient
rivalries is the issue of increased immigration of former colonials to European countries and their
integration. This influx of immigrants has caused confusion in regard to the make-up of national
teams and the problem of competing nationalism due to certain players’ involvement, most
characteristically portrayed through the French national team and the likes of Zinedine Zidane
and Thierry Henry. The bloodiest battle for independence from a colonial entity has been the
struggle undertaken by Algeria and the famous pied-noirs or “black feet” forces spanning from
1954 to 1962 in which the frequent use of terrorist attacks on French buildings and institutions,
such as cafes, led to exacted revenge on both sides via innocent civilians. With independence,
however, came the issue of immigration in which Algerian refugees flooded into France to start
over and many found success, although many are confined to life in impoverished conditions.
The French national football team, however, continued to meet success, reaching third place for
the first time ever in their World Cup history in 1958, fielding a team of several foreigners.
Football, in this case, garners an intricate blend of Algerian, black, and Caucasian players and
was again used to showcase the integration of the different ethnicities through players like
Zidane and Henry in the 1998 World Cup. Phillip Dine wrote, “the decisive victory of the
ethnically diverse French team- led by their iconic captain Zinedine Zidane, French born of
Algerian kabyle descent – in the 1998 World Cup final on 12 July 1998 was hailed as a triumph
of a new, inclusive, and multicultural model of the French nation.” However, tensions between Muslim, Algerian and native French citizens continued to chafe French society, where a friendly match between France and Algeria displayed such sentiments.

The less known match or friendly game between France and Algeria on October 6, 2001 revealed the still tenuous and explosive relationship between the citizens of both countries living within France. Overshadowed and thus missed by most of the world by the recent September 11th attacks, a situation for which France was perhaps grateful, the match was a failure in regards to beginning cordial relations with each other politically. The large fan base consisted mainly of French supporters with Algerian roots, who began to jeer, whistle, and finally invade the pitch in the 76th minute, forcing the referee to abandon the game. Guadalupen-French national player Lillian Thuram was quoted the day after the game infuriated by the squandered opportunity of peace between the estranged nations,

The tie was highly symbolical and both French and Algerian players were hailed as 'messengers of peace' in a presentation just before kick-off. But already the celebration was shadowed when the Marseillaise was booed. ‘When we realised that the Stade was booing La Marseillaise, we could not believe our ears,’ Thuram said. ‘We all looked at each other and wondered: ‘What is happening? What are they doing? I was not expecting that at all, the Algerian hymn was not booed, there was respect for Algeria. Why did these young people, most of whom were born in France, boo their country's anthem?

Manchester United's Mickael Silvestre, meanwhile, fears Saturday night's events will worsen racism in France. ‘Racism will not disappear faster after that,’ he said. ‘These events will probably be used on a political level and a way to increase hatred. ‘I deeply regret what happened, these populations are already under criticism, now it will be easier for the (extreme right-wing) to spread their theories.’

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The momentous match made clear the fact that Algerians and even blacks within France felt a stronger attachment to Algeria than their own national French team, and thus lack of French national identity. The Algerian Ambassador to France, Mohamed Ghoulami, took the side of the Algerians involved and remarked after the incident,

Their whistles were aimed against a minority of the French, but what a difficult minority, for it stands in their way when they go looking for a job or somewhere to live or when they are refused entry to a nightclub. Their whistles were aimed against the 30 percent unemployment rate they suffer. Their whistles were aimed against the ‘Get back to your country’ that many of them have had thrown into their face at least once in their young lives.29

The French Football Federation was later fined for the unruly match for insufficient security and endangering safety. In its defense the FFF stated,

This match was arranged one year ago as part of political attempts by both governments to reconcile the peoples of both countries.
- The terrorist attacks in the New York on September 11 and the incidents that occurred as a result had enflamed the situation in the French towns and areas of Paris that are home to many young Algerian immigrants.
- It would not have been possible to postpone the match in the wake of September 11 as such a step may have been misinterpreted.30

Although the intentions for the match as well as necessary precautions were taken to the best ability, violence still overshadowed what could have been a historic landmark and watershed for further progress between these two intimately related countries via the integrative venue of football. The results also starkly reminded the French government that the minority groups who had immigrated had yet to be fully accepted and integrated within society. They took the side of

their former country; France had not yet become home for them; and neither was the French
team theirs. The rise of politically right leaning governments throughout Europe and the
alarming success Le Pen and others such as Pim Fortuyn or Jorge Haider brought to the fore the
issues inherent with immigration and further galvanized the divide between disparate yet
connected communities.

The success of National Front leader Jean Marie Le Pen in reaching the second round of
presidential elections in France in 2002, coupled with his aversion to and racist remarks in regard
to the make-up of the national team and country itself provided evidence of the divided nature of
French nationalism. Le Pen complained, as he had done in 1998, that there were too many black
players and immigrants on the national team who did not even know how to properly sing the
national anthem, and that it was not properly representative of the makeup of France, alienating
white French supporters. One article sardonically asked, “One doubts whether Le Pen bothered
to ask the millions of delirious revelers that poured onto the nation's streets whether they cared
that seven black players started the game. The pride and passion with which they wore the shirt
was an inspiration to all but the most one-eyed of Frenchmen.”31 Despite this seemingly national
representative force and outpouring with the national team, Le Pen made it to the second round
of the presidential election in 2002 on a vehemently xenophobic and anti-immigration platform
to the consternation of ethnic minorities within France. The team did not take this offence and
the threat of Le Pen’s presidency lightly and the captain on behalf of the team, Ghanaian Marcel
Desailly issued a statement before the election stating,

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31 Alex Chick, “The Sword is Mightier than Le Pen,” Soccernet.espn.go.com, FIFA World Cup, July 2,
2008].
‘The players in the French team, from diverse origins...are unanimous in condemning resurgent ideas of racism and exclusion ... ‘They view attitudes that endanger democracy and freedom as intolerable and indefensible, particularly in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural France.’

These comments were made a week after Zinedine Zidane also called for fellow Frenchmen to vote for the incumbent Jacques Chirac and reject Le Pen. The results spoke to the power of the national team as well as the voice of those against the xenophobia presented by Le Pen. The complexity of competing nationalisms and cultures was not unique to the French national team alone, but extant within the national teams throughout Europe, all dealing with increased immigration and ways in which to successfully deal with the complexities of multiculturalism. Football then offered a means with which to consolidate and potentially integrate the highly multiethnic European national identity and character. The national team of France played and continues to play for the pride and honor of the country, not the individuals nor the races that make it up, but the country as a whole.

Nationalistic pride constituted a large part of the rise of national sentiment and representation within footballing culture which the specific incidents mentioned prove, and its continued impact remains an exploitable aspect of the game. A Euro 2008 commercial reminded the viewing public of this very fact, stating, “It’s not Eleven vs Eleven. It’s Country vs Country.” During the intense match-up between France and Italy, the last game France played in the competition, commentator Andy Gray said, “and these boys have a point to prove to the... to the nations, that they are worthy of representing them” invoking the importance of the task that these soldiers of their respective countries shoulder every time they step out onto the football

33 Euro 2008 Commercial, ESPN.
34 Andy Gray, France versus Italy, June 16, 2008, Zurich, ESPN.
pitch and on the critical and ever-watching world stage. The final between Spain and Germany also had commentator Adrian Healey stating similarly, “A lot was made before the game, Andy, of the fact that Spain would have to contend with not only the eleven wearers of the German shirt, but the legend of the German jersey as well.” This references not only national pride but the historical past present with every game played by that team, much like the rivalries between England and Argentina or Germany and Austria. A specific incident highlighting the importance of representing ones’ country and not letting the team or fans down occurred during the Turkey vs Croatia quarter-final match. Croatian player Niko Kovac fouled Turkish captain Nehat a few feet outside of the box, granting Turkey a very dangerous free kick. The free kick was taken by German born Hamit Altintop, and once the ball was released Kovac ran out of the wall and right into the path of the speeding ball, taking a direct hit, and thus ensuring no goal was made on the part of his mistake. Commentator Tommy Smyth acknowledged this by saying, “Because he takes it square, watch this. This is bravery on part of your team. Lookit [sic]. He knows he’s gonna [sic] get hit, tries to get the hands up, get the body turned around, and it just smacked off him.” Although he doubled over in pain and had the wind literally knocked out of him, he had momentarily sacrificed himself for the sake of his team and country, so neither would have to suffer for his mistake.

Such is the pride, motivation, and devotion to the sport, duly translated into nationalist sentiment. These emotional aspects make the game, its players, and fans so easily exploitable by governments, regimes, and individuals in the pursuit of dominance of football in its form of cultural or neo-imperialism. George Orwell put it best after witnessing the rout of English teams by Russian Dynamo Moscow FC when he wrote,

35 Adrian Healey, Spain vs Germany, Final, June 29, 2008, Vienna, ESPN.
36 Tommy Smyth, Turkey vs Croatia, QF July 12, 2008, Vienna, ESPN.
Post-war industrial society...meant...more and more people would have to indulge in the vicarious violence of the sport. And that feeling would be most intense when national teams were playing. ‘There cannot be much doubt that the whole thing is bound up with the rise of nationalism – that is, with the lunatic habit of identifying with large power units and seeing everything in terms of competitive prestige...If you wanted to add to the vast fund of ill-will existing in the world you could hardly do it better than by a series of football matches between Jews and Arabs, Germans and Czechs, Indians and British, Russians and Poles, and Italians and Yugoslavs, each match to be watched by a mixed audience of 100,000 spectators.’

Whether the nationalism stemmed from a desire to break from previous imperial strangulation, a means of revenge for previous military battles, or religious and ethnic inequality and inability to be recognized as national citizens, football provided the arena with which to express such ideas. These feelings and attachments were felt so deeply that they transformed football within Europe and most of the world into a quasi-religion, adding a further dimension of power to the game and a continued urge for former imperial greatness, where conversion and religious loyalty proved beneficial.

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Chapter 3: Religion

Religion and religious duty dominated and dictated the lives of citizens and was largely ubiquitous within society throughout European history. Intertwined with politics, the economy, and the social, physical and moral aspects of human lives, religion maintained a central role in governance. Most religions, specifically the main three Abrahamic religions, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, of most import throughout Europe, began as non-codified and grassroots social movements until adopted by majorities with specific texts and bodies of work to dictate the practices. Football has similarly taken on such a pattern of existence and notoriety, being played unofficially throughout the world with differing permutations, yet important nonetheless, and then being codified and professionalized by the British in the nineteenth century. Its popularity and power grew with its increasing fame, and its position within society simultaneously solidified. Since its introduction in the world to the present, football has grown to become established as essentially a quasi-religion, containing the trappings and following to represent itself as such. Some would argue that the ability to govern the emotional state of thousands of people worldwide simultaneously is most comparable to the phenomenon of religion, and just as football has been exploited for politics and nationalism, organized religion utilized the hold football had in order to proselytize and gain popular support, much as the colonizers did. In a secular age, football has also come into its own right as a quasi-religion, raising alarm amongst established religions, yet netting in millions of individuals worldwide.

Every religion has some historical past that provides its credence, and football is no different, beginning as most other religions without specific injunctions and several differences until its codification. It is possible that the earliest form of football could have been played by the Egyptians, since balls were found among the possessions buried with the dead in tombs. Paul
Gardner, author of *The Simplest Game: The Intelligent Fan’s Guide to the World of Soccer*, puts the credit on the Chinese, one man in particular. He argues that “Huang-Ti, a Chinese emperor of 1697 B.C., is supposed to have invented *tsu-chu*, a game played with the feet and with a leather ball stuffed with cork and hair – possibly an early form of true soccer.”

The Japanese then had a similar game a thousand years later. Early Greeks and Romans had games resembling football as well, beginning around 49 A.D. The Native Americans also had their own version of football, which they called Pahsaheman. The most important and recognized origins of football as an established sport occurred in England. The British had been playing the game, rather violently and in the streets and churchyards for many years. Various kings and queens were forced to issue statements against football, or *ludus pilae* (a game of ball). The first was King Edward II in 1314 in a proclamation to London’s’ citizens saying,

> For as much as there is great noise in the city caused by hustling over large balls…from which many evils might arise, which God forbid, we command and forbid on behalf of the King, on pain of imprisonment, such a game to be used in the city in the future.

Evidently, football had already earned its infamous hooliganistic air, and through condemnation by the King, formal recognition. Later monarchs like Queen Elizabeth, Edward III, Richard II, and more issued statements also forbidding the playing of the game because of its destructive nature, and more reasonably because of the political and perhaps religious threat that it posed and that it continues to do as a distracter from organized and accepted religious institutions such as Christianity. Football was not officially born until the rules and regulations of the games were set down in writing and recognized universally in 1863. Since then, given the advancement of technology, the intensified shrinking of the global world, and post-colonial expansion, football

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2 Ibid, 3.
only continued to grow in popularity, reaching new markets, with its adherents effectively spreading the enthusiasm and fervor.

The moral and psychological reasoning given for the colonization of several countries, including the Americas, was this notion of religious duty, the need to save those “heathens” and infidels who would surely die in a state of sin without help from the righteous European, and predominantly white settlers. Naturally, football and cricket were used to draw the colonized in, to establish a rapport, and seeing as how the pitch provides a forum of neutrality, create the illusion of equality and goodwill. Religious institutions attempted to keep their distance from sport, yet since the earliest years before its professionalization in 1863, were linked to it in some form or other, either having their land rented out as playing grounds before the professionalization of the sport or bishops actively spoke against it, and more often than not going unheard. The realization came with the increased and rapid secularization of society to use football and its players as a means to garner support for established religious institutions, extending the role it already plays politically and nationally.

Churches and ministers from England, Scotland, and Ireland have been inextricably linked with football since the nineteenth century, either working with or against the alluring power and influence it holds within society. Author William J. Baker follows the connections starting with unofficial peasant teams playing football on the land owned mostly by the church, which in turn was rented out to landholders who would allow them to play before harvest. Baker supports this by looking into records of the time and noting, “English and French clerics frequently complained about property being damaged by hordes of drunken football players. A few critics pointed to the roughness of the game, but the most severe prohibitions came from bishops and kings eager for common folk to spend their time practicing archery—a military
necessity—rather than playing football.” Here again the idea of political agenda is seen, although football was seen as a negative rather than productive force, taking people away from the more essential duty of learning to fight for the preservation of the country. Football was further maligned during the Puritan reforms due to the common link between inhibition and the disrespect for Sabbath, with army officers posted as morality guarders, yet no force, other than the Second World War, has stopped football fans and players from participating in the game. Regardless of these premises, in the latter seventeenth century,

According to a report from an Essex village, when the local Puritan vicar began the Sunday morning service in the parish church, ‘the people did usually go out of church to play at football, and to the alehouses and there continued till they were drunk, and it was no matter if they were hanged.’

This not only speaks to the association of football with drunkenness, which until recently through campaigns for a more family oriented atmosphere, and the banning of alcohol within stadiums, was the case. Perhaps the strong antagonistic feelings towards football harbored by the Puritans is a reason for the lack of support and pervasiveness within American society, as football is only beginning to become popular within this last year, with the signing of British footballing legend and mogul David Beckham. Likewise, the relative stronghold within European and especially British society as early as the nineteenth century is evident as well, so much so that some religious figures began to mold it for their own use.

Reverends and archbishops created their own football teams with the financial backing of important industrial or political figures, and some even played, bringing to the fore several English teams, and more controversially Celtics and Rangers in Scotland. Essentially, the marriage of religion and sport, especially football in England allowed for the conception of

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several large league clubs such as Aston Villa, Everton and Liverpool, and the religiously and politically divided Rangers and Celtics in Scotland. The English Premier League team Aston Villa was conceived in a bible class, and in Scotland, “in 1879 the Reverend W.H. Churchill spearheaded the formation of a soccer club in the town of Moffat,” and indeed would captain the team himself, as “Saturday games apparently warmed him up for Sunday sermons.”⁵ Both Everton FC and Liverpool FC were founded by Reverend Chambers from the church of St. Domingo in 1884, with Everton splitting off to form Liverpool in 1892. Reverend Chambers initially created Everton FC with the hopes that “young lads could better be kept on the path of religious well-being through a healthy passion for competitive team games.”⁶ Reverend Chambers then combined forces with the mayor of Liverpool and Tory MP John Houlding to form a professional team. Liverpool FC came into being in 1891 due to splits within the organization and John Houlding removed himself from Everton to create the club. To this day, Liverpool and Everton maintain the highest level of enmity between one another. The hostility did not take on as an intense air of religious sectarianism, as did the creation of Scottish teams Celtic and Rangers. The Rangers club was formed first in 1872 around predominantly Protestant players and was in turn supported mostly by the native Scottish Protestants. The Irish Catholics formed their own club within Scotland in 1888 in the form of Celtic, which “began...as a means of raising money to feed the Irish Catholic poor in the East End of Glasgow, and of keeping the city’s Catholic community focused on Catholic heroes.”⁷ The official website, whose history section only highlights the major hits of the club, stated that the club was constituted in the St.

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Mary’s Church Hall to “alleviate the poverty of Glasgow’s East End parishes.” Resulting fixtures (games) between both sides provided venues through which to issue sectarian abuse and chants, drawing religion onto the field and into the stands, despite the fact that both teams initially enjoyed cordial relations with one another. When Celtic began a winning streak, the Scottish press demanded a Scottish champion to take on ‘the Irishmen,’ and the Rangers emerged as that team. From the 1896 season it was noted that there was ‘bad blood’ between the two...it culminated in a major riot at the Cup Final of 1909 which led to the uprooting and burning of goalposts and nets, followed by bloody running battles that lasted well into the evening. Nearly 100 fans were injured.

Such chanting continues despite a highly secularized world, drawing more from the historic use and memory of such themes of violence amongst fans passed down through the generations in a predominantly patriarchal pattern or lineage, being passed down from father to son, rather than strictly religious difference.

The creation of top football teams in Europe coincided with increased industrialization, growing secularization, and imperial conquest albeit with religious overtones, prompting muscular religious theory to rise to the fore, and thus allowing for the creation of above-mentioned clubs. With the dawning of a highly globalized, technologically dependent world, with constant attack upon biblical or religious epistemology, religious forces worked harder to gain recognition. Muscular Christianity gained strength through the works of Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley in England during the 1850s. Both active athletes and prolific writers, they “believed that the Anglican Church of their day was becoming overly tolerant of physical weaknesses and effeminacy. To reduce this perceived trend, Hughes and Kingsley worked to infuse Anglicanism with enough health and manliness to make it a suitable agent for British

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imperialism.” The creation of professional football teams such as Everton and Liverpool proved effective given that most of the middle class society within England already supported and played football on amateur levels, flourishing with the creation of the English FA in 1863.

Muscular Judaism, on the other hand, supported the Zionist movement, to dispel the perception held by the world of the lack of Jewish physicality. Zionism as a movement centered on the need to reclaim Israel or ‘Eretz Israel’ as well as a consolidated Jewish identity. The man responsible for the idea was “[Theodore] Herzl’s second man, the extremely popular writer Max Nordau, [who] expressed the Zionist longing for the physical transformation of the Jew bluntly, when he stated in a committee meeting at the Second Zionist Congress in 1898: ‘We have to think of how to recreate a muscular Jewry [Mukeljudentum].’” Indeed several clubs and teams sprang up within Europe and Germany especially, though the initial clubs focused on other sports such as gymnastics and swimming, football eventually entered the arena as well in 1920, though Jewish coaches were prevalent. The team that emerged as the victor and emblem of Jewish footballing prowess was Hakoah club from Austria, “which captured the Austrian championship in 1925. The best Jewish soccer players in Central Europe joined its ranks, bringing the team worldwide acclaim. Everywhere the club went-Europe, the United States, and Eretz Israel-it aroused enthusiasm and pride among fellow Jews.” Within Israel itself, Palestinian Muslims began to found their own sports associations and clubs counter to the Zionist Jewish ones.

The phenomenon of a muscular Islam did not arise specifically as it did with both Judaism and Christianity, perhaps because of the inclusion of physicality and sport within the religious culture itself, though separate Islamic clubs grew in response to the Zionist organizations flourishing and dominating sport within Israel. The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), the figure which all Muslims revere as the most supreme model of leading an Islamic life, and whose example is emulated in their lives was an enthusiast of sport himself. He (pbuh) would himself participate in horse racing, archery, swimming, and wrestling. The Prophet (pbuh) also used wrestling as a means to proselytize one of the greatest wrestlers in Arabia at the time, Rukanah, who after admitting defeat converted to Islam. Sheikh ‘Atiyyah Saqr, the once Head of Al-Azhar Fatwa Committee used the religious body of knowledge the hadith, or sayings and actions of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), to state,

Islam does not oppose having a strong body via practicing sports. Muslims are commanded to be of sound bodies and sound minds in addition to having sound morals. In the Hadith, we read: “A strong believer is better and more beloved to Allah than a weak one.” (Reported by Muslim) A sound strong body is capable of fulfilling both the religious and the worldly duties.13

Within Palestine the same ideals as muscular Christianity and Judaism were espoused to counter the rise in prominence of Jewish sports clubs that excluded Muslim Palestinian players. The Palestinian Football Association was formed in 1921 and was dominated by Zionist teams of Maccabi and Ha’poel affiliations. In response to this the Palestinian Sports Association was formed in 1935 to accommodate Arab athletes in all fields of conquest, and the Arab Association appealed to FIFA (International Federation of Association Football) for its own separate organization which was rejected. Muslim athletes continued to play under the fold of Zionist

clubs, yet the seeds for separate Islamic sports were formed for later use, as the world contended with the aftermath of both devastating World Wars which rapidly increased the rate of secularization, and brought the definite recognition of such secularization with it. This in turn allowed for the opening of football as a quasi-religion in its own right.

The increasing secularization of society within Europe in the post-World Wars era created an environment in which football gained some of the attributes of religion. Although secularization was present throughout the Victorian era, it was not as publicly acceptable and widespread until after the wars, especially the Second World War. One of the factors in the search for such decline in widespread religiosity as outlined by Charles Taylor centered on the new-found wealth in the post-war period and the opening up of personal spheres and spaces. Expanding upon this idea he wrote on ‘individualized space’ oft filled by consumer interests, as well as the infiltration of society and markets with the ‘ethic of authenticity’ which espoused individual success and ability evident in the “revolts of young people in the ‘60s’...directed against a ‘system’ which smothered creativity, individuality, and imagination.”¹⁴ Secularization in this case, however, did not mean a complete break from religion as people still identified with a religion and believed in a supernatural being and forces as well as concepts such as afterlife despite a decline in active religious practice. Taylor explains,

The religious reference in our national identity (and/or sense of civilizational order) doesn’t so much disappear, as change, retreat to a certain distance. It remains powerful in memory; but also a kind of reserve fund of spiritual force or consolation... the synthesis between being British, decent, and Christian was damaged in a number of ways in the twentieth century, perhaps most of all by the experience of the First World War. And on the European scene in general, hot, militant nationalism has suffered a great loss of credit through both World Wars... and indeed, educated, cultivated Europeans are extremely uncomfortable with any overt manifestations of either strong nationalism or religious sentiment.¹⁵

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¹⁵ Ibid, 522.
Coupled with this was the issue of masculinity in which many observed, despite the attempts of muscular religion, the religious realm as effeminate, and thus the higher drop of religious practice among males than females. These factors all combined to allow for the transfer of religious fervor, which Taylor refers to as ‘festive,’ adding to the theory that secularization, was not so much the obliteration of religion, but the scattering and diversion of it into new fields and options, football being the most potent in Europe.

The connection between football and religiosity has been made by supporters, players, and commentators; yet, the verity of its existence in such a form remains seemingly far-fetched, although taken within the context of secular society and of the idea of football as neo-imperialist, its plausibility increases. The general characterization of sport as quasi-religion has been explored through the works of several writers, providing the foundation from which to explore football as the only real world-wide quasi-religion. Sociologically Stephen Hunt, author of *Religion and Everyday Life*, draws on work by sociologist Arnaldo Nesti in explaining why football can be a religion, even if it is just a quasi-religion. He says,

> Nesti sees quasi-religion arising from the inability of the contemporary Western world to provide a unified system of meaning. Today people are fragmented by their own life experiences. There is a weakening of social identity…implicit religion includes the search for meaning and identity…this search originates in the individual’s life experience, expressing itself by means of a complex system of symbols and practices. These religions allow the unconditional relevance of a person’s existence in the here and now. Hence, social forms and experiences are translated into spiritual metaphors – giving secular phenomenon spiritual powers.¹⁶

In a society like England where football seems to saturate its very blood and soil, people form their identities, friendships, and alliances around who they support and what teams they favor, opening up the possibility of seeing football as a quasi-religion. The various components of

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established religion are explicable within the sports’ context; nationalism and politics (previously explored), some type of divinity, a source of community and unity, history, rituals, and adherents.

The divinity aspect can be explained through looking at the players themselves as demi-gods. The end of colonialism, and the revelation of the inherent villainy of previous heroes, such as Cecil Rhodes, allowed for the creation of new heroes for the collective memory, footballers. The players, when on the pitch, are transformed into demi-gods, embodiments of physical perfection, symbolizing a new type of divinity. Names coupled with the prowess of players such as Pele, Maradona, Zidane, Ronaldo, etc. began to be revered, respected, and recognized by people worldwide; children rattle them off without difficulty, though the same cannot be said of saints or other religious figures on such a global scale. They were easily deified because the average person within the dialogue of individual space and communal experience could relate to them, much like ancient peoples could relate to demi-gods who were considered part mortal and immortal. Like Jesus Christ himself, at times portrayed in human form, while at others in divine form, football players lead normal lives; eat, sleep, cry, laugh, sin, but are transformed into gods upon entering the pitch, achieving transcendence bestowed by adoring fans, believers, cult maintainers. The constant attention showered upon footballers within European society by the press greatly enhances this aspect.

Divinity also implies an ability to provide miracles, whether they are incarnation and resurrection in Christianity or the Qur’an in Islam. Footballers, demi-gods of the game, provide their followers with miracles constantly; returning from an utterly hopeless situation in the game to one of domination is the highest miracle that could be performed, for all openly to bear witness to on the pitch. The physical prowess and ability of sports players themselves allowed for an arena in which religious devotion could be expressed in the frame of masculinity rather
than succumbing to the effeminacy of established religion, insomuch that many believed women had no real role within the domains of football. Traditional deities, at the same time, suffered under scrutiny by avid fans who often placed the blame for their teams’ loss on this higher being, weakening the relationship they may have previously had. Joe Queenan, author of *True Believers* uses himself as an example of this, saying, “fans usually have an ambivalent, but basically unwholesome relationship with God, their Higher Power, Allah, the Great White Father, and what have you…my own relationship with God started to sour in 1964 and has never seriously improved…God has regularly impacted negatively on the fortunes of my teams.”

Even if the players are not made into demi-gods, the relationship with an already established deity is insufficient for fans or followers who believe they may have been scorned by this said being in the form of their teams’ loss. Miracles could then be performed by the players themselves when credence is placed in the worldly and material realm rather than in a transcendent divinity.

The nationalist aspect is reintroduced via the passionate follower who serves the nation by actively supporting and proselytizing, either consciously or subconsciously throughout the world. The adherents or fans in this case attach themselves to a specific sect within the overarching footballing umbrella, in the form of different teams. Like most religions, many of the adherents are born into the religion by default; likewise the following of a team is often a legacy of a family, regardless of where one may live, though it is usually a patriarchal lineage. These fans then join together to form their own tight-knit community and show their support through jerseys, hats, scarves, flags, and even underwear that labels them for who they are. They travel together to the sacred or holy sites of that team as often as possible, this site being the stadium dedicated to that team, for example Manchester United fans would participate in a

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pilgrimage to Old Trafford Stadium. Thousands of supporters band together to watch the game, sing, laugh, cry, celebrate, and hurt as one. Author Franklin Foer also accredits football with the ability to unite people, stating,

> Of course, soccer isn’t the same as Bach or Buddhism. But it is often more deeply felt than religion, and just as much a part of the community’s fabric, a repository of traditions. During Franco’s rule, the clubs Athletic Bilbao and Real Sociedad were the only venues where Basque people could express their cultural pride without winding up in jail. In English industrial towns like Coventry and Derby, soccer clubs helped glue together small cities amid oppressive dinginess.¹⁸

This collective spirit and communality thus binds the believers to a larger purpose, and this sense of belongingness within the community provides the impetus to outwardly defend the honor of one’s religious belief. This psychological phenomenon is linked to the secular environment present within Europe where Taylor’s form of ‘festive’ religious movements flourished in the post Second World War era. Watching the same game and simultaneously experiencing the same emotions with people around the world is explained by Taylor as the fact that,

> We are all being touched together, moved as one, sensing ourselves as fused in our contact with something greater, deeply moving, or admirable...moments of fusion in a common action/feeling, which both wrench us out of the everyday, and seem to put in touch with something exceptional, beyond ourselves.¹⁹

The real motivating force behind religion and football then is this personal and deep emotional bond, the game speaks to people on a highly spiritual level, which makes its indoctrination that much stronger. Charles S. Prebish explains this phenomenon best in regards to sports and religion by saying,

> It has been contended that the substantive quiddity of sport lies in its primordial, transcendent aspiration. Sport is, then, an activity of the spirit in its highest sense...the constraint to being is the fundamental focus of the intentional structures of spirit, a

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quality that unites the supreme expressions of spirit as found in the arts, philosophy, and religion.\textsuperscript{20}

These feelings are natural, not only for the demi-gods (players) who revel on the pitch while displaying their prowess, but also the supporters, whose spirits and emotions are tethered to these men, and to the never-ending possibilities present within the game. Just as one cannot step into the same river twice, one cannot experience the same game twice, regardless of previous fixtures and results. This aspect of the unknown is what excites and incites many in this quest towards understanding the beautiful game.

The active participation within this quasi-religion often takes the form of ritual practices before, during and post the games themselves. Desmond Morris has written an entire book devoted to the various cultic processes or rituals executed by football players and their fans, called \textit{The Soccer Tribe}. He employs the same techniques that anthropologists use when researching actual tribes. The most interesting pre-game ritual is the walking out of players with “mascots”, which happen to be young children, onto the pitch hand-in-hand with their legendary players/heroes, forging a link with the team at an early age, and thus ensuring a lasting lineage. In Argentina the same idea is used, except that the mascots are now infants that are cradled onto the pitch in the players’ arms. Post-game rituals include the exchange of handshakes with members of the opposite team, and at times the swapping of shirts, a holy relic to be treasured. Just as churches will compete with one another to have possession of a highly valued relic, like a piece of the True Cross to put in their church, fans collect prized shirts, or even pieces of turf from the holy land (the stadia). The greatest post-game ritual is one in which the fans/followers are connected directly with their players/demi-gods; the players will turn and applaud them in the

stands, or in Japan bow to them. This increases a followers’ belief in their gods, recognition that
their devotion is not in vain, “it epitomizes the fact that soccer teams in Europe have historically
been clubs to which all belong, not the franchises that reduce the connection between
professional athletes ... and their fans.”21 This helps explain why people would follow football as
a religion, its connectivity, personality, and universality are all highly endearing qualities that
claim converts. The rituals provide a further example of footballs’ religious nature and trappings.

Muscular religious organizations in response redoubled their efforts to attract followers,
utilizing football and specific players with greater relish than during the nineteenth century. The
movement then was primarily centered on dispelling the notion of the increasingly effeminate
nature of religion. It now also had to deal with football as a quasi-religion in an accepted
secularized society. In Palestine, religion, culture, and national identity all mixed with football to
form a potent mix. There were Arab teams in Israel, especially after the Al’Ard political party
decided to sponsor them, but only as independent teams, which the Israeli government banned
from playing in 1964 due to the political power and activity wielded through the teams by
Al’Ard. The Islamic Movement created its own league separate from the Israeli leagues,
triumphing where the political Al’Ard party was unable to do so. The motive behind creating the
league was directly the attempt to reform the highly secularized ideals held by Palestinian youth,
and in turn a redirection towards Islam. Tamir Sorek tracks the progress and thinking behind the
movement saying,

The leaders of the Islamic Movement were concerned that, under conditions of high
exposure to secular values and lifestyles, the religious foundation could be worn away.
But since the Movement had a commitment to reform Muslim society, and since the

game was popular, soccer was not banned. Therefore in 1986 the Islamic Movement founded the Islamic League.22

Throughout the 1990’s the Arab teams, with more assistance and support were able to climb higher in the seeding charts and earn greater positions in competitions. This phenomenon was not uncommon within other European countries, such as England with its large and rather pocketed Muslim communities. Muslim football teams exist in most major cities, separate from the mainstream leagues, due mostly to racist exclusion, but also a sense of comfort and camaraderie in the shared religious values. It is the hope that such teams will enhance the image of Muslims within England, as well as provide an integrative enclave such as in Palestine/Israel.

Established religions also responded to the idea of football as a quasi-religion by rejecting and expounding it as a detractor from religion, simultaneously bolstering the power it actually held and continues to hold. Now, not only is football a threat to Islam, Christianity has also been worried about its growing following. Church attendance in England has dropped, while simultaneously the number of football fans has increased. In fact, blogger and columnist David Keyes quotes the Reverend Metropolitan of Nafpaktos and St. Vlassios Hierotheos of the Greek Hierotheos Vlachos of the Greek Orthodox Church releasing a proclamation in 2002 stating,

> For many people, soccer is a religion, a worship. Several expressions used are taken from religion. Spectators sit in the stands and their ‘gods’, the soccer players, contest as another twelve/eleven gods in the field for Victory. Since soccer is considered by many as a new worship, there is certainly their own god, the god of soccer. They pray to this non-existing god.23

This premise remains refutable, given the immensity of the game and the composition of all elements extant within established religion, at least to the extent of forming its own quasi-

22 Tamir Sorek, Arab Soccer in a Jewish State: the Integrative Enclave (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 135.
religion. Various fatwa’s, or religious rulings, were issued regarding football as a distracter from Islam, a religion not to be followed for it pulled the youth away from God. One such ruling was issued on August 25, 2005 in the Al-Watan Saudi newspaper. It declared that, “soccer is permissible to play only when its rules are different from the accepted international rules. The ruling was based on a hadith (prophetic tradition) which forbids Muslims to imitate Christians and Jews.”

Furthermore, the Secretary of Sunni Students Federation in India stated, “that ‘wherever you go, you see [youths] wearing jerseys of various teams. It is like idol worship which our religion does not promote in any form.’” The televising of matches, websites with blogging and chatting capabilities in regards to the team, and the relentless press following of players relaying daily updates were all factors in successfully disseminating football’s potency as a quasi-religious and even cultic entity. Sean Wilsey wrote in the National Geographic before the World Cup 2006 blatantly stating,

Soccer’s worldwide popularity isn’t surprising when you look at what has always motivated humanity: money and God. ... What is soccer if not everything that religion should be? Universal yet particular, the source of an infinitely renewable supply of hope, occasionally miraculous, and governed by simple, uncontradictory rules.

Indeed these emotional premises form the foundation for a serious look at football as a quasi-religion, yet established religion through neo-muscular Christianity efforts found in a Brazilian midfielder an apt champion of its ideals while the Muslims turned to French revert Franck Ribéry.

Brazilian International and Italian giant A.C. Milan’s attacking midfielder Ricardo Kaká, a devout evangelical Christian with his public declaration of love for his religion made him a

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24 Moshe Terdman, “The Ball is Not Always Round: the Attitude to Soccer between Jihadi-Radical and Moderate Muslims,” The Project for the Research of Islamist Movements (PRISM), Herzliya, Israel, E-prism.org, April 17, 2007 [http://www.e-prism.org/images/Radical_Islam_and_soccer_-_social_affairs_-_no_1_-_Dec06.pdf] [accessed October 18, 2008].

25 Ibid.

perfect candidate for the role of spreading awareness for the return to Christian values. His careful demeanor, quiet devotion, tithing to the church, and upright manner of living life in accordance to Christian virtues was exactly what the movement needed to prosper and has successfully exploited. To further accentuate this point these ties were blatantly forged through writing in the acclamation written for Kaká as a “Hero and Pioneer” for the 2008 Time’s 100 Most Influential People list, ranked at a stunning twenty-ninth place. The statement, written by Kasey Keller, a U.S. International goalie and Fulham player, reads in part,

There is, however, more to him than sport. In 2004 Kaká became the U.N. World Food Program’s youngest ambassador. And he is devoted to his faith. An evangelical Christian, Kaká has talked publicly about becoming a minister when he retires from the game. After winning the UEFA Champions League final last year, he took off his jersey to reveal a T shirt that read, ‘I Belong to Jesus’. I might question whether soccer stadiums are the right venue for promoting religion, but in an age in which many professional athletes care more about cars, women and controversy, it’s refreshing to see one who is committed to having a positive impact on the world around him.27

The image referred to in the commendation has become iconic to Kaká, when he fell to his knees on the pitch, pulling off his jersey to reveal underneath a t-shirt with the words emblazoned on it, his face ethereal. He sat there with his hands raised to the sky, fingers spread out, face towards the heavens, yet eyes closed; the epitome of serenity, surrender, and love. This attributing of victory to God is the way that he had often celebrated his goals. Christian leaders responded to his overt display of religious declaration in a highly positive manner, praising his contribution to the religious world by creating awareness through his footballing talents displayed on the largest stages in the world coupled with his manner of living. The most appealing aspect going for Kaká according to Monsignor Keith Barltrop, the director of the Catholic Agency to Support Evangelisation, was the fact that he not only talked the talk, but

walked the walk. Keith Barltrop asserts, “‘A lot of people think religion is quite fundamentalist, so if there is a major sporting figure whose lifestyle backs up his words, it is a positive thing.’”

The Vatican also attempted to take matters into its own hands more directly by initiating projects to create their own football team. Covering the story, writer for *The Times Online* Rick Broadbent reminded readers that one-third of all English Premier League teams were originally created or supported by church officials, and they are still active or attempting to impact football globally. He then went on to chronicle that,

> When Cardinal Tarcisio Bertone, Pope Benedict’s No 2, created The Clericus Cup this year, an international tournament for priests and seminarians, he spoke without irony of creating a Vatican City team to take on the likes of AC Milan in Serie A. However, even Bertone would not argue that the stated aim of ‘reinvigorating a sporting tradition within the Christian community’ is better served by Kaká and his T-shirt than kickarounds in cassocks.

Indeed, the reach that Kaká has promoted not only physicality amongst Christians, but a coming back towards faith.

Muslims also turned to key players within the footballing world to attract the youth back to the religion, granting that the fatwás were not successful. The ardor for French internationals Franck Bilal Ribéry, Nicholas Anelka, Kolo Abib Toure, Samir Nasri and Zinedine Zidaine, as well as Mohammad Sissoko of Liverpool, Khalid Bhoularouz of Sevilla, and El Hadji Diouf of Bolton successfully provided Muslims worldwide with their own role models. These players, with their public adherence to Islamic values also act as missionaries of sorts, promoting Islam and breaking stereotypes as best as possible. Franck Ribéry, when he comes out onto the pitch, raises his hands in supplication to God, much like Kaká. However,

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28 Ibid.
Ribéry keeps his reasons for conversion mainly to himself, although many have speculated it has to do with the time he spent playing in Turkey and his Morrocan Muslim wife, Wahiba. Regardless, “he recently told the Paris Match magazine that he felt "safe" with Islam. ‘Islam is my source of strength either in or outside the playground...I lead a difficult career and I was determined to find peace of mind, and I finally found Islam.’” These figures have become iconic heroes for many of the same reasons as Kaká, and Islamic officials have appreciated their leadership positions in, at times, a hostile world. “Steve Bradore of Shehada organization, which caters to Muslim reverts, said that French Muslims must be proud of Ribery,” insisting that ‘he is really a source of pride for us due his unique performance and modesty,’ and his determination and verve on the pitch coupled with his contemplative and reserved lifestyle off the pitch speak to that effect. Likewise, in 2006, Australia drafted its first devout Muslim footballer (Australian football is more rugby-like), the young eighteen year old Lebanese Bachar Houli, who openly declared and explained his seemingly radically different lifestyle (lack of drinking, partying, and clubbing, as well as praying five times daily, etc.) to his teammates and the larger intrigued Australian public. These figures also stood in defiance of the secular nature of society, forcing at least through their example, others to consider religion as they do, while ironically being viewed by adherents of football as a quasi-religion as demi-gods.

The religious interpretation of football, whether through its utilization by established religious institutions, or as a quasi-religion in its own right, provides further dimensionality to the concept of the entrenchment and power of football within society. The increased

31 Ibid.
secularization of society within a highly technological age has fostered this use of football in both regards at an increased rate, with more fans feeling a deeper connection for their team of affiliation than any other source of spiritual nourishment. At the same time, others such as Kaká, have found absolution within the realms of established religion and manifest it through their football, essentially becoming posterboys for that religious organization. Either way, the spread of football is inevitable, whether the adherents and fans are spreading it to friends and family due to their own fervent belief, whether fathers continue to pass down the heritage in a patriarchal fashion, or famous players act like role models for their religious affiliation, the dissemination of football continues indefinitely making this form of quasi-religion the most potent in history, as millions serve as missionaries without being conscious of it. In fact, the bonds of football are felt so strongly, that one team in Germany even procured a graveyard outside of its stadium, to allow the fervent followers of Hamburg SV a never-ending tie to their beloved club. BBC Sport reports, ‘Many people think it's crazy and a strange idea,’ Hamburg board member Christian Reichert told German newspaper Suddeutsche Zeitung... Argentina's Boca Juniors are the only other club in the world who cater for lifelong fans in such a way, while in England fans often choose to have their ashes scattered on the hallowed turf in the stadium of their favourite club.32

Club members will have the option of being buried either in a casket, or have their ashes placed in an official club urn. This notion does not seem odd given the religious aspect of football; in fact, it is most comparable to Muslims desiring to be buried in the holy cities of Mecca or Medina. This relationship also, unfortunately, lends itself to the desire to act violently in order to protect ones’ religious pride. This violence often manifests itself either on a reserved personal level, internal anger due to a loss or negative call on the pitch by a referee or official, or in an

external fashion through explicit hooliganism, and just as the history of any religious
organization will show, warfare is inevitable.

Chapter 4: Hooliganism

Violence, tribalism, and the defense of specific values and ideals through warfare have all been common themes throughout the history of mankind, as have been sports. Upon the combination of these themes emerges the character of the hooligan, at once seen as a violent, antagonist, and anti-social being or a brave, trustworthy, and passionate mercenary for the cause at hand. The latter definition would be ascribed to the hooligan by those within the network, those who benefit from the destructive methods of the hooligan in question, members of the same football team. The press, police, and politicians might choose the former characterization. Although hooliganism within the bounds of sport has existed since the inception of sport, a sharp increase of cases in England during the 1960s specifically linked to football was discernable, further accrediting football as a quasi-religion in a time of recognized secularization and the idea of empire building through football. The football hooligan can thus be understood at the margins of football as a religion and within each local or national team as a means of infamously accruing fame and glory off the pitch, while simultaneously holding power within Europe and ensuring the passionate support for the team continues indefinitely.

Sports and violence have been inextricably linked since the dawn of sports, with riots and hooligan activity chronicled through the ages. The circus faction riots provoked by the popular chariot races of the Byzantine Empire provide the most direct link to the modern football hooligan. Fans of each separate faction invested life, blood, and importantly money on the warring factions, and not surprisingly, often found themselves in conflict with members of other teams consequently divided by colors: reds, blues, and greens, just as each football team has its
own prescribed kit color, the reds of Manchester United versus the blues of Chelsea. Historically speaking, sports have always played a major role in the political sphere and the success of the ruling party as well; a legacy which as before outlined has carried on through football. Author and British classicist Alan Cameron, in his book *Circus Factions*, outlined the central role of the most famous factions the Blues and Greens had in spurring the weeklong riot in 532 AD Constantinople. The riots were so disastrous that they led to the destruction of the Hagia Sophia, the attempted desertion of the throne by Emperor Justinian I, and his subsequent cracking down on the elite. The revolt occurred, when the arrests of two main riders of each faction were made following routine rioting after a game. The two were then to be hanged, but both managed to survive the hanging, and members of both factions rioted, looted, pillaged, and burned the city to have these men released. Eventually, Justinian called in his main military general, Belisarius to put down the riot, which he accomplished by herding all participants into the Hippodrome where the races took place and by slaughtering thousands. Cameron likened the situation with that of footballing violence,

Some fellow Blues from Sycae then set fire to the docks; contained here they set fire to a nearby church and then made their way to the main boulevard of Mese, where they set fire to the house of the praetorian prefect and an entire neighbouring colonnade. Such seemingly pointless vandalism is one of the recurring features of hooliganism down the ages, taking the form of smashed telephone boxes and slashed train seats with the soccer hooligan of today.¹

The culture of violence and rioting within society centering on a sporting event with political consequence is thus not uncommon in the past. Cameron also believed that sport, like football, was more important than politics: “if the Greens lose, sighed Juvenal bitterly, you will see the city dumbstruck with grief… men’s minds were certainly not on politics at such a moment. But

there is also a sense in which this non-political quality in football (and the Roman circus) can itself become a political factor, as a distraction and exploitable focus of patriotism.\textsuperscript{2} This observation was further bolstered throughout history in such instances as the exploitation of football in Italian Fascism, the installation of Slobodan Milosevic as ruler in Serbia, and the growth of muscular religion.

Hooliganism as a term came into being officially in Britain in the 1890s in conjunction with the Boer Wars and was then translated directly into the footballing world. Hooliganism as an act entails destructive behavior such as fighting, rioting, and vandalism in the name of a certain ideal or entity. Author Steve Attridge found that during the period of the Boer Wars in which Great Britain fought in South Africa and the Orange Free State, violent activities within British society rose as living conditions depreciated with increased urbanization.\textsuperscript{3} Novels and literature of that period, including poems by Rudyard Kipling decried the inhumanity of these hooligans as a reflection of the loss of singular imperial greatness with new European competition as well as the degradation of British society and racial superiority. After a conference was held to attempt to figure out what exactly hooliganism entailed, and thus methods in which to deal with it, it was concluded that,

The hooligan problem suggests a patterning of fears of moral decline and an affirmation of the idealized values of citizenship: the existence of an independent and threatening youth culture against a tradition of family and parental control; idleness versus work; the willful ignorance of the working class unfavourably compared with the public-school values of fair play and gamesmanship.\textsuperscript{4}

The effects of urbanization mirror those in which hooliganism or gang warfare elsewhere was recognized. The philosophies of fair play were important within the footballing world, especially

\textsuperscript{2} Ibid, 293.
\textsuperscript{3} Steve Attridge, \textit{Nationalism, Imperialism, and Identity in Late Victorian Culture} (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003),
\textsuperscript{4} Ibid, 97.
in England, where the professionalization of football was occurring and major league teams were solidifying their existence. The England footballer was often lauded as the most upright, by the book, fair player of the game, and the opposite action on behalf of fans would prove destructive to this image once hooliganism moved to the sphere of football. Methods for dealing with the problems consisted of either mass whippings or corporal punishment, increased efforts for physical education in schools and for young people, and even conscription into the imperial army for work in the colonies. The press, even then, followed the subject of hooliganism closely:

   In a rhetorical coup d’etat, [some] argued that the characteristics displayed by hooligans, such as territorial jealousies, fighting ability and tenacity, were the very ones required for the defenders of the empire. In effect, the hooligan could serve the ideology of hero of imperialism as well as that of subversion, and thus became the mythology of empire.5

The trajectory of increased incidents of hooligan activity since the beginning of the twentieth century with a peak in 1960 retained the legacy of such mythical heroism and the since extinguished ideals of imperialism. Benito Mussolini could be seen as the first to extort football fans for his own gains, mixing politics and football with hooliganism to ensure victory and make the transference of such imperialist ideals into football successful. He constantly used hooliganism in his political campaigns, with his ‘black shirts’ threatening the opposing football team by inflicting physical harm or verbal threats to ensure that his local team of association Lazio would prosper. It was then natural and easy for football fans to use the methods of violence and hooliganism to express and protect the legacy of their team.

   Original violence and activity occurred between teams with historic rivalries, such as Liverpool and Everton, progressing then, with the creation of organized hooligan groups or gangs for each team, to battles both on and away from the pitch to defend the honor of the club. Liverpool and Everton matches constantly brought about violence after games on the pitch, yet it

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5 Ibid, 102.
was not until the late 1950s that warfare moved to the wrecking of trains and public property. In a match against both teams in March of 1956 a *Times* report from a train official stated that among the damage there were, “Several compartments heavily bloodstained, luggage racks pulled from the walls...a number of slashed seats...Nearly every train coming into Liverpool after 8.15 on Saturday had some damage.”

This type of vandalism of trains continued on into the 1960s. The Social Issues Research Center at Oxford compiled a report in 1996 that indicated only disjointed and singular outbursts of hooligan activity prior to 1960, yet from 1960 onwards an average documentation of twenty-five reports per season was common. The increased and regular occurrences of violence surrounding sport in the post 1960 era may have been in reflection of successful youth rioting around the world. The general spike in violent fan outbreaks in the 1960s was also coupled with the period of the final stages of decolonization in Africa, the miring of soldiers in the Vietnam War, student protests against the war, the revolutionary era of the Beatles, as well as civil rights movements and assassinations, and the crowning glory for football in England, winning the 1966 World Cup. A group of Leicester researchers attempted to describe the surge in incidents as reflecting class differences, by stating that those involved in hooligan-type activity were from the lower working classes struggling in their current positions. Football hooligans, however, came from a range of classes and ages, with violence only mounting.

The most devastating and eye-opening incidents within the bounds of football hooliganism occurred during the 1980s with the tragic and infamous Heysel and Hillsborough

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disasters, the latter spurring the Taylor Report, as well as the creation of firms such as the Chelsea Headhunters, West Ham’s Inter City Firm, Manchester United’s Red Army, and Birmingham’s Zulu Army. The original English hooligan firm was accredited to Alan Garrison, creator of the Chelsea Headhunters, who set the bar in their racist methods and ideologies and professionalizing hooligan activities. Some Chelsea extremists went as far as to travel to, “concentration camps on tourist trips so they can admire Hitler’s accomplishments. They deliver *sieg heil* salutes to the tourists and confiscate artifacts for their personal collections of concentration camp paraphernalia. Back in London, they have provided protection for Holocaust denier David Irving.”

Many of the crew members came from previous military backgrounds; others were just sadists or extreme nationalists and believers of their clubs’ superiority above all others, not unlike Arkan’s Tigers, the football fan group turned paramilitary group that played a major role in the Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s. The Chelsea firm was so powerful and confident in their work that, “after their assaults, they would leave a calling card with their skull-and-bones logo that read, ‘You have been nominated and dealt with by the Chelsea Headhunters.’” Within society the hooligan was at once seen as a romantic rebel, nationalistic hero who fought for his colors, and an abomination and blight upon the country and religion of football, to which millions prescribed but a few corrupted. The Heysel disaster involved the death of thirty-nine Italian and Belgian Juventus fans with over four hundred other fans injured. On May 29 1985, Liverpool and Juventus fans traveled with their teams to the Heysel stadium in Brussels Belgium, for the European Cup final match-up. Before the start of the match,

At around 7pm local time, an hour before kick off, trouble erupted between rival fans. A section of Liverpool fans stormed an area of Juventus fans, as the Juventus fans tried to

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escape a wall collapsed, many fans were crushed, thirty nine Italian and Belgian fans died and hundreds were injured.\textsuperscript{10} UEFA finally took action in regards to the hooligan activity rampant throughout Europe, banning all English teams from the international European Cup competition for five years and Liverpool for six years, as it was the rushing of the English fans into Juventus stands that caused the essential stampede and panic which ended in the disaster. The English hooligan had thus placed a stain on international competition. In response, the English FA issued the Football Spectators Act of 1989, which under Margaret Thatcher, introduced the idea that all fans and spectators had to possess identity cards issued only after official membership was granted from the club of affiliation. The cards did not, however, prevent the largest tragedy in British football history, another stadium disaster which resulted in the issuing of the Taylor Report and one of the most serious attempts to make football stadiums safer.

The Hillsborough stadium disaster of 1989 involving Liverpool and Nottingham Forest during the FA (Football Association) Cup semi-final match pushed England into looking into the hooligan problem at home more closely and with renewed vigor. By this point, violence between rival firms had already progressed to predetermined battles both before and after matches using any array of weapons from knives, rocks, rolled up newspapers, ball-bearings, and even ammonia. Crackdown on hooligans by police increased with an augmentation of police presence both outside and within stadia as well as the installation of the afore mentioned high steel fences. Eugene Trivizas conducted a study, which was published in 1981 focusing on the arrests of football hooligans and finding that most were detained and dealt with much harsher standards

\textsuperscript{10} Paul Coslett, “Heysel Disaster,” BBC Liverpool \textit{The Times}, December 4, 2006 \url{http://www.bbc.co.uk/liverpool/content/articles/2006/12/04/local_history_heysel_feature.shtml} [accessed January 2, 2008].
than offenders of similar offences in other arenas. It thus threw into question the intensively aggressive measures executed by the police. Trivizas found,

The great majority of offenders arrested in both political and football crowd disturbances were prosecuted under the Public Order Act of 1936...the irony is that the Public Order Act of 1936 was enacted during a time when Fascist and Communist supporters were holding public meetings resulting in clashes with each other...today, the heavier fines provided by this act are not used against ‘political hooligans’ but ‘football hooligans’...possible explanations of the results may be suggested: misbehaviour and aggressiveness in political crowd circumstances, although undesirable, are considered by magistrates as ‘meaningful’ while misbehaviour and aggressiveness in football crowd circumstances are considered a priori as ‘senseless.’

Despite the arrests, the issue of the terrace, and the hotbed of most hooligan activity was not addressed, leading up to the Hillsborough disaster. The terrace was the space where fans would stand and watch the game rather than sit, as no seats were present, and was generally located behind the home goals, where the most fervent supporters amassed and where fighting oft began. The trouble on April 15, 1989 centered on the lack of seating, as well as steel fences meant to prevent hooligan activity within stadia, which oft did not work as hooligans would find ways to burn through the steel. On that day, traffic prevented many Liverpool fans from arriving on time to the venue of the semi-final, Sheffield Wednesday’s neutral ground at Hillsborough, where they were allotted one of the smaller seating sections, despite the disproportionate number of fans. Fans were stuck waiting outside of the stadium though the match had already begun, and,

As a bottleneck developed outside the ground police, fearing a crush, opened a set of gates leading in to a narrow tunnel at the rear of the terrace. Fans streamed down the tunnel into the already crowded central section of the terrace, at the front fans were pushed against steel fencing installed to prevent hooliganism. Many fans tried to escape

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by climbing over the fence or being pulled up by other supporters in to the upper tier. 96 people died as a result of the crush at Hillsborough with 766 injured.\textsuperscript{12}

Directly after this event, Lord Justice Taylor was commissioned to undergo an enquiry of the causes and possible solutions to the tragedy, the results of which were published via the Home Office in 1990.

The suggestions within the report called for the modernization of stadia throughout England in order to ensure safety, as well as touching upon other possible agitators such as lack of pre-match entertainment and alcohol sales within the stadia, many of which were implemented, yet still did not extinguish the hooliganism problem. Within the report, Lord Taylor outlined the different types of spectators which frequented the games in regards to reasons for violent outbursts as originally described by Mr. Justice Poppelwell in his Final Report, detailing one group of hooligans who merely reacted to decisions made by referees or players during the game, and those who came with the intent of violence secondary to the game itself. Within this second category, “there has always been a group, albeit a small group who find violence attractive; who currently find the football ground a convenient theatre for their violence,”\textsuperscript{13} while others followed the example displayed by this first group, and yet others who purely come to enjoy the game and abhorred the few who ruined it with their displays of violence. Although the link with alcoholism was not a new idea and legislation had been passed banning the sales of alcohol within stadiums, fans would arrive at games drunk or brought in their own supply. Taylor felt that alcoholism increased the violent tendencies and lack of inhibition which in turn exacerbated

\textsuperscript{12} Paul Coslett, “Hillsborough Disaster,” BBC Liverpool The Times, July 4, 2007 \url{http://www.bbc.co.uk/liverpool/content/articles/2006/12/07/local_history_hillsborough_feature.shtml} [accessed January 3, 2009].

the second group of followers who waited on the violent actions of the core group of violent 
offenders and hooligans, after which they would join in more freely. He noted that,

Drinking before matches increased in parallel with the growth of hooliganism... During the 1960s and 1970s young men in their twenties acquired a new affluence and spending on drink increased. The advent of the supermarket with an off-licence provided numerous outlets for the sale of canned beer; so it became easy to have alcohol at the match and on the way to it, whether the local pubs were open or not. Finally, apart from time and liquor being available, there has developed an attitude to drinking in the UK not found to the same extent elsewhere - a cult of drinking to excess.14

Along with the suggestion of looking into the problem of the drinking culture within England, Lord Taylor also specifically advocated for all-seated stadia throughout Great Britain, as a few of the top clubs had already implemented. This would take away the problem of ticket frauds where people with fake tickets, or even no tickets at all could slip into the stadium and go unnoticed whilst standing on the terraces. Thus, with all spectators forced to buy seat tickets, CCTV (closed-circuit television) technology would be able to focus in on any agitators and the names given when purchasing tickets could be used to ban these disruptive fans. Finally, it would remove, at least partially the appeal of the violence historically manifested in the physical location of the terrace itself. Many of the ideas that Lord Taylor put forth were implemented such as the all-seated stadia, where top clubs were made to ensure that every person within the stadium had a seat. Unfortunately, the problem of hooliganism did not go away, as violence between rival groups continued both inside and outside of stadia throughout England and Europe.

The cases of Red Star Belgrade initiating the Yugoslav Wars and the turning to violence of French player Eric Cantona coupled with the rise in hooligan literature and memoirs demonstrated the continuation. The 1990s proved a period of reflection and at times action in response to increased awareness of the multiple ethnicities present and oft chaffing with one

another in Europe, most specifically within the Balkans where hooliganism was exploited to its fullest extent to fuel such anxieties. Within Yugoslavia the deterioration of relations between citizens of differing ethno-religious backgrounds accelerated with the secession of Slovenia in 1991, and then through the machinations of both Slobodan Milosevic and ex-convict turned government hit man Arkan, football hooligans were involved to incite the war between Croatia and Serbia. Slobodan Milosevic would not have been as successful without the backing of the already violent and established hooligan group in service for Red Star Belgrade. Arkan tamed these hooligans, and became the head of the activities that this group worked on, serving the leader of the paramilitary former-hooligan group, the Tigers, in 1991. Through careful planning and exploitation of the fact that matches between Red Star Belgrade and Dynamo Zagreb often produced high tensions and hooligan activity, he orchestrated the violent atmosphere on May 13, 1990. Zvonimir Boban became a footballing legend and national hero when he kicked a Croatian police officer in defense of his fans and country, essentially lighting the spark that catalyzed the unofficial start of the Yugoslav Wars, and this moment remained a stark example of footballers giving into such violent tendencies themselves. Another player who earned fame and recognition for a violent act, rather than just his footballing abilities, was French Manchester United player Eric Cantona, dubbed by the United faithful as King Cantona. Eric Cantona kicked and then repeatedly punched a Crystal Palace fan who had shouted abuse at him from the stands after he was sent off for a bad tackle. The Guardian, who like most papers avidly followed and reported on such instances with particular relish and sensationalism, only added to the flames and fame these players and hooligans received, when it wrote on the incident,

The rest paled into insignificance compared with the off-field activities of Cantona, who briefly went berserk four minutes after half-time... As he walked along the touchline towards the dressing room a young spectator raced to the front of the stand and as well as
hurling abuse, verbal and digital, at the Frenchman he appeared to throw something as well. Cantona immediately leapt at the fan, both feet coming in chest-high. The Frenchman then threw several punches before police, stewards, team officials and other players pulled the pair apart. ... Chief Supt Terry Collins said... 'I've never seen anything like it in my life,' he added. 'There could have been a riot.'

The fan, Matthew Simmons, had supposedly thrown racial abuse as well as a missile at Cantona as he walked by. Cantona later said that his best memory from the game was beating up that thug. The quote from one of his fan sites read, “My best moment? I have a lot of good moments but the one I prefer it [sic] when I kicked the hooligan,” although there was also another from him that stated, “Sometimes you get submerged by emotion. I think it's very important to express it - which doesn't necessarily mean hitting someone.” Unfortunately, most people only remembered the first. Players often felt as though being physically tough and strong was necessary to win both game and fame, and to an extent that remains true. Gerry P. T. Finn wrote on this nature of the game, “soccer is ... an intrinsically aggressive event which sanctions some violence in attempts to win, and retain, possession of the ball. As a result players prize physical hardness: they physically challenge one another for the ball. It can be no surprise that the sport is imbued with a culture of hard masculinity.” Defenders, such as Genaro Gattusso often referred to by commentators as ‘the snarling dog’, or Franck Ribéry, imbue this infectious fighting spirit, doing their part in the fight for glory. From there, the fans and hooligan networks take over, extending the fight to outside the stadia and onto street corners, in pubs, town centers, and even the train stations, with oft devastating results. Given the continued presence of hooligan activity

within England, and abroad, another report was issued in direct relation to Lord Justice Taylor’s observation on alcoholism and hooligan activity by the Social Issues Research Center at Oxford.

The report itself was compiled in 1996 for the Amsterdam Group on the association between football hooliganism and several factors including, but not limited to alcoholism. The Amsterdam Group itself is an organization created in 1990 and, is an alliance of Europe's leading producers of beers, wines, and spirits who work together as well as with governments and other interested groups in addressing social problems related to the excessive or inappropriate consumption of alcoholic beverages.¹⁸

The report chronicled the history of hooliganism within Europe and its connection to social problems arguing that several different approaches needed to be evaluated, and the general scapegoat of alcoholism was not sufficient in explaining the phenomenon, as Italian hooligans Ultras often did not drink prior to, during, or after games, yet had an extensive hooligan system. In fact, the governments banning of alcohol consumption within stadiums across Britain had perhaps increased the drunken rage factor, as fans would either drink more before and after matches, or even slip out of the stadium and around the corner to get their dose. The report confirmed that football hooliganism was not exclusively an ‘English disease’ nor was it placing the blame of spreading this infliction along throughout Europe correct as, “research findings show that while some of the more violent European fans regard the English hooligans as role-models, others – including the Scottish ‘Tartan Army’ and the Danish Roligans have quite deliberately adopted a very different style of behaviour.”¹⁹ Seeing as how the Scottish footballer

had considered the English as a fierce rival for centuries, this deviation is not surprising. During the time this report was written, hooligan activity was considered to be dropping, and Turkish hooliganism was considered either to be insignificant on the larger scale, or merely stuck in the preliminary stages, the latter being the case. The report mentioned the vast amount of attention paid to this very subject of hooliganism within the intellectual, social, and anthropological fields with the phenomenon yet unsolved while demeaning the media and journalists for their avid and continued coverage of every occurrence. At the end, it hastily mentioned that the manner in which the British authorities were attempting to deal with the situation, with reactive and oft violent measures by police forces was not the correct manner of dealing with the problem, instead advocating for increased fan and club official cooperation and involvement, partially in the form of fan forums. The twenty-first century, unfortunately, added explosive Turkish hooliganism to the European scene, as well as the widespread use of internet hooligan sites to coordinate and plan hooligan activity.

Turkey, the newest member of serious hooligan infractions, may actually support the hooligans that accompany the team. The passionate support and following of both the Turkish national team and its local champions Galatasaray through both the non-violent and hooligan fans may provide a concrete way to prove its European identity, and its contestation in the battle for glory and advancement within both the European and footballing world. The fixture that put Turkish hooligans in the headlines and a part of the hooligan problem occurred on April 6, 2000 during the first leg of the semi-final of the UEFA Cup in Istanbul. Fighting between Turkish Galatasaray and Leeds FC fans broke out before the match, during which two men, thirty-seven year old Christopher Loftus and forty year old Kevin Speight, died from stab wounds. The media aggravated the issue when “Turkish television station A-TV showed English fans lying in pools
of blood in Taksim Square, in the centre of Istanbul's entertainment district.\textsuperscript{20} Over 1,000 people attended their funerals, and the FA coupled with UEFA decided to take measures against Leeds, fining them for their overly aggressive play during the match, with several Turkish fans arrested and tried for the stabbings of the fans. Galatasaray, under the management of Fatih Terim, went on to beat English side Arsenal in the finals during penalty shoot-outs, where some violent activity was recorded, to win its first ever European honor, proving its formidability as an opponent within the bounds of European football on one of the greatest stages.

At the end of the twentieth century and especially since 2000, the incidents of hooligan based activities organized over the internet in England increased, causing Parliament to push through new legislation to curb hooligan violence when England fans promised to disgrace themselves and thus the English namesake at the Euro 2000. In August of 1999, police investigated the use of internet hooligan pages in orchestrating battles that occurred during a match between Cardiff City and Millwall. Police monitored the site of known football hooligan Paul Dodd, and increased security around the match. The National Criminal Intelligence Service (NCIS) also took interest in these developments and

Highlighted the problem in its annual report. Gail Kent, spokeswoman for NCIS and its Football Intelligence Unit, said law enforcement was engaged in a technology race to keep tabs on the troublemakers...I think they're just happy to use whatever they can get their hands on which makes organisation easier and obviously the Internet and mobile phones mean that they can have instantaneous contact with each other," she said. ‘As these fans become more organised and they're using these tools, so the police become more advanced in what they're able to do.’\textsuperscript{21}

Similarly, \textit{The Guardian} launched an inquiry into the internet activities of England national fan bases each split into their respective firms linking up with various Dutch firms against the


Germans. Police forces remained skeptical about the extent to which such plans were actually being forged and how much of it was the routine sensationalism of journalists on the one topic that never failed to draw readers, hooliganism. The search found that,

Messages on hooligan websites show that followers of Tottenham Hotspur have already joined forces with hooligans from Ajax of Amsterdam. There have also been contacts between fans of Chelsea, whose 'Headhunters' gang is widely feared, and those who follow Feyenoord of Rotterdam, and between supporters of Millwall and Den Haag from The Hague. Dutch 'firms' who support rival club sides are also setting aside their usual differences to create a 'National Dutch Army' in time for the start of Euro 2000 on 10 June. The Dutch police are so concerned by the ease with which thugs can swap information on the Internet that they have set up a special unit to monitor its increasing use by hooligans. ... England coach Kevin Keegan also expressed concern about hooligans: 'There is often a fair amount of what you might call casual racism and xenophobia around support for England, especially away from home. If there is racism around England, we need to challenge that.'

With these precautions before them and added police security during the competition, English fans were nonetheless implicated in incidents of racist chanting and drunken displays of unsportmanslike fandom, shaming not only the English team, but respectable fans as well. The display by the England fans was so bad that UEFA (Union des Associations Européennes de Football) executive Gerhard Aigner seriously contemplated kicking the English team out of the Euro 2000, but the teams’ inability to muster more than a mediocre performance saw them eliminated of their own accord. The lack of serious fighting and damage was partially alleviated by the hasty introduction of the Football Disorder Act of 2000, which effectively allowed the government to stop any fans from leaving the country to attend the games if they had a history of hooligan activity or were suspected of it. These measures, although they stopped around a hundred fans from going overseas, still did not stop the rest of those present during the competition from singing racist and inflammatory chants and drinking themselves into a stupor.

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The media and the upsurge of memoirs and literature from former hooligans only served to inflame the problem, keep the fighting legacy alive, while perhaps allowing for a look into other reasons for people to join hooligan networks, perhaps akin to a form of religious extremism, and directly linked to identity formation. Movies, books, documentaries, and memoirs began to flow as leading or elder hooligan members from the 1980s began to write their own recollections of battles, taking full advantage of the public which lapped them up with relish. One such hooligan-turned-writer-and-activist, Dougie Brimson wrote over thirteen books on the subject, and directed a screenplay, *Green Street Hooligans* on his personal exploits. The life of a hooligan was primarily one characterized by a need for community, belongingness, importance, and above all passion and loyalty for the empire/football team he and even at times she believed in, foot soldiers of the cause. Dougie Brimson, was an avid Watford supporter who in his book, *March of the Hooligans*, chronicled his experiences within a Watford hooligan group and the dangers and heartbreak associated with the game, in the hopes of dispelling further hooligan activity in future generations. The book provided an insightful look into hooligan life, and something the research group of 1996 did not have access to. Brimson reflected,

Undeniably, soccer does attract a sizable minority of normally rational people who...take things further by becoming a part of something that is really a sinister subculture akin to gang warfare. The academics have their theories about social depravation and rebellion to explain why this is, but me, even if I placed my credence in them, which I don’t, these are excuses, not causes. In my opinion, the vast majority of hooliganism as we know it today is caused by one of three factors: passion, reputation, and most importantly, history.23

Hooligan activity cannot simply be seen through these fields without the interpretations set forth by sociologists, yet the premise and fundamental reasons for the attraction and continuation of this culture are the three factors identified by Brimson. To fundamentally be a supporter of a football team, much like most sports though to a higher degree, one needed to be emotionally

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attached, and this emotional attachment required rivalry and a generally healthy hatred for these teams, directed mostly at each teams historic rival, like Manchester City for Manchester United due to the local derby, and ubiquitously at referees and officials. Joe Quennan stated it best in his own work about sports fans, when he said, “being a sports fan is first and foremost a question of unbridled passion. Well, passion and rage. Well, passion, rage, and disbelief.” He then later went on to assert that, “acrimony so intense, so uncompromising, so vicious, so unhealthy, underscores the one tenet of the fan canon that is absolutely biblical in its inflexibility: never forgive, never forget. Stated simply, a man who does not know how to hate can never truly learn to love.” His statement not only highlighted the import of reputation, but of history and the need to live up to it. Dougie Brimson affirmed this emotional and psychological standpoint when he informed readers that, “being a soccer supporter isn’t just about watching great soccer; its about putting time in and belonging to something, the entity that is a soccer club.” Choosing a team was a task not be taken lightly, as the adoption of a team generally meant a life-long commitment if the decision and application was sincere. In some countries, such as Ireland, merely walking in the wrong part of town with the wrong jersey on is a means for violent encounter with fans from the other side. Much like choosing a religion or career path, sincerity as well as genuine fit with the players on the team and their manner of play was integral.

Football, like established religion or even empire, has the power to dictate where one will watch a game, which pub is safe to go to, who to associate with, which population of people are rivals and which are tolerable, who to date or marry, or even what to wear. Having knowledge of the former two aspects has been and continues to be necessary for self-preservation at times;

25 Ibid, 63.
26 Dougie Brimson, March of the Hooligans, 36.
the latter few are personal decisions dependent upon the level of attachment one has made to the club itself. For example, fans of Manchester United would never contemplate wearing a Liverpool or Chelsea jersey, unless in jest, because of the ingrained hatred felt towards anything and anyone related to rival clubs. Others take it further, by never wearing the colors of rival teams, or only wearing the colors associated with the team of choice, such as red, white, and gold for United. Dougie Brimson fell into this latter category, a staunch Watford supporter, where anything associated with derby rivals Luton Town was considered odious and shunned. Brimson reminisced, “from an early age, I banned the color orange—the primary color of their team strip—from my house, and both my daughters were told that if they ever dared to bring a Luton fan home, he could wait outside while I packed their bags.”27 This seems harsh and almost ridiculous for those not acclimated to the power of football, who cannot fathom the depths with which such things matter, yet for fans the culture surrounding ones’ team constitutes a manner of life. Brimson went on to explain the extent to which fandom played in peoples’ lives in his description of the lifestyle of one of his friends and fellow football fan. In regards to power that such support had on the professional world Brimson wrote, “for example, I have a mate who is a solicitor and he has always refused point-blank to represent any Luton fan because in his words, ‘I’d rather the cunt lost the case and went down.’”28 Harnessing this hatred and power, helped fuel the sordid schemes of Slobodan Milosevic during the Yugoslav Wars, while the recollection of such events and feelings arguably continue to perpetuate the appeal towards hooligan activity, in keeping the pride of the club, quasi-religion, intact through violence, making it a way of life rather than just a team to support.

27 Dougie Brimson, March of the Hooligans, 37-38.
28 Ibid, 40-41.
Teams themselves often encouraged hooligans and their jingoistic behavior, at least within Italy, as such deep connections ensured prolonged historical greatness and proof of superiority. Italian Ultras and clubs often have negotiated relationships in which, “as one member of Brigade Rossonere explains, ‘AC Milan gives 100 tickets to the Fossa dei Leoni, 100 to the Brigade, 60 to the Commandos Tigre for home matches’... Nevertheless, AC Milan has a number of cheap tickets which are sold to Ultra groups, who in turn sell them exclusively to those who have a membership card.”29 Although seemingly irrational, the sustaining of hooligan groups to further the legacy of the team is perhaps a necessary evil, and through selling tickets to these groups, the team ensures that the players have a highly attached and supportive set of fans present at the games, ready to fight in order to defend the team (empire’s) honor; much as the players do to the best of their ability on the pitch. This is theoretically why Dougie Brimson, through his movie, Green Street Hooligans, asserted that a club’s fame is dependent on two factors; either the success of the team itself, or the reputation of the teams’ hooligan army. Hooligan supporters and networks ensure perpetuation and immortality because their ties are primarily with the club itself, and the results of the everyday game do not deter or aggravate their propensity towards violence because the love for the club dictates its need, and thus no matter whether the club is in the bottom of the league or the top, they are guaranteed to be there cheering the team on in their own fashion.

Hooliganism coupled with political, quasi-religious, and nationalist feelings provides further dimensionality for understanding footballs’ role as both a facilitator and mirror of European society. The emotional and psychological factors felt through the players and teams

fostered, in part, the atmosphere of violence that often surrounded the game and produced the horrific incidents outlined. Hooligans saw, and still see, violent support as a means to enhance and protect the honor of their team of affiliation against other competitors within not only England but Europe as well during international competitions. The fall of empire allowed for the transference of the violent and emotional aspects of imperialism to football and guarding the honor of the club. Imbued with a deep quasi-religious and psychosocial attachment to the club, hatred and violence against competition was a natural extension of fandom. Media and at times alcoholism exacerbated the situation, and the constant public awareness and tracking of hooligan activity kept the fight alive. Some psychologists and sociologists have even argued that violence against other fans often provided excitement and liveliness to an otherwise slow moving and uneventful match. The thrill and ability to belong to an organization and community that demands responsibility and loyalty continues to draw the football faithful into the fold of hooliganism. Police activity and government sanctions attempting to curb the phenomenon added to the appeal of hooliganism, the thrill of the forbidden and socially unacceptable.

Hooligans thus served within the larger culture of football as a tool of politics and nationalism, as mercenaries used by the government, or through their own personal needs for gratification and pride through association. Arkan and his group of paramilitary Tigers served as a convenient private army for the political and national ideals of Milosevic and Srbdom, while the Red Army (of Manchester United) acted as emissaries of the club, simultaneously garnering fame and infamy. Former hooligans, such as Dougie Brimson, attempted to dissuade the following generations of football fans from making the same mistakes they did in joining in such groups, yet their recollection of such emotional attachments and ‘heroic’ feats often served to guarantee the hooligan cultures’ proliferation. The deliberate providing of tickets by Italian
teams to known hooligan groups ensured the interest of and advancement of their football teams and the continued entrenchment of football within society. Likewise, the media’s continued and constant sensationalist coverage of every single act of hooliganism coupled with oft excessive police response to such acts kept and keeps the vicious cycle going, in every European country. Turkish hooligans can be seen as miring themselves within violent and passionate support of their football teams as proof of Turkey’s European identity and legitimacy while providing it with inroads into the lucrative and prestigious footballing world, although England remained the archetype as well as the most dominant in this sense. Coupled with this hooligan activity, however, came partial motivation and the repulsive continuation of racism both on and off the pitch, directed at supporters and players alike, drawing in the other evil once deemed buried with the end of colonialism, yet perpetuated within the venue of football.
Chapter 5: Racism

The social premise for colonialism centered on the adaptation of Charles Darwin’s theory of survival of the fittest, in the form of Social Darwinism, and thus the ranking of the world’s races according to a denigrating hierarchy, using skin color as the main category of gradation. It was this idea and hierarchy that kept the white European secure in their resolve and a claim for colonization, while missionaries also committed countless atrocities without feelings of significant guilt as divine right was on their side; either way the native citizens suffered. The fall of empire should also have presumably ended these ideals; especially given the horrors of the Second World War and the genocide employed by Hitler and the Nazi regime, yet the lessons were not absorbed. The truth remained that racism continued to thrive along the centuries old divide of color and the deciding factor of power—social, economic, and political—continued. One arena in which to express racist ideals was the footballing world, which has kept the cycle turning, with players, fans, coaches, managers, teachers, and even government officials fueling the sentiments. The racism encountered in football, which increased in the post-9/11 world, ranges from simple skin color biases, to religious differences, and xenophobia. Most of the top clubs within England and Europe, such as Manchester United were already thriving and successful during and after colonization, and thus the transference of its racist sentiments was not difficult. Racism in the footballing world can be examined through two different venues, that of the primary circle, the professional world of players and managers, and the secondary circle of ordinary fans, hooligans, and even teachers. Given these increasing tensions, laws and organizations have sprung into being to help combat the hatred that was so often displayed through football through movements such as the famous *Kick It Out!* campaign, and others.
The most visible forum in which racist ideologies and views were expressed, and thus exposed, was on the football pitch and directed at players or managers themselves by fans, pundits, and even other players. Looking at England, the most successful leaders in regards to colonialism and football, the problem of the blatantly racist outlook in regards to both blacks and Asians, both Southern and Eastern, was evident in the direct marginalization of the latter group, and the more discrete marginalization of the former throughout history. England was considered to some within the footballing world as the promised ground, the consecrated stage that most footballers wished to eventually play at within the leagues, and the introduction of the first professional black player was momentous. Arthur Wharton, of both Ghanaian and Scottish heritage began playing within the English League in 1889 under Darlington Football Club, eventually moving to more prestige teams such as Preston North End and Sheffield United, where his footballing talents were noted. A BBC article written about Wharton in light of Black History Month commented on his unique and unusual style of goalkeeping, “like many other great goalkeepers before and after him, he gained a reputation for being eccentric! Apparently he would wait in a crouching position at the side of the goal before rushing out to save the ball.”¹ This, however, was not how the supposedly morally upright British society of the late 19th century saw it. Phil Vasili, Wharton’s biographer whose work was funded by the anti-racism organization Football Unites, Racism Divides, wrote that, “a journalist questioned the unusual style of Wharton’s game by suggesting it revealed his inferior intellectual ability – ‘is the darkies pate too thick for it to dawn upon him that between the sticks is no place for a skylark?’”² His favorable commemoration, much like England captain Bobby Moore, was posthumous, as he

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ended his life virtually penniless, buried until 1997 in a grave without a headstone. Not until twenty years after Arthur Wharton began playing in 1889 did another black player grace the British footballing stage.

Walter Tull was considered the first black footballer to play in the field, rather than in goal like Wharton before him, as well as serving as the first black officer in the army. Tull joined top flight team Tottenham Hotspurs in 1909, playing a full year with them successfully although he was continuously beaten down and ridiculed. The abuse was recorded by a journalist present at a match between Tottenham and Bristol City, which a BBC commemorative page relayed,

The journalist wrote in his report: ‘Let me tell those Bristol hooligans that Tull is so clean in mind and method as to be a model for all white men who play football... In point of ability, if not actual achievement, Tull was the best forward on the field’.3

It was perhaps due to the continued abuse thrown Tull’s way that he was relegated to a spot on the reserves rather than the first team the following season. Thus, in 1911 he moved to Northampton Town, were he was treated with a bit more respect, as he was allowed to play consistently for the first team. When the First World War broke out, Tull was the first person on Northampton to sign up for the army with plans to return and play for Scottish Rangers, and despite the restrictions present on making people of color officers in the army, he was made a lieutenant. He died in 1918 while serving the Crown, his body never recovered, and no honors forthcoming despite his service on and away from the football pitch, until very recent efforts. Regardless, he opened the path for other black players to enter the fore, which several did, such as South African Leeds United player Albert Johanneson; they increasingly did so after 1970.

The increased influx of black nurses, workers, and even sportsmen from the former Caribbean colonies in the 1950s allowed for both more players to be introduced into the fold of

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football and racially negative responses by rising hooligan firms cementing their place within footballing history. This increased influx of migrants allowed for the formation of the insulated lower level football team through Highfield Rangers Sports and Social Club in 1970. Author John Williams who documented the story, found that the team was made up of all black players except one, from mostly immigrant families of the West Indies, who were subjected to racism on both the managerial as well as fan based levels. On the former front, the team after playing at the lower junior levels of non-professional leagues was qualified to move up to the senior level, but the Leicestershire Senior League in whose geographic jurisdiction they fell, rejected their bid three times, forcing them to move inconveniently to the Midlands instead. The latter was expected, and was especially bad since the entire team was made up of black players, playing in a league with all-white teams. Two teammates from the team recalled a particular incident, which in its Franz Fanon-esqueness spoke volumes of the ingrained racial stereotypes held by the British public in the 1970s,

I remember one particular incident when there was a little boy, a white family, and we ran out onto this pitch and this little boy’s remark was, ‘Mum, they haven’t got tails!’ And the two of us who heard it just looked round at the mother because you couldn’t look at the boy.4

This view of African Americans as monkeys and less evolved than those of white skin, was taken directly from the ideas of social Darwinism in use during colonial enterprise, and believed by some of the society thereafter. This concept would also be used by racist hooligans by the end of the decade. On the professional levels, in a surprising display, West Brom Albion fielded not just one black player, but three, which the manager at the time (1978/1979 season), Ron Atkinson, nicknamed Three Degrees, Cyrille Regis, Laurie Cunningham and Brendan Batson.

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Atkinson famously stated, “They could have been yellow, purple, and have two heads...so long as they could play and they were good lads - and they were.”\(^5\) The trio provided for brilliant and oft exhilarating football, yet they like their predecessors of almost a century earlier, were subjected to racism by rival supporters and members of the political right National Front. They served, however, as inspiration for countless black players with Cyrille Regis even winning the PFA Young Footballer award in 1979. Dion Dublin, a black English national player as well as former player for several top clubs including Manchester United, whose career spanned from 1989-2008, lauded the model left behind by these players when he confessed, “I think the three of them broke the mould for the black people of the Midlands and I’m obviously one of them. I think they had a part to play in the whole of the English game.”\(^6\) Black British fans would then find further reason to rejoice that same year with the introduction of Viv Anderson to the international stage. Viv Anderson became the first ever black player to represent England in the national team, debuting in 1978 as a right back, although it took the injuries of others players to allow him the privilege to do so. Nonetheless he was remembered not only for this feat but the success he had with clubs Nottingham Forest, Arsenal, Manchester United, and Sheffield, as well as eventually breaking into the glass ceiling of managing post-playing career at Barnsley and Middlesborough.

Concurrent with this increased presence of black players, football hooligan firms began solidifying their positions within clubs and society, making the already difficult process of playing more so. It was at this time that the English football hooligan and at times casual fan

initiated the practice of issuing monkey chants at black players on the pitch, or throwing bananas at them, a trend which picked up speed in the 1980s. The despicable practice traveled along with the model of hooliganism, such as by Italian *Ultras* and other hooligan groups across Europe. Social Darwinism transferred itself from use in the original colonial enterprise to that of the footballing world, where the exact same ideals continued to be used to categorize players. Richard Giulianotti wrote that within society at the time,

> Scandinavians are typified as rational whites’ *par excellence*; southern Europeans and ‘Celtic races’ are deemed more fiery, temperamental and often physically courageous; Latin Americans are deemed to possess natural flamboyance; and the ‘unscientific, irrational’ nature of Africans is deemed to reveal itself through magical intuitive performances that lack coherent game plans.’’

This view remained extant within the footballing world through the marginalization of black players to the positions that presumably were the most physical, difficult, and yet remained the least noticed or applauded within the larger scheme of the game, attacking the defense and gaining the ball or defending against attack. The attacker usually has the most grueling and arguably important of tasks, and yet remains the most overlooked player when vying for awards, which normally fall to the strikers and wingers who net in the most goals or assists. It is not surprising to notice then, that most black players throughout the history of British sport have played within these positions. Such positions were also presumably the ones that required the least amount of intelligent thought, although this view was incorrect as defending requires just as much intellectual foresight as does playing up front as striker.

A similar phenomenon of racism, in this case anti-Semitism was also rampant between the ‘Jewish team’ Tottenham and both Chelsea and Arsenal. Tottenham Hotspur F.C. was infamously declared a ‘Jewish club’ despite the fact that there are no Jewish players or managers

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at the club. It was originally used against the team and fans in the 1980’s by their largest rivals, Arsenal, due to a large pocket of Jewish supporters living within the club’s area. As a defensive mechanism, Tottenham adopted the term and made it their own, thus preventing other clubs from using it against them, and they used it with pride. Tottenham Hotspur fans then referred to themselves quite proudly as Yids, a generally anti-Semitic term, with their hooligan firm adopting the name as its own, forming the infamous Yid Army.\(^8\) This did not mean, however, that anti-Semitism was not extant within England or the Premier League, just as the Arsenal fans original usage of the term suggested. Chants against rival teams were meant to degrade and ridicule, and by dubbing a club Jewish, this could be accomplished—that is, until the term was adopted and used proudly. Chelsea’s Headhunter Firm has and continues to be, historically linked with pro-Nazi and far right-leaning political and ideological views, whose anti-Semitism also blossomed against Tottenham FC around the same time. It is of no surprise that Chelsea fans taunted the ‘Jewish club’ Tottenham with similar unsavory remarks and chants such as, “Tottenham fan. He is dead. Escalator on his head” and “Adolf Hitler he's not dead, He's the leader of our shed!” Such chants, unfortunately, continue to be sung with gusto at football stadiums today, where anti-Semitism plagues the mind frame of Chelsea fans, and if it does not, the historical use of such chants ensures its perpetuation.

England finally found the need to set up programs against racism, which the Professional Football Association did in 1994 with the arguably successful *Kick Racism Out of Football* Campaign. It spawned several campaigns to attempt to deal with not only racism against black players and anti-Semitism, but also with the lack of Asian players in English football despite the large minority presence. The organization launched *Kick it Out!* in 1997 which worked towards

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raising awareness about racism within football through several venues. They would tour schools
to educate about the problem and provide packages for them, work with professional teams to
make sure their standards were accountable towards minority players and anti-racism, and launch
initiatives to figure out the reasons for lack of Asian participation despite talented youth. In 1995,
Jas Bains the Chair of the National Asians in Football Forum wrote a report highlighting this
lack of players entitled, “Asians Can’t Play Football,” which coupled with the FA (Football
Association) found,

- Football was extremely popular amongst Asian youngsters;
- Many people in positions of responsibility in professional football clubs viewed Asians as either not interested in football or unsuitable;
- Football clubs were not engaging with local ethnic minority communities;
- Asian youngsters had great confidence that they would break through given the opportunity.⁹

These ideas would then be used to sponsor teams to look into the untapped areas within the
footballing world, at both South Asian players and East Asians who were rising in prominence in
the field, especially in Japan and Korea, by the end of the twentieth century.

The 1960s in France found Algeria finally gaining its independence after a long and
rather bloody war for freedom and with the cessation of war France discovered and fielded some
of its most emblematic players, including Zinedine Zidane as symbols of integration, tolerance,
and acceptance. The French national team had witnessed its first black player to play on the pitch
and not in goal, well before England did: in 1931 Guyanese Raoul Diagne became a central
defender for the team. The French team had several players from their colonies and amongst
immigrant families playing on the team prior to the famous 1998 World Cup winning team, but it
was this team that caught the attention of the world as symbolic, perhaps because of the presence

of Algerian Zinedine Zidane or the fact that the French once again fell in love with the game, while a surge in right-wing leanings and racial tensions within society brought the issue to the fore. Immigrants from French colonies had been immigrating into France since the early 1900s, with Algerian immigration increasing in the inter-war years. Hostilities, argued Neil MacMaster, may have been especially virulent between French natives and the Algerian immigrants because of a general dislike of Muslim identity, although France was generally distrustful of all forms of religious expression. The rise of Islamic Fundamentalism provided further incentive for distrust in relation to the violent legacy of the Algerian War. MacMaster argued that the feelings of racism and distrust had actually begun during the period of colonization both within Algeria and France where immigration had already been extant with the importation of Algerian workers and soldiers to serve the French empire. In regards to the legacy left by the war for independence and the post-imperial period MacMaster suggested,

About one million European settlers, the pied-noirs, were ‘repatriated’ to France while over two million French soldiers had seen service in Algeria. The mass exodus of settlers and the return to civilian society of armed forces personnel who had a first-hand experience of bloody colonial war and defeat injected a particularly virulent strain of racism into French society. This in part accounts for the hard-core element of extreme-right militants and activists that have been so prominent in the rise of the Front National, a party led by ex-paratrooper Le Pen.10

It was indeed the rise of Le-Pen, the success of a French national team made up of several players of immigrant backgrounds, either first or second generation, and the attention given to the teams’ multiracial make-up and Le Pen’s racial comments that gave the French team the seeming luster of representative racial integration.

The World Cup winning team saw the likes of Zinedine Zidane, Lillian Thuram, Patrick Vieira, Marcel Desailly and on-the-bench Thierry Henry to represent the differing ethnicities

present within France. The World Cup that year was hosted by France itself, and the final was played against a slightly disarrayed and lack-luster Brazilian side. With home-court advantage, the idea that playing on home ground with a majority of supporters provides better odds at winning the match, the team did not disappoint as Zidane headed in two goals and Emmanuel Petit converted a well placed pass by Patrick Vieira to seal the game despite the sending off of Marcel Desailly. This victory was considered, “a jolt of glory for millions across France, many of whom had cared very little about the outcome of the competition just a month earlier. France, the country that had helped start the World Cup, was finally a world champion. Les Bleus had also been able to arouse an indifferent nation on the eve of the finals to embrace them in the end.”

Not only had the team rekindled the love of football in the French people, the team itself was both hailed and ridiculed for its constitution. Zinedine Zidane of Kabyli Algerian parents debuted for the team in 1994, getting a first place position on the team after Eric “King” Cantona was banned for kicking the hooligan Crystal Palace fan in 1995, and serving as the main playmaker and inspiration for the team during this campaign. Lillian Thuram, the veteran of the team, was a defender with roots from Guadalupe, who was joined in defense by Ghanaian defender Marcel Desailly, who actively spoke out against Le Pen’s racist comments. Patrick Vieira, of Senegalese decent, played in central midfield where he set up the pass to Emmanuel Petit which resulted in the final goal of the competition. Thierry Henry, from both Guadalupe and Martinique, was present during the World Cup in 1998, but only the bench, as the dismissal of Desailly negated his chances of being let loose on the field. It was this team of goliaths that the press lauded as examples of integration and successful multiculturalism. English papers and reporters also seized upon the moment with BBC commenting on the sensational effect of Zidane and company writing with some romantic idealism,

And a sociological fact has quickly emerged - a team of mixed racial background attracted a similar mix of supporters and for the first time, enabled them to identify with France. The President, Jacques Chirac, himself a keen football fan, and the rest of the political establishment were overjoyed in part because much of the population who had previously felt excluded from national identity were waving the French flag and singing the national anthem, the Marseillaise. The footballers have succeeded where the politicians had failed.12

Jean Marie Le Pen ruined the occasion with his claim “that the 'Black, Blanc, Beur' - Black, White and Arab - team that won the World Cup did not look sufficiently 'French,’”13 and although his statement was racist in nature, the fact remained that racial distrust was rife within France, and the success of the French national team could not so easily undo it.

England in 1999 found itself signing its first ever South Asian player in the Premier League as well as finally embarking on a campaign to find the Asian David Beckham of football, using the popular media to help with the task, as well as joining up with the rest of Europe to create FARE, Football Against Racism in Europe. In February of 1999 anti-racism organizations throughout Europe, including Kick it Out! met in Vienna to forge an inclusive and expansive organization to work together in tackling racism in football under the umbrella organization FARE. FARE would work with the governing bodies of each footballing association in order to address both racism and xenophobia present in the game, as well as gaining support from UEFA (Union des Associations Européennes de Football) in 2001 to work with it in its various competitions, as the “Unite Against Racism” initiative. FARE committed itself to taking on the difficult tasks of:

- Challenging all forms of racist behaviour in stadia and within clubs by making our voice(s) heard;
- Include ethnic minorities and migrants within our organisation and partner organisations;

Work together with all organisations willing to tackle the problem of racism in football. England with the findings of the Bains report and newfound incentive with FARE finally introduced to English football its first South Asian player, Indian captain Bhaichung Bhutia to second league team Bury. Although it was a start, the fact still remained that Bhutia was an Indian player who moved to England via work permit to play in the leagues, even though Britain had several Asian youth players. Both the Indian and Pakistani national teams toured England in 2001, bringing to light the fact that Asian footballers could and did want to play. In 2002 to help along the message of playing football to Asian youth, the movie *Bend it Like Beckham* was released, in which an Indian Sikh girl struggled against the disapproval of both her family and other players and fans who thought it was not her place to play. The movie met with great success both among the Asian public as well as the non-Asian football fan. Still, it was not until 2005 when British born Pakistani Zeeshan Rehman was signed to Fulham and Indian Michael Chopra to Newcastle United that headway was made, though there has still had not been an Asian representing England on the national stage.

Although international initiatives had turned towards racial equality and justice within football, the French national team found itself once again in the news in regards to the racial make-up. This time it was because of the abuse hurled at black player Christian Karambeu a veteran of the 1998 World Cup winning squad. Karambeu, of New Caledonia, was the victim of whistling and booing by French fans when he played in a friendly against Scotland before the World Cup 2002. Fans felt as though Karambeu was not really a loyal French citizen and his talent as a footballer was not good enough as BBC’s Dave Farrar found,

‘The main reason I think’ says journalist David Astorga ‘is that Christian Karambeu always said that he was firstly 'kanak', from New Caledonia, before being French. That's

his way of thinking, and his way of talking about his country, which is something very important for him, because he thinks that he's a New Caledonian ambassador, but maybe some of the people think that Christian Karambeu is not such a good player to be in the French squad.\textsuperscript{15}

Nonetheless, he was picked for the squad over younger talent, perhaps because of what he represented and the fact that he was an experienced veteran player. His presence, although less so than Zidane’s was still symbolic of successful integration. France was, in 2002, witnessing the success of extreme-right leader Le Pen in the presidential campaigns, which were focused on anti-immigration. Le Pen accused players from immigrant families on the national team of not knowing how to sing the anthem properly, which made the abuse of Karambeu that much more troubling. Zidane, however, only made a small appearance during the World Cup 2002 when he came off the bench with a thigh injury. He tried unsuccessfully to pull France out of the embarrassing quagmire it found itself in, having lost to Senegal, Uruguay and finally Denmark without scoring a goal. France, the reigning champions, the beacon and example of integration, failed to make it past the group stages. The coming years found, with the increase in anti-racist organizations, increasing racial abuse of black and Asian players in England, while Spain was introduced as a new culprit of racism.

Within England an initiative was undertaken to recognize the contribution of black players to the game, followed by appalling incidents against the two French veterans Marcel Desailly and Thierry Henry, in England and Spain respectively. The \textit{Racism Divides, Football Unites} campaign in full steam hired historian and writer Phil Vasili to undertake writing biographies on the since rather neglected group of footballers, including the first black professional English footballer Arthur Wharton. In 2003, Wharton was finally recognized by being inducted into the English Football Hall of Fame, and his memory amongst others was

evoked and used as a part of an educational venture by the *Kick it Out!* campaign for teachers to teach of his importance in the face of professional sport in Britain. The following year, however, found Marcel Desailly maligned on air by commentator and pundit Ron Atkinson. Former footballer and manager who had signed the Three Degrees, turned ITV Sports pundit Ron Atkinson shocked the world when he emitted degrading racist comments against Desailly, then playing for Chelsea, after their semi-final defeat, assuming the microphone had been turned off. Although the transmission within Great Britain had ceased, his comments were broadcast clearly across the Middle East. The following transcript detailed what transpired in that fortunately (or unfortunately) broadcast transmission:

Ron Atkinson: ‘What in heaven's name was f****g Ranieri thinking in bringing Veron on?’
Second, unidentified voice: ‘He'll get savaged by the press…’

RA [in an increasingly animated voice]: ‘Oh and f****g rightly so. And I'm sorry, but I f***ing think that f****g Desailly is a cheating f***. That was wrong. He's f****g been gone for two and a half years! And instead of playing like an old man and saying 'alright I'll f****g stay where I can't get exploited...’

Muffled voice in background

RA [continues]: ‘I've always thought that he has no awareness of danger. He is what is known in some schools as a f****g lazy thick n****r. That is a f****g disgusting performance. Full marks to them though. They were f****g different class.’16

Big Ron then had to quit his job, and his column was also shut down following the incident. He went on a journey of self-contemplation and education in regards to racism by touring the Southern United States, and his experience was then turned into a documentary aired on television, highlighting all he learned about racism, since he had never considered himself as such. The fact that one could utter such vehement comments and then be shocked that the world thought them the spouting of a racist bigot within the twenty-first century was itself shocking, it

appeared a testament to the deeply-rooted and oft subconscious perpetuation of imperialist, racist ideology amongst white Europeans.

Spain followed suit with a similar incident when the manager of the Spanish national team, Luis Aragones, uttered a racist comment about French player Thierry Henry to fellow Arsenal player Jose Antonio Reyes in order to ‘motivate’ him during a training session with the national side in October of 2004. Local television microphones caught the comments he made and then aired them on television. Aragones infamously stated in colloquial Spanish, “Tell that black shit, you’re better than he is. Tell him that from me. You must believe in yourself.” France and England responded with anger, demanding that an investigation be undergone with the proper fines and consequences applied, as well as a public apology made to Henry. The Times article, however, also mentioned that Aragones once came to the defence of Cameroon and Mallorca striker Samuel Eto’o against racist fans physically. Nonetheless, the comments made were unacceptable to the public and the Spanish FA did launch an investigation. Unfortunately, after the court hearings were over a year later, the verdict was a much lower than expected fine of merely 3,000 Euros. Thierry Henry found the outcome pathetic, stating, “It is laughable. The Spanish FA fined him for the sake of it, not because they felt he said something wrong... They obviously don't care about racism. There have been other times when they have fined clubs a few hundred quid for racism.” Henry implored FIFA (International Federation of Association Football) to step in and take over the matter, yet it failed to do anything and Aragones even went on to challenge the fine and have it removed in 2007, the outcome boding ill for the future of anti-racism campaigns and initiatives. Henry then took it upon himself to start

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up his own anti-racism campaign, which was sponsored by Nike and supported by black England national and Manchester United defender Rio Ferdinand, “Stand Up, Speak Up.” Rio Ferdinand also lobbied against the English FA that year as well, for a large blunder on its part despite being lauded for England’s successful work in the fight against racism.

The English FA released a DVD in 2005 which was a documentary meant to praise the dedication and contribution that English national footballers had made to the game since the Second World War. Christos Kassimeris pointed out, however, that the “nearly all-white English Football Association fell victim of their own lack of intelligence and brought shame on themselves when they produced a documentary-like film, Pride of the Nation, which celebrated England’s best players over the last forty years, failing, nevertheless, to include a single black footballer.”¹⁹ This may have been an honest mistake, but given the intended audience, the most loyal of English national fans (essentially hooligans), that did not seem likely. The FA cowed to the idea that the mostly white fan base of English supporters would disapprove of such representation, especially when it was this same group that continued to hurl monkey chants at their own black players, let alone those on other teams. This unfortunate attitude did disservice to the outstanding black players, to whom many non-white, and even white children looked up to and admire as role models, within England and throughout the world, much as the religiously affiliated players such as Kaká fulfilled the same role. Although there were at the time several more black players within the league and even national levels in England, the racist sentiments, as demonstrated through the video, proved entirely too engrained to amputate from football, much as it did from imperialism.

Manchester United and England international defender Rio Ferdinand took a stand against the DVD, horrified by the fact that he himself, his contemporary, and preceding black footballers were removed from the footballing culture of the English national team. Something as simple as omitting these players on such a DVD not only demeaned black players and their memories, he believed, it essentially wiped them from the legacy and history of football, the one aspect that kept football going and preserved the truth of the past. In the FA’s defense, “The initial list of players given to the video producers is understood to have included black players but none of them made the final cut as the running time was reduced,”20 was still rather dubious. The fact that Rio Ferdinand, arguably one of the best defenders the English side had, and even more importantly, Walter Tull or Viv Anderson, were not included was viewed with skepticism. In the end, the FA had to approve of the final product before it was sent out, which it was and then recalled after the protestations voiced by Rio Ferdinand and Paul Ince. As Rio aptly stated, “It's a surprise to me as there would have been several black players on my personal list, such as John Barnes and Ian Wright...But players should not be judged on their colour, they should only be judged on their ability.”21 Incidents such as these served to further the negative sentiment that others felt towards players of color, as Rio Ferdinand brought up in his statement. At the same time, some then argued that these black players made no real contribution to the English football team, and thus did not deserve a position in the DVD. The players had, however, made the official list given to the film company, they were simply ‘edited’ out because of lack of time, although the first ever black player for the English team, Viv Anderson should have been arguably one of the most important people to include in such a DVD, acting as the Jackie Robinson of English football.

21 Ibid. (Rio Ferdinand)
The year 2005 also marked the introduction of native-born British Pakistani player Zeeshan Rehman to the professional game, as well as the signing of Korean player Park Ji-Sung. Asians, both South Asian and East Asian, were considered lacking physical prowess, and their shortened heights made them insufficient aerial threats when vying for the ball during corner kicks or long passes from goal. Despite this the Korean Park Ji-Sung set out to prove himself when he was signed in 2005 to Manchester United, where he played football with the same, if not more passion than his white European counterparts. In the face of racism and criticism, minority figure players pushed themselves harder, working above and beyond their teammates to garner a modicum of the respect and glory the others received for at times mediocre displays of talent. The problem did not lie solely with this idea of players themselves not being competent, but managers and officials continuing to think within this mind frame, at times blaming Asians themselves for their lack of integration within the larger footballing society. In an interview for the book, Racism and Anti-Racism in Football,

A prominent club official stated: ‘If they [Asians] change their attitudes like what we would have to do if we went abroad they’d stand a better chance, but in my eyes they don’t want to do that. Like even in junior and Sunday football, they have their own clubs now. We don’t have any white only clubs. If they could integrate more the situation would change’²²

The lack of integration within the fold of football in England was due in part to the blatant disregard for the talent that was present within these communities due to the inferior status they were unfortunately stigmatized with given the imperial ideological legacy, despite attempts to scout for more Asian players. Park Ji-Sung was constantly described by match commentators as a short man, with an engine that kept running, and although not a native of Great Britain, he steadfastly and dutifully served Manchester United by contributing goals, assists, and die-hard

determination. A *Times Online* article revealed that Park’s motivation derived mainly from the desire to rid England and Europe of the false notion that Asians were not capable of playing stunning football. The article stated,

> The South Korea winger, 27, says stars from Asia do not get the respect they deserve and that clubs from the Premier League, Serie A and Spain’s La Liga unfairly overlook them... ‘I proved my ability with PSV but some people still think Asian players aren’t good enough to play in Europe,” he said. "It’s always challenging to prove them wrong. When I first came to United I had to prove my ability. Now everyone knows I’m not just here to sell shirts!”

Park Ji-Sung, through his professionalism and ability to impact the game while playing as a Red Devil essentially opened the door for others to follow in his footsteps. However, British society and Manchester United fans themselves supported Park Ji-Sung by singing rather derogatory chants to praise him, proving there was still quite a way to go before Asians were accorded the respect they deserved. This chant in particular stated, “Park, Park, wherever you may be, You eat dogs in your home country, But it could be worse... You could be Scouse [Liverpool supporter, and one of United’s arch-enemies]... Eating rats in a council house!” and was merrily sung to the tune of ‘This Old Man.’ This did not seem to offend any of United’s thousands of Asian or Korean supporters, despite the direct ridicule of their country.

The first South Asian player in the English Premier League was Pakistani central defender Zeeshan Rehman. A graduate of Fulham’s youth program, he was signed into the first team in 2005. Rehman was born in Birmingham, one of England’s many pockets of predominantly Muslim Asian communities. Denis Campbell commented on his historic acquisition writing,

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Valued at between £1 million and £5 million, he is being described as the star-in-waiting who will disprove the theory that Britain's 2.1 million Asians are not up to much when it comes to football... 'I saw Zesh's Premiership debut for Fulham against Spurs,' said Leon Mann of Kick Racism out of Football. 'A guy behind me pointed and said to his mate, "Is that guy Asian?' His friend replied, "No, he can't be, he must be mixed-race". They were amazed when they realised that he was Asian.'

Despite this, Rehman was criticised by members of the Asian community for choosing to play for the Pakistan national team, rather than don the English kit, which Rehman pragmatically, and most likely correctly, assumed would never be offered him. He instead went on to captain the Pakistani national team. The article went on to state proudly that Rehman had not been afflicted by any racial abuse since playing in the Premiership, he was only abused as a Sunday player. Racism and racial abuse should have been considered a problem, the article continued, no matter what the level at which it was committed. The statistics spoke for themselves, national fan surveys for the English team conducted from 2000-2006 season showed, “without a shred of doubt, white supporters dominated the terraces, as their numbers never failed reaching at least 96 percent of the crowd, whereas blacks and Asians made up some 1 percent.”

Indeed, while watching any Premier League fixture, cameos of the crowd displayed a predominantly white fan base, with the occasional and novelized Asians and blacks. Manchester United, for example, made it a point to show the small, yet famous, group of Sikh supporters and season pass holders, conveniently seated close behind the managers’ box. Meanwhile, racist abuse continued to pervade the lower level Sunday football fixtures and within larger society, where the term “Paki” carried the same equivalence as the word “nigger.” An eye-opening article in the *Financial Times* for the UK revealed just how bad the situation had gotten. Simon Kuper exposed the blatant racism and lack of disciplining in response to it, when he wrote,

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Here are some sounds from the playing fields of Europe on an average Sunday: “Bin Laden! You know where he is!” “Have you got a first-aid kit or is that a suicide bomb?” No, it’s not what Italy’s Marco Materazzi told France’s Zinedine Zidane in the World Cup final. It’s what a Muslim football team in Luton, England hears all the time...

In French polls, twice as many respondents now declare antipathy towards Muslims as towards blacks or Jews. In Britain in 2005, a survey for the Home Office asked people which groups they thought experienced more racism than five years previously. Even before the London bombings of July 7, nearly 12 times more respondents cited Muslims than named any other group. Yet Islamophobia is generally ignored. Nobody ever gets punished for it. After Newcastle supporters repeatedly chanted “Mido’s got a bomb” at Middlesbrough’s Egyptian striker in August, only one person was disciplined: Mido himself. He got a yellow card for running to the jeering fans with his finger to his lips after scoring. No fans were arrested.26

Although the FA had launched several different organizations to help stop the racism prevalent within football, incidents such as these, which went unanswered, allowed the situation and abuse to continue, whether at a grass-roots or top professional level.

Belief in racial superiority helped perpetuate the need for colonization and empire and with the collapse of imperialism that idea of racial hierarchy based on skin color, ethnicity, and at times religious viewpoints transferred itself to the fast emerging form of mass market football. Incidents of racial abuse began with the signing of England’s first black players whilst colonialism and imperialism were in full swing, implanting the idea within the game from the start. The end of most colonial holdings after the Second World War, saw the increased immigration of former colonials and the introduction of more black players to the highest levels of play, both in England and France. Race riots, the secularization of society, and the rise of organized hooligan firms made the racism that much worse, with the issuing of monkey chants and the throwing of banana peels, trends which quickly spread to other European hooligan groups. Organization such as Kick Racism Out of Football and FARE rose to attempt to deal

with the problems, at times falling short in their exploits, yet attempting to control the situations
nonetheless. As the imperial past moved further away in history and football arguably became a
sort of post-imperial contestation in the twenty-first century with its secularized society, highly
diverse national values, and right-wing governments responding to the xenophobic feelings of
citizens, racial incidents became more prevalent. This may have been in part because of the lack
of tolerance for such actions, or the numerous agencies looking out for such behavior and thus
documented better than in the past. All of these factors coupled with the fact that racist ideas and
notions continued to thrive in this advanced world and expressed on the football pitch only
strengthened the position of football in its post-imperial format. If the history of colonialism and
imperialism is any indicator, racism, like hooliganism, cannot be successfully removed from the
game, just as it was inextricably connected with the former ideologies, so it is welded to the
game by the irrational need to be better than other groups of people, even when they represent
their own national team. Yet, at the same time, Britain as an imperial force also provided good to
the colonials, such as the game itself, as well as some educational opportunities and the desire for
national identity that politicized the masses. In this very same way, the neo-imperial aspects of
football also had their good points, mainly the ability to foster unity and peace in war-torn areas,
or event to initiate peace processes.
Chapter 6: Agent of Peace

The colonial ventures of European nations such as England or France, although
exploitative and violent, still offered some benefits to the community and natives whose lives
they ruled over during their stint in power. In the case of England one such benefit was the gift of
football. Although embedded at times in the ideas of the muscular superiority of the colonizer
over the colonized, it also allowed for a level playing field and the ability to meet as equals, as
well as providing a venue for competition once the yoke of imperialism was removed. The
unifying power of football provided yet another advantage: to promote peace in areas of conflict,
allowing players to become ambassadors for peace initiatives and thus further the fame of the
club by doing good. Due to the grassroots, widespread, and universally recognized respect for
the game, football was the perfect arena in which to promote equality and the ideals of peace, as
well as unity and belongingness. Examples of successful unification occurred within the
industrial cities of England around which football arose, it solidified the Irish minority in
Scotland, it brought together the Ivory Coast over Didier Drogba, and in at least one Arab-Israeli
city it allowed for unity and the shared support of team Sakhnin United which trumped religious
and political divides.

Football in general had been accorded the virtue of reuniting disparate populations within
industrial cities around one central point, just as it provided a rallying point for the isolated
minority of Irish immigrants living in Scotland. The professionalization of the sport in the 1886
allowed for teams such as Liverpool and Everton to rise out of the cities and slums and represent
the people who lived there. Manchester United, for example, was created in 1878 by railway
yard workers who banded together to play football amongst the desolation of work, although
the name then was Newton Heath LYR, Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway. Its name was
changed when it came under new management and joined the newly formed league. Nonetheless, it gave the people something around which to bond and mutually be a part of, an escape from the highly rushed and increasingly industrial lifestyles surrounding them. The same went for Irish immigrants in Scotland, who formed their own football team both to escape the doldrums of working class life as well as to represent their solidarity, identity, and unity within Scotland. Thomas Martin Devine in his study of the formation of the Scottish nation wrote about footballs’ importance in the industrial cities of Scotland in the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century as having been born of these working communities and found that,

Football teams were then first formed as work’s teams and then extended to neighborhoods and communities. Football did not require any expensive equipment and could be played on almost any surface, an important consideration in towns where massive physical expansion often reduced space for recreation. There was also more to this than this: ‘to the worker with magic in his feet, football offered a way out of the industrial system; to him for whom the magic was only in the mind it offered a few hours of escapist release’. ... The teams that emerged by their very nature reflected religious, community, and ethnic differences within the population.¹

Celtic FC was forged from these very convictions in 1888, to represent directly the cause of the Irish Catholic in the largely Protestant Scottish world of both work and football. Although sectarian violence was not initially linked with the club, it became so after the Scottish Rangers FC club intensified its rivalry with the club after it proved too successful for the publics’ liking in the early twentieth century. Celtic FC, however, remained a symbol of Irish Catholicism and identity despite the violent passion it at times evoked amongst supporters, bringing them together over the team.

The idea of sponsoring peace, development, and health initiatives through sport, especially the universal game of football, did not occur until the marriage of FIFA (International Federation of Association Football) with the United Nations for this very cause in 1999, after

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which several organizations and programs emerged to tackle problems in the world. The
momentous union took place on June 18, 1999 under the auspices of UN Secretary-General Kofi
Annan, an avid football fan himself and FIFA President Joseph (Sepp) Blatter. Speaking on the
unveiling of the collaboration Annan said,

‘I am very pleased to announce today a new partnership between the only truly global
organization -- the United Nations, and the only truly global sport -- football. ... Between
us, we have a global audience. Only football is as universal in scope and participation as
the United Nations. In which other human endeavour can one see men and women of all
races, nationalities, backgrounds and languages unite as a single force, equal in skill,
determination and pursuit of excellence? ... We at the United Nations have welcomed
FIFA's participation in many of our programmes -- from racial and gender equality to
health, development, education, and the rights of children. And that is why FIFA has
agreed to fly the United Nations flag at all World Cup Games.’

The first thing that FIFA did was to send footballs to Kosovo to help the children cope with and
distract from the horrors of the Kosovo War. Since then several initiatives and projects opened
up, with special attention paid to Africa and Palestine/Israel, and the joint committee named
Sport and Development. Kofi Annan appointed former Swiss President Adolf Ogi as Special
Advisor for the platform whose job it would be to get in contact with sports agencies and leaders
to find ways in which to promote peace, education, health, and development through them.

FIFA got the first opportunity when it held its first ‘game for peace’ in Bosnia since joining with
the UN.

FIFA sponsored a game between a FIFA world star team against a team made up of both
Bosnian Muslims and Croats in 2000, where ethno-religious tensions had been rife given the

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Internationale De Football Association,” June 18,

3 Kofi Annan, Press Release, “Secretary-General Appoints Adolf Ogi, Former President of Switzerland, Special
Advisor on Sport for Development and Peace,” February 8,
recent Bosnian War (1992-1995), during which the country suffered much destruction. The Olympic stadium in which the game was staged in Sarajevo itself had been highly damaged during the war and had to be substantially repaired. The match was played between the national team of Bosnia-Herzegovina, made up of both Muslims and Croats, and a team of the best footballer players around the world comprised by FIFA, including the likes of Roberto Baggio, Fernando Redondo, and Brazilians Leonardo and Dunga. The game was cited as a mission for peace with proceeds going to further football in Bosnia-Herzegovina and an orphanage for children in Sarajevo. The FIFA team ended up winning the match, but only by the slim margin of one goal scored by Baggio. The only wrench in the event came in the form of,

Bosnian Serbs, who have refused to cooperate with Fifa by forming one Bosnian national team that would include members of all three of the country's ethnicities. Fifa gave the two teams until last month to unite, but when the Serbs failed to join the Muslims and Croats, the Football Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina representing Bosnian Muslims and Croats was chosen to play.4

This setback proved that football could be used in attempts to develop peaceful relations, but that one could not hope for every attempt to run smoothly, and peace to emerge miraculously from the ashes and memories of years of warfare and ill will. But it was a significant start.

The organization Football 4 Peace, created initially in 2000 began running officially in 2001, tapping into the power that football held to attempt to reduce the rift between Israeli and Palestinian citizens and achieve peace by reaching out to the youth of both communities. The project began with the idea shared by a Baptist minister Geoffrey Whitefield and marathon runner David Bedford, supported by the British Council and the Israeli Football Association. Both men also enlisted the help of the University of Brighton whose sports department were

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renowned for its research and projects as well. The 2001 project saw six coaches from the University of Brighton sponsor a camp for about a hundred Muslim and Christian Arab children in Ibillin, an Arab town, with the expected partnering of the neighboring Jewish community. The bombing of the proposed Jewish community before the start of the camp in July 2001, however, forced the project to go on without their participation, although it proved successful, nonetheless, in dealing with one source of tension and alienation amongst Palestinian/Israeli citizens. The basic principles of the organization centered on the ideals of neutrality, equity and inclusion, respect, trust, and responsibility—all values learned through the great game and applied to the real life issue of living within an often hostile country. The following years were greeted with more success as more children signed up, and Jewish participants were also present.

In the meantime, on the larger footballing stage, the World Cup 2002 revealed the unifying power of football through both the sponsors of the competition and the drawing together of England as a nation over David Beckham. The cosponsoring of the World Cup by Japan and South Korea in 2002 was seen as a colossal accomplishment, since a year earlier Japan would not even let the Korean national team into the country to play a friendly. The hosting of the competition together, displayed a major movement forward between the social and political relations between the two countries. The build-up to this World Cup saw English football fans, both highly and casually attached, united in their grief and hopes for success in the campaign pinned on one man, David Beckham, and his foot. David Beckham had made a name for himself when he played for the famous Red Devils Manchester United as well as his nomination as captain of the national team. The nation revered him for his role on the team and when he suffered a metatarsal injury right before the World Cup 2002, by Argentine player Deportivo La

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Coruna’s Alver Pedro Duscher, a country with whom England had a particularly strong historic rivalry, the nation was plunged into sadness as their hopes of success were dashed by his toe. A cultic outpouring of support and prayer gripped the nation as supporters and papers alike followed the progress of his metatarsal bone. Doctors found through Beckham the rise in popularity of the metatarsal bone, which until this point in history had not been known by most people, yet had suddenly became the center of attention as average people began to look into the bone itself and countless doctors entered in debates about methods and length of recovery. Roger Dobson wrote in the medical journal *BMJ*:

> The health secretary, Alan Milburn, joined in and called for hope and prayer: ‘The NHS works miracles every day for people and it would be good to find a miracle for David. I hope he's getting good medical treatment, but what we need is a lot of hope and prayer as well because he is an absolutely vital cog,’ he said. ... One spin-off from the saga for orthopaedic specialists is that in future they are unlikely to have to spend so much time explaining to patients where the metatarsal is, what it does, and which treatment they should have.⁶

It was the most talked about ordeal of that month, the nation was literally gripped in terror at the prospect of not having the legendary Beckham lead their troops out into battle, so much so that even the then Prime Minister Tony Blair mentioned the affair in a Cabinet meeting. Although the media generally sensationalized footballing events, blowing them at times out of proportion, the hype and tension surrounding Beckham in this instance was accurately portrayed. Steve Boggan, writing for *The Independent*, commented,

> England woke up yesterday to learn that its modern-day Nelson, its Wellington and Raleigh rolled into one, had been injured in battle... The England captain's injury was far and away the main topic of conversation on every bus and train, in every shop, office and factory floor. It was even raised in Cabinet by the Prime Minister. That left foot was "the most important" element in England's World Cup hopes, Tony Blair said... The popularity of the 26- year-old from Leytonstone, east London, extends far beyond the UK. His No7 shirt is worn across the planet by fans as far afield as China and Malaysia...In

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⁶ Roger Dobson, “The Metatarsal Finds Stardom at Last,” *BMJ, Medical Publication of the Year*, April 20, 2002 [http://www.bmj.com/cgi/content/full/324/7343/933/a](http://www.bmj.com/cgi/content/full/324/7343/933/a) [accessed November 26, 2008].
Saitama, where England play Sweden, England can expect the support of up to 60,000 Japanese fans, based mainly on the popularity of Beckham. Without him, interest may wane.\textsuperscript{7}

To the relief of football fans throughout the world, Beckham recovered in time to play in the World Cup, even exacting revenge by scoring the winning goal against Argentina putting them in second place in their qualification group. Although England failed to win the Cup, losing to Brazil in the quarterfinals, Beckham and his injured toe had successfully, though inadvertently, solidified the nation and its support for the team.

The French national team had also served as a point of unification for the country during the World Cup, but it was the launching of a school by player Patrick Vieira in the following year that truly emphasized positive change through football. French Senegalese and Arsenal football player Patrick Vieira launched his own football school, Diambars Academy in native Senegal in May of 2003. He received the help of fellow black football players Marcel Desailly, El Hadji Diouf, Thierry Henry and Mikel Silvestre in raising profits for the school. Vieira stated that he wanted “to change the dreams of our children - they will hopefully not just want to be famous football players; their dreams will be to be educated football players and our duty is to turn their dreams into a reality.”\textsuperscript{8} Just as England had set up schools with British-style education, so now were football players attempting to improve situations in their home countries with the money and status they had gained through success in the game, subsequently fostering positive attitudes from the natives towards the teams and countries in which they played in.

Even more momentous, for football in the realm of peace, was the success of a small Arab-Israeli team Sakhnin United, who put Sakhnin on the world map as well as rekindled the


hopes of peaceful coexistence in Palestine/Israel in light of continued violence in 2004. The success of small town team, virtually unknown before 2004, Sakhnin United, or Ittihad Ibna Sakhnin provided the best example of the unifying power of football as well as its ability to foster peace, or at least peaceful relations, between disparate peoples. Sakhnin itself is a small village city in the North District of Israel, populated by a majority of Muslims, a minority of Christians, and then flanked by three Jewish settlements. The team made history by being the first Arab-Israeli team to lift the prestigious Israeli Cup since the inception of the game. The team had come into being in 1992 when the two rival teams, formed along political lines Ha-Po’el and Maccabi, combined in a normally unprecedented move to form the team. Since then it had risen from the bottom of the tables to fourth and then second division. The team reached the final of the Israel State Cup and won it, becoming the first mostly Arab team to do so. By doing so, however, it also won the right to play in the prestigious UEFA (Union des Associations Européennes de Football) Cup, drawn against the giants Newcastle United. The world caught the frenzy of the residents of Sakhnin, Arab Muslim, Jewish, and Christian alike, this team, much like the French national team, was lauded for its representation of peaceful coexistence and integration. The first leg was played on September 30, 2004 at Ramat Gan Stadium in Tel Aviv, since Sakhnin had no stadium of its own. Newcastle won comfortably, but the real story was still the team and the fact that both Jewish and Muslim, Israeli and Palestinian football fans were cheering for this motley group of players representing Israel. In a sense, the response of the political leaders at the time, as Ariel Sharon and Yassir Arafat both called the manager of the team to congratulate him on their teams’ win, was a testament to both sides identifying with the team.9 Here, of course, the politics tied with football became important, as both sides wished to

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have the winning team associated with their own presidency. The team itself was comprised of ten Muslims, four Jews, and four international players from Brazil, Poland, Cameroon, and Guinea. The chairman Mazen Ghenaim was an Arab Muslim, and the coach, Eyal Lakhman was Jewish. When Lakhman first arrived at the team, despite allegations that he was a traitor for coaching the predominantly Arab team, he commented, “There’s no difference between the Jewish or Arab players, and no one talks about differences…As a result, the relationship is natural and warm. When I arrived I was welcomed with true Arabic hospitality.”\(^{10}\) The star and captain, Abbas Suan felt the team was like a family, made up of unique parts, but a family nonetheless that played with all their heart and soul. He had since then been called up to play in the Israeli national team, and played for Maccabi Haifa, as a minority figure in both teams. Jewish player Avi Danan, born in Beit She’an with a predominantly Orthodox family also felt at home on the team. He confessed that, “our chairman, Mazen, is like a father to me,” and in regards to politics replied, “for me it has nothing to do with politics … Bnei Sakhnin is the proof that Jews and Arabs can live together.”\(^{11}\) The team was entirely conscious of the fact that they were representing something much larger than just football to the world, especially to the Europeans via the grand theatre of play. Although the team believed that they had to do incredibly well in the competition in order for their story and mission to be accomplished, in the end the longevity of their campaign did not matter, as their mere physical presence greatly impacted the face of football for those within Sakhnin and the Arab and Israeli populations in Palestine/Israel.

\(^{10}\) Nicky Blackburn, “A Team of Two Halves,” *The Times Online, London*, September 16, 2004 [http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/life_and_style/article482940.ece](http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/life_and_style/article482940.ece) [accessed January 9, 2009].

\(^{11}\) Daphne Baram, “We Prove that Jews and Arabs Can Live Together,” *The Guardian*, September 15, 2004 [http://www.guardian.co.uk/g2/story/0,,1304617,00.html](http://www.guardian.co.uk/g2/story/0,,1304617,00.html) [accessed January 9, 2009].
After Sakhnin dropped out of the competition it continued to be an icon of coexistence, not only in Sakhnin but other cities as well, and the success of this team and its efforts led to the creation of several other groups promoting peace in Palestine/Israel through football workshops. Sakhnin United never repeated the success it had accomplished during the 2003-2004 season, although it continued to receive both racial attacks and chanting, as well as support against such racism from new corners. A town formerly associated strongly with Jewish nationalism, Beit She’an, found its citizens aligned with Bnei Sakhnin, and their local football stadium generously loaned to the team until it could have its own built. The townspeople, as the underdog phenomenon in football would dictate, related with Sakhnin as they were able to triumph despite the conflict of power and money that had kept them down with virtually nothing. The people aware of the marginalization and perseverance that their local team Beit She’an had overcome found a kindred spirit in Bnei Sakhnin. A *Haaretz* article found that,

> Hardened soccer fans are joining the forces that condemn the outbursts of racism that Sakhnin attracts like a lightning rod. ‘Not only do I hope they succeed,’ says Uri Suisse in his sports goods store, ‘I also hope that any club that attacks them simply because they are Arabs gets hammered. In soccer there are no Jews and Arabs. Soccer transforms you. It erases preconceptions.’

Suisse supported the club also because of Jewish player Avi Danan who found in Sakhnin United a place for his own personal growth both physically and emotionally as a player and person. A documentary, entitled *Sons of Sakhnin United*, on the momentous occasion was also made and shown at the 2007 Tribeca Film Festival. It was through such examples that other organizations formed around football to use the available link between the seemingly disparate communities within Israel to forge peace.

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The end of the 2004 season saw the organization Football 4 Peace gain further ground as the English FA teamed up with the initiative to help promote its cause, and its involvement brought about the necessary publicity to continue its success. That May, the University of Brighton invited both Muslim and Jewish coaches to the UK to educate them further on football training, as well as in the communication and life skills that they would then disseminate to the children in the camps. The FA became involved by donating England kits. The head of International Relations, Jane Bateman, expressed the need for support of such ventures because “when football has the opportunity to reunite communities, rebuild self-esteem and effectively be a ‘power for good’, we believe that it should be used to its full potential and were therefore pleased we could help such a valuable initiative.” The program continued to grow, until by 2006 it had 26 communities participating rather than the one it had started with and over 7,000 participants. The success that this program met also spawned the creation of a similar organization, Soccer for Peace, a New York based non-profit organization that had no specific political or religious ties. Much like Football 4 Peace, this program sponsored football camps for both Jewish and Muslim Israeli/Palestinian children to participate in, learning how to play football while forging lasting friendships because the same children would return to the camp throughout the year and then for the longer summer camp. The founder Ori Winitzer, who was born in Israel and eventually ended up in New York, expounded in his founding statement, Soccer for Peace was born out of the rage and frustration that has colored the Middle East for so long. As an Israeli-American I felt compelled to stand against it, and as a soccer fan I am familiar with the binding power of the world’s most popular game. The ability to

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find a commonality between Jew and Arab forces each to recognize the humanity of both. And that, in turn, makes for a context in which dialogue and mutual understanding are possible.\textsuperscript{15}

Winitzer and the mayor of Sakhnin both agreed that football could not realistically foster peace conclusively as the tensions fueling the situation were much too deeply imbedded for that, but again football at least provided the beginnings, as well as the field on which both sides could meet each other as equals. Research done by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation and issued in a brochure in 2005 hoped to prove just that ability of sport in society. One of the major themes of the organization was to promote personality development and social integration, humanitarian aid, crisis transformation and prevention, health promotion, overcoming gender stereotyping, and mobilization for campaigns such as those against AIDS.\textsuperscript{16}

The pamphlet stated that, “sport rests on principles of fairness, respect for the opponent, recognition of strict rules and participation. The same values apply in peaceful coexistence” citing the UN’s practice of setting up sporting activities as soon as possible in conflicted areas as well as the success of games in the Balkans after the wars, and of the ‘Sport for Peace’ initiatives in the Ivory Coast.\textsuperscript{17}

The national team of the Ivory Coast found its opportunity to put aside the civil war that had been plaguing the country in order to support their football team. The country united around eleven men, most whom had lived most of their lives outside of West Africa, yet still held nationalist ties to the country. These eleven men were dubbed the Ivorian Elephants and the

\textsuperscript{15} Ori Winitzer, Founder’s Statement, Soccer For Peace, \url{http://soccerforpeace.com/about_founder.php} [accessed January 10, 2009].
country rallied around them in their campaign to win a spot in the 2006 World Cup. The country had lived through a civil war since September of 2002, in which the President Gbagbo’s troops and loyalists had engaged in battle with rebels situated in the north as the New Forces. With the supposed end of the violence, UN peacekeepers as well as French army units were sent to the Ivory Coast to help maintain peace where skirmishes between the rival factions and ethnic groups still erupted. Such hostilities were put aside, momentarily, for the final of the African Cup of Nations in September of 2005, the winner of which would be sent to the World Cup. The Ivory Coast had come close to winning the Cup before, but had yet to do so. This time they faced a superior side to their own at the final, Cameroon. The day was remembered for the momentary joining of members of both sides of the civil war in watching their team attempt to reach the coveted position, with dignitaries such as then Chelsea boss Jose Mourinho and owner Roman Abramovich present to witness the game and scope out potential signing Didier Drogba. Before the final, Ivorians gathered to drink ‘Drogba’s,’ drinks named after Didier Drogba, as well as join in prayer. Guardian writer Josh Capnell followed the efforts which saw,

The Ivorian Football Federation's communication officer, known as Djakus, ... fasting all week in an effort to tip his side over the edge. 'It is my sacrifice,' he says. 'But of course I eat in the evening - this is not a hunger strike.' ... The players have been seeking other sorts of help. On Thursday they visited the cathedral, where Cardinal Bernard Agre was there to greet them. The federation president, Jacques Anouma, explained the purpose of the visit. 'We have come to entrust the national team to God,' he said. ... We think that with your prayers, Ivory Coast will be at peace with itself on Sunday evening.

One of the many efforts taken must have worked, as the team won the final, lifted the African Cup, and found themselves on their way to the World Cup come the summer. The country had found its miracle, and they duly partied together in a statement of unity unknown to it for well over three years of fighting. Just like Sakhnin United, the constitution of the team proved crucial,

given that “the players come from all regions of the country, with most ethnic groups and cultures represented on the team. As such, the squad constitutes one of the very real symbols of Ivorian national unity.” Unfortunately, also like Sakhnin United, the Ivory Coast found itself unable to live up to the competition. On the big stage the team was unable to get past the first round of group stages, prematurely ending the dream, yet had put themselves as a team and country on the map. The seeds for possible unification had been planted for later maturation.

English Premier League Clubs had already reached success throughout the world and had forged a universal sense of unity, which they acknowledged by working with charitable foundations to help improve the lives of people in the countries in which they had several supporters. Manchester United, one of the most successful teams in the English League, had support bases in every country of the world, with fans drawn to the club either by the lure of a specific player they related to, such as South Korean Park Ji-Sung, the Brazilians Anderson, and twins Rafael and Fabio da Silva, and even Argentinian Carlos Tevez, softening relations with each country through such connections. Several of the clubs senior members served as ambassadors for peace: Rio Ferdinand and Mikel Silvestre attempted to promote unity and racial equality for black players; Welsh Ryan Giggs served as a UNICEF worker. Manchester United as a club also used its power, prestige, and profits to help support six specific charities from 2006 onwards on the international, national, and local levels. The Manchester United Foundation expounded that the club had agreements with six charities that it partnered exclusively with until the year 2010.20 The international charity was UNICEF which works primarily to better the life of children;

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national charities included The Children’s Society and Cystic Fibrosis Trust, which locally supported one children’s hospital, a research center and facility on cancer, a school for neurologically impaired children, and a hospice for terminally ill children. The foundation also encouraged the local community to visit the facilities available to learn and play football regardless of age and gender, as well as lending out their first team training facilities for England’s Homeless World Cup team, a competition in which homeless or extremely poor footballers form national teams and play against one another. These initiatives, of which other top level teams had their own versions, perpetuated the legacy of football as a unifying force within the community and strengthened the image and name of the team.

The United Nations also turned to the popularity of football players by signing on several from different teams and nationalities to serve as ambassadors for different organizations. These Goodwill Ambassadors served as representatives, along with other sports players, actors and actresses, singers, philanthropists, royal figures, and other famous people, with several football players present in each UN organization. The following table, compiled from the UN page, records all active ambassadors.²¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Player</th>
<th>Country of Affiliation</th>
<th>UN Organization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michael Ballack</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Beckham</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They all used their power and fame throughout the world to help campaign for their specific causes, as when Ronaldo visited Gaza in 2005. Another football player who used his money and prestige to help out a local community in the country he played club level football for was Malian Frederic Kanoute. Kanoute, playing for Sevilla, helped out a local Muslim community by buying a mosque that they used to pray in, but could not hold on to due to the impending end of the contract. Kanoute stepped in and bought the mosque so that worshippers could continue to use it, a gesture which would not go unnoticed or forgotten, strengthening not only his position within the society, as a Muslim himself, but perhaps even support for the team.

Football had more to offer the communities and countries in which its power had been established than just a love for the game, or personal gain whether political, national or religious. The power vested within the game of football, and team giants such as Manchester United, allowed the game to be used to foster unity and peace where the situation offered the possibility. The intense emotion, pride, and hope that football engendered through Sakhnin United, for
example, allowed citizens to believe in the possibility of peaceful coexistence in Israel. In this way, the town of Sakhnin had found a common ground, one that had been exported to those exploited across Israel, as a means for peace. However, it was also important to understand that football could not serve as a miracle tool, able to subdue all opposition and uproot all feelings of hatred that had been entrenched in a country perhaps for generations as was the case between the Serbs and the Bosnians or the warring factions in the Ivory Coast. Regardless, the union of FIFA and the UN proved effective, as initiatives for peace through sport, and especially football increased, with more organizations like Football 4 Peace coming to the fore. The transference of imperialist desires into the arena of football, in this instance, allowed at least for the positives associated with the otherwise violent system to take hold, as some of the people in charge genuinely sought to aide other football fans less fortunate than them through humanitarian efforts and peace initiatives.
Conclusion:

Football has been intimately adopted and carefully preserved by European society, allowing for both to become inextricably linked, a union which has strengthened throughout the last century to remain viable today. Since its professionalization, football revolutionized European society by breaking from the realms of the sporting world to become enmeshed with each country’s politics, nationalism, religion (both in its own right as a quasi-religion and within established religions), racism, hooliganism, and even within ventures and projects for peace. Its prominence rose in the prosperous period of colonization and imperialism, but unlike imperialism football continued to thrive and become increasingly important after the formal disintegration of empire. Neo-colonialism or reverberations of the imperial and colonial dream were transferred onto that of football, whilst politicians and religious figures exploited the power behind football for their own gains.

Ambitious politicians and national leaders quickly jumped on the many benefits associated with football, using its power to help further their own agendas. The legacy began with Benito Mussolini, encouraged Slobodan Milosevic, inspired Arcadi Gaydamak, and found its most able practitioner in Silvio Berlusconi. These were all associated with singular regimes and individuals, yet football was also important in the politics of the country as a whole through nationalist efforts extant in every European country. Historic rivalries and political situations added further meaning and dimensionality among national teams and World Cup tournaments, often times unifying the country through such pursuits. Increased immigration between former colonies after decolonization forced leaders and the public to come to terms with the new multietnic social fabric and find ways in which to successfully integrate the different peoples,
using the national team as an ‘integrative enclave.’ This remained true for all European countries, but was best manifested in the French national team, or even Sakhnin United in Palestine/Israel.

Religion, instrumental in the rise of professional teams within England and the lives of its citizens, found itself pushed aside and marginalized with the increased recognition and support of secularization. To combat the trend, churches, mosques, and synagogues all turned to football in some respects to help draw back the masses from their non-apostolic lives. The void left by the decline of religious power in the lives of the average citizen allowed football to take over as a quasi-religion in its own right, perpetuated by the adoring fans, the talent of the players, and the unique ability to simultaneously unite thousands of people around one focal point for a ninety to a hundred-twenty minute period, a feat religious leaders could only dream of achieving. The greatest gift of the British Empire to the world, was the game of football, alongside which came various organizations to encourage peaceful coexistence and reconciliation in war-torn areas through that very venue, as well as footballers themselves giving back to their native communities.

Football in post-colonial Europe was not, however, devoid of the negative aspects of hooliganism, essentially terrorism, and the continuation of seemingly defunct ideologies of racism. Violence has been inextricably linked to sport through the ages, going back to the circus factions of Byzantium, and the hooliganistic activities associated with them took similar, if not the same, forms within football. Some had characterized the violence as arising from the violent nature of the game itself, which may be a partial way to analyze the situation, but if looking at football’s violence as a legacy of imperialism the inevitability of hooliganism becomes more apparent. The idea of football coupled with religious duty created an additionally potent mixture. The passionate football fan viewed the team as both an empire itself alongside the religious sect
to which they adhere. Although those same terms may not be used to describe the attachment, the attachment exists all the same, driving the fan to protect the pride and name of the club. This pride and glory stem from both the performance of the team as well as the success of each teams’ hooligan group, taken as either local tribalism or national glory, depending on the team of affiliation, and at times both. Nonetheless, part of the justification of colonialism and imperialism lay in the theories of social inequality based on race and ethnicity, concepts which also found themselves embedded in the game, and thus difficult to extract, as the problems of racism towards players, managers, and other teams’ fans continue to present day. The rise of the political right, with its distrust of and dislike of immigrants has only exacerbated the problem, increasing the number of incidents of racial abuse, at times even committed by the governing bodies of football as well. At the same time, it was this very strong and often destructive attachment that kept the game going and allowed for football imperialism to thrive.

Through understanding football within its various roles and positions in European society, the hope remains that politicians, fans, and organizations such as the UN continue to promote the positive elements of football and bring the world or even Europe together. Football, with its imperialist reverberations, though a lucrative and exploitative force, could still be used as the chain that links disparate peoples and help ease the tensions present within an increasingly multicultural and multiethnic society. If nothing else, each game and match should be used to gauge the social, religious, and political trends emanating from within each country to address and work around the problems without. Football continues to gain speed, its religious factions growing daily as more people are awakened to its power and beauty, and its legacy is perpetuated through the generations, passing along the gift of the game and the mission of making ones own country or team the greatest in the world. Hopefully, each game and moment
within the footballing world can be viewed in light of the various roles football has played and continues to play in society as the arena for garnering fame, glory, and ultimately power.
Epilogue:

The trends examined since the professionalization of football in Europe by England, found the power and prestige of football rising parallel to that of traditional imperialism eventually outstripped and outlasted imperialism to become the arena of nationalism, politics, neo-imperialism, religious controversy, and hooliganism. Within the last few years the trends have increased and the influence of football in politics and nationalism has continued to manifest itself within European culture and society. This epilogue looks at the continuation of the legacy in each aspect examined in the paper, especially with the recent Euro 2008 competition.

Politics:

The models left behind by Mussolini, Milosevic, and Gaydamak, amongst others, were kept viable and active, with the tactic of using football to further prowess and support once again ruthlessly exploited to motivate English Prime Minister Gordon Brown and garner success in the race for Italian prime minister by veteran Silvio Berlusconi through AC Milan. Footballers also arrived on the political scene with Kakha Kaladze linking up with former manager Berlusconi to alleviate troubles in his native Georgia as well as expressing his desire eventually to lead the country in his own right. Football also dealt a blow to the Moroccan crown in the form of insulting the King, and Europe through the election of Barack Obama found comfort and hope in the fact that he is a West Ham United supporter.

Football has successfully filled the political void left in the post-colonial European setting by providing a realm for national conquest and by serving as a tool for advancement by politicians, governments, and players alike. A recent Anglo-French summit held at Arsenal’s Emirates Stadium on March 27, 2008 is further testament to this idea and the power that football really yields. A short article written for The Guardian by Leader, uncovers the lack of
motivation shown by Prime Minister Gordon Brown in regards to his relations with France. The solution that the other officials came up with was as Leader writes,

> How can we get him to show any interest in France? Perhaps, Brown watchers responded, you could play the football card: invite him to lunch with Arsène Wenger. Maybe the lure of the Arsenal manager to the football-obsessed minister can refresh the parts of the Anglo-French relationship that the other Gallic blandishments cannot reach. If that suggestion was indeed followed up, then yesterday it paid off handsomely when Mr Wenger played host at the Emirates Stadium to the inter-governmental talks between President Sarkozy and Prime Minister Brown and their ministers.¹

Apparently the meeting went more than pleasantly as Gordon Brown revelled in the presence of Arsene Wenger one of the most prominent French football managers in the history of the game having achieved miracles since taking over Arsenal F.C. in England. Wenger has also hinted at an interest in serving a political role once his stint at Arsenal was complete. Arsene’s comments on the day of the summit for the official Arsenal website state,

> ‘It is a very proud day for us...It shows that having a wonderful stadium like ours can be a big promotion for the Club. It is as well a big honour to be chosen by Gordon Brown to host this summit. For me it is a symbol of the union of France and England... I feel football can show European countries the way the world of tomorrow will be.’²

To those fans, supporters, players, and managers already acclimated to the power of football, as well as its ability to unite, the world run by former footballing affiliated politicians is the solution to many problems across the globe. Although a seemingly preposterous dream, the world continues to move closer to that very ideal, as Gordon Brown has demonstrated his passion for the game, as well as French President Nicholas Sarkozy, and of course, Italian veteran Silvio Berlusconi.

Silvio Berlusconi ran for office again in 2008 and was sworn in as Prime Minister of Italy on May of 2008, except this time AC Milan did not fare quite so well as it had during his previous stints in office. The 2008 election came at the end of Milan having won the Uefa Super Cup, but being unable to qualify for the UEFA Champions League due to poor performance in the Serie A. Berlusconi kept his ties with AC Milan as a viable source for votes, only to drop the position as president once he officially became Prime Minister. BBC Sports article explains, “According to Italian law, the 71-year-old must avoid a conflict of interests when he begins his third stint as Italian prime minister.”3 This law must have been passed after the last two times Berlusconi held power, for he certainly remained president of the team then, and most definitely derived popular support from its fan base. Perhaps this law was not such a bad thing for Berlusconi given the clubs’ recent lack of substantial victory. The blame for bad performances will no longer be linked directly to him, though he still holds a behind-the-scenes stake in the club, as he did not have to sell the club, merely hand over the power to his vice-president Galliani. Despite all of this, Berlusconi was in the stands for AC Milan’s first game of the season against Bologna on August 31, 2008 and was given media recognition, keeping his person associated with football and thus furthering the common link forged with the public. He has since then made several appearances during Milan home games.

Silvio Berlusconi, given his renewed power in the political realm and despite the law that forced him to give up his football presidency, has not kept his personal links with AC Milan and Italian national interest entirely separate, however. The outbreak of war between Russia and Georgia this year has been a major concern for Berlusconi due to a player on his beloved team.

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Kakha Kaladze, a defender for Milan and prominent figure in Georgia, made the following statement to news agency Ansa,

'The world doesn't know this but it was Silvio Berlusconi who ended the war in Georgia, for this I want to thank him... It was Berlusconi's own intervention that ended the war between Georgia and Russia. I know that the Italian leader spent five hours on the phone with Putin in trying to find a solution to this delicate situation. Once again, president Berlusconi proved himself to be sensitive and capable in diplomacy, a veritable ambassador of peace who I will never stop thanking.'

Berlusconi’s involvement in the crisis as well as Kaladze’s not only helps Berlusconi’s image within the public eye, but allows for the advancement of power and respect for Italy within Georgia. Kakha Kaladze, through his position as a player on AC Milan, has garnered further popular support for the Italian Serie A and the club. Such fandom is lucrative for the commercial industry of football, and consequently Italy. The first time my twin and I heard about the war between Georgia and Russia, our first concerns and thoughts focused on Kaladze and his family (my twin’s affiliated team is AC Milan). He also issued a plea of help via press conference at the club, with the statement loaded on the news section of AC Milan’s website in which he frankly states,

‘I will talk to president Berlusconi and ask him to intervene because I am aware that he has a lot of importance in Europe and he has a good relationship with Putin... Sport can be helpful because the populations of Russia and Georgia have always been friendly, they have gone through many difficult things together and it's not right that because of politics numerous civilians lose their lives.’

Kaladze has opened political doors for himself due to his popularity, working closely with the government and president Mikheil Saakashvili. The president was present at the unveiling of Kaladze’s new company “Kalakapital” which involves banking, real estate and energy for

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Georgia. In a public statement the President praised his efforts saying, “‘I wish Kakhi Kaladze [sic] great success. Soccer is not a permanent profession, but I still wish him success in sports as well... Kakhi’s [sic] will spend his energy and finances in his homeland, this is what we all have to do.’” Indeed, Kakha hopes to hold a prominent position in his country’s political field and has expressed such a desire during a radio station interview. As a defender, Kaladze acts as a safety net for his team, guarding the precious goal and taking down those who try and penetrate it, just as a politician’s role, theoretically, is to work for those who have elected him while protecting and enhancing his country’s status and prestige within the world, bringing down those who may threaten that status quo. It is safe to say that if Kaladze does launch a political career after retiring from football, through Berlusconi he will have learned from the best, as he (Berlusconi) launched his career after taking over and immersing himself in the vibrant and electric footballing culture.

The power of football amongst the public and its importance as a threat can be displayed by a recent case of zealous fandom by a Moroccan schoolboy, whilst the success of a football savvy American President Elect Barack Obama provides hopes for football fans worldwide. The first incident occurred in October of 2008 when a Moroccan schoolboy, Yassine Belassal, infuriated and insulted the King by placing his love for Spanish team Barcelona FC above his love for the monarch. Yassine, “altered the phrase ‘God, The Nation, The King’ on the school blackboard to read ‘God, The Nation, Barcelona.’” Yassine was promptly jailed for the act, as it was considered a high insult to the king, although as the article states, it was unclear whether the

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problem stemmed from the remark about the football club, or because of the insult to the King. Either way, Barcelona has hired a lawyer to help him out and internet campaigns have been launched to attempt to help him, and it shows, perhaps, the paranoia over the incident as well as the reach of the empire of Barcelona FC. The case with the United States finds the success of President Elect Barack Obama as historic and momentous, not only because of his background and ethnicity, but more importantly the fact that he is a supporter of English Premier League team West Ham. His interest in football can only be a sign of positive change to come within the world, or so most European football fans would think, as any person acclimated to the passion of football would have a stout and healthy outlook on life. Obama had already seen West Ham play before but was unable to do so during his last visit as the team was on break. The club was ecstatic with his nomination stating,

‘We are very proud of what Barack Obama has achieved and respect what he has done,’ West Ham director Mike Lee told BBC Sport. ‘We plan to send him a letter of congratulations and invite him to come to game at Upton Park the next time he is in London,’ added Lee.8

The future for the football fan looks somewhat brighter indeed, with the rise to power of fellow football lovers.

Nationalism:

Nationalism has once again returned to favor since its distancing after the horrific use of national supremacy during the Second World War and football still remains the most followed and visible field on which to contest and affirm national identity. The recent Euro 2008 campaign confirmed the continued import of historical match-ups such as those between

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Germany and Austria, as well as a newer factor of the sacrifice of true national identity and pride for success on the pitch.

The most intense feature of the entire Euro 2008 campaign, which was hosted by Switzerland and Austria, was the game between Germany and Austria, long time national rivals both on and off the pitch. Germany went on to win the match 1-0, though the emotional, historical, mental, and physical challenges were paramount in that electric match on June 15, 2008. The build-up to the match itself was marred by the Germany-Poland match on June 6, 2008, as well as reconciliatory comments by Austrian coach Josef Hickersberger. Germany’s previous match against Poland was preceded by the printing of grisly images in paper Super Express tabloid section of Polish manager which showed coach Leo Beenhakker holding up the severed heads of German captain Michael Ballack and coach Loew.9 Historic tensions aside, these images were horrific, and the Polish coach has since apologized for the acts. Germany went on to win the match 2-0, but the images, and their reproduction in German dailies greatly upset Ballack. Given this emotionally charged atmosphere prior to the Austria-Germany game, and its own rivalry, Austrian coach Josef Hickersberger said the following during a pre-match press conference aired on ESPN in order to diffuse some of the tension and hostility between the two countries fans, “‘I have a lot of respect for the German team because I lived in Germany for a very long time. I like them and I have a lot of respect. My only request is that the Austrians respect the German and our national anthem.’”10 At the same time, however, during the game, the rivalry and immensity of what a win for Austria could mean was showcased through the

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10 Josef Hickersberger, Pre-match Press Conference, June 15, 2008 on ESPN.
commentary of pundits Adrian Healey and Andy Gray covering this match. The following conversation occurred between these commentators during the match,

Adrian Healey: Emmanuel Pogatetz said before the game, he said, ‘this is a chance to be heroes in Austria forever.’

Andy Gray: Absolutely, and he wasn’t joking. People might, people who don’t know the game might think, ‘what is he talking about it’s only a game of football!’ No, no, no guys, for the Austrians it’s more than that.

Adrian Healey: It’s almost like qualifying for the knock-out rounds is secondary to getting a result against Germany.  

During the match, a controversial decision by the referee after German Podolski went to ground, a bit too easily for the likes of Austrian Pogatetz, sparked the two coaches to argue with one another in the same technical area. Referee Manuel Mejuto González then, in an unprecedented move, momentarily stopped the match, and sent off both coaches from the sideline to watch from the stands instead of the dugouts, citing ‘constant bickering’ as the offence just before half-time. Shocked, both coaches shook hands and went their separate ways into the stands to watch the remainder of the game. Perhaps the referee thought both would be unable to control themselves and come to blows, leading to chaos on the pitch and within the grounds. Although a rather unnecessary and dramatic move, the atmosphere and importance of the match can be witnessed through this one decision alone. Germany went on laboriously to win the game, only going 1-0 due to captain Michael Ballack’s goal from a strategically placed free-kick in the 49th minute. Evident through the game was a seemingly unquenchable desire and need to get back at ancient rivals, the old enemy, and the results of this game will most likely serve as impetus to continue this chain of football hostility and national pride for the next match to be played between both sides in the years to come.

1 Adrian Healey and Andy Gray, commentating on Austria v Germany Euro 2008 match, Vienna, June 15, 2008, ESPN.
France, on the other hand, crashed out of the Euro 2008, feeling the void left behind by the legendary Zidane, though they continued to field the likes of Franck Ribery and Thierry Henry. France failed to make it out of the group stages, finishing at the bottom of their group, much to their chagrin and disappointment, ending their reign of glory. All of the players on the team, however, were either born in France or a former colony of France and have been living or lived within the country for a significant amount of time, thus keeping the affair wholly nationalistic. This cannot be said of other teams, where a general trend of employing naturalized Brazilians can be noticed. For example, the Portuguese team contains player Kepler Laveran Lima Ferriera, commonly referred to as Pepe, who is Brazilian born. He had never played for or represented Brazil, yet he applied for and attained Portuguese citizenship in August of 2007, in time to be called up for and play on the Portuguese team, specifically for the Euro 2008. This move paid off, as he contributed heavily to the teams’ defense and even scored a goal against Turkey. Turkey also contained a naturalized Brazilian, although of longer standing, Mehmet (Marco) Aurelio. Mehmet was born Marco in Rio de Janeiro, but changed his name after acquiring Turkish citizenship in 2006. He is the first naturalized player to be added to the Turkish national team, and he also played a major role in the competition as defensive midfielder. Finally, on the Polish team Roger Guerrerio, an attacking midfielder, was hastily granted Polish citizenship in April 2008, just two months prior to the start of the Euro competition, having been picked specifically to play for this competition. This naturalization paid off as Guerreiro went on to score Poland’s first goal in the competition against Austria. Although not a rampant spread of the phenomenon, the beginnings of this trend can be noticed within the competition, and everyone knows that Brazil exports the best footballing youth. Looking at the local levels and referring back to Italian giants AC Milan, almost half the team is composed of Brazilians; Kaka,
Pato, Dida, and Ronaldinho, and until recently Ronaldo, Cafu and Emerson, as well. Manchester United have begun the trend as well, with Anderson, and the Brazilian Da Silva twins; Rafael and Fabio.

The Palestinian national team also found ground breaking success in the footballing world, and thus as national and political glory when they were finally able to play their first national game on home soil since the Israeli occupation. The team was formed as Palestine, separate from Israel, with FIFA ten years ago despite the fact that Palestine as a country did not exist, yet had been unable to play home games within Palestine due to the political situation. The fact that the Palestinians were allowed to play at home, for many signaled a national victory, recognition of Palestine within Palestine. BBC’s Aleem Maqbool reported,

Fans were determined to use this first match on home soil as an opportunity to display some ‘national’ pride. … Huge Palestinian flags were draped over the sides of buildings, and well before the game started, nationalistic songs were being sung from every corner of the ground. … Fifa President Sepp Blatter was warmly received by the fans too. He said this match was about ‘realising a dream.’ … The first Palestine goal on Palestinian soil. … Hussein, from Ramallah, sitting in front us, was ecstatic. ‘Seeing that goal is a feeling you can't really describe,’ he said. ‘It's a sense of pride for all Palestinians. It really is an amazing feeling.’

Although this did not change the plight of Palestinians living under occupation, it at least caught the attention of the world, and not only reminded them of the country’s love for the great game just as any European but also built pride in Palestinian identity.

Within the United Kingdom, the issue of national representation has come to the fore again with the debate over controversial Team Great Britain. Team Great Britain for the

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Olympics has repeatedly failed to field a football team comprised of all the host nations; England, Northern Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. Although FIFA President Sepp Blatter has confirmed that such a team will be created for the 2012 Olympics, the specifics of how many from each country and which players will be included has been left to be dealt with closer to the affair. Scotland remains skeptical, with due cause, of the effectiveness and fairness of such a move as Scottish pride would not allow for such a conglomeration of nations. Scotland, and perhaps Ireland as well, wish to field their own teams rather than play under the banner of Great Britain, as each has its own Footballing Association and national teams for other competitions. The debate remains open despite Blatter’s confidence in the matter, the result of which only time will tell, although the debate itself throws in sharp relief, yet again, the importance of football in the world and as a form of national identity.

Religion:

The afternoon of May 21, 2008, or more precisely 2:45 pm East Coast Time and 19:45 British Standard Time, found Chelsea F.C. and Manchester United F.C. fans thrown head-long into an emotional maelstrom as the UEFA Champions League Final kicked off in Moscow, Russia. Within the confines of living rooms, bars, public squares, and the stadium, the battle ensued; emotions skyrocketed, ricocheting between both polar extremes, never resting in one place for too long as they were jolted to the next place along the spectrum with every pass of the ball. The Portuguese winger and “wonder boy” Cristiano Ronaldo dos Santos Aviero put United ahead with a beautifully executed header at the twenty-sixth minute, eliciting joy, until about fifteen minutes later when Chelsea’s Frank Lampard evened things up again. The second half proved a scrappy affair as tempers flared on the pitch. Chaos erupted when Carlos Tevez and Michael Ballack began exchanging heated words, with all twenty-two players getting involved,
ending in the sending off of Chelsea’s Ivory Coast player Didier Drogba for slapping Manchester United’s Serbian defender Nemanja Vidic.

Second half and then two halves of overtime came to an end without any goals being scored, yet all fans remain on edge. The next few minutes were the most emotionally taxing moments ever visited upon fans within the realms of football, penalty shoot-outs. Things started off fine as Carlos Tevez and Michael Carrick stepped out for United, and Michael Ballack and Juliano Belletti for Chelsea all finding the back of the net. Then golden boy Cristiano Ronaldo stepped up for his shot, hesitated for what seemed like an eternity only to have his shot comfortably blocked by goalie Petr Cech. I went from nervous elation to utter despair and hysterics within seconds. Chelsea’s Frank Lampard came up, scoring to give Chelsea the lead. Owen Hargreaves then converted his penalty to keep United going and Ashley Cole also finished well for Chelsea, leaving young Portuguese Nani to score in order to keep United in, which he did, extended the agony for that much longer. Finally, captain John Terry stepped up to take the penalty that would essentially place the cup in Chelsea’s hand. Fortunately (or unfortunately depending on how one looks at it), Terry slipped on the grass while taking his shot, sending it wide and leveling the score. Hope renewed United’s Brazilian Anderson stepped up and powered the ball in, putting United ahead. Salomon Kalou of Chelsea equalized things again, as veteran Ryan Giggs calmly sent his ball home. Nicholas Anelka, who claimed he was subbed on unexpectedly, had his shot saved spectacularly by Dutch goalie Edwin Van der Sar, giving United its third Champions League Win and the illustrious Double, while providing United fans with enough ecstasy to last the summer. This ability to govern the emotional state of thousands of people worldwide simultaneously is most comparable to the phenomenon of religion, and just as football has been exploited for politics and nationalism, organized religion has utilized the
hold football has in order to proselytize and gain popular support, much as the colonizers did. As a form of neo-imperialism in a highly and accepted secular age, football has continued to come into its own right as a quasi-religion netting in millions of individuals worldwide watching their own leagues, the leagues of top footballing countries, England, Italy, Spain, and France, as well as the Euro competitions and World Cups in higher numbers than ever before.

On the front of established religion, neo-muscular groups continue to work hard at promoting religion through the lucrative footballing stage. Kaka remains the most prominent of said recruitees, who has both preached and backed up his ideals through personal example, keeping the dream of retiring into pastorship alive. Recently, for example, Kaká issued a statement asking all people, or at least good Christians, to practice abstinence until marriage. He openly states in one of the most talked about articles on Goal.com,

‘I am a great example. The majority of people say that after marriage, they don't like jumping into bed with their partner because there is no desires. However, this is not true, my wife is the person I love and it was worth waiting," Kaka told Fohla de Sao Paulo. A lot of people were surprised and shocked with me but I think it's the best decision. I am an evangelist and I believe in those values. I think people need to prevent themselves from making love before marriage.’

The fact that he himself practiced abstinence until he got married, coupled with the fact that he openly shared and then ‘suggested’ the same tactic to others allows him to be used, no matter how informally, and makes him a valuable asset to have in the religious fold.

Hooliganism:

Recent increases in hooligan activity, on both the national and local levels, may be influenced by the increased networking of hooligan groups, via internet sites, the broadcasting of CCTV shots of the activity online, the output of biographies and accounts of such experiences,

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and vivid pictures to accompany news reports on incidents. The UEFA Champions League fixture last year between Manchester United and Roma resulted in the violent beating of United fans by Roma police, the trashing of Manchester City Center by Rangers fans after the big screen stopped working, as well as the teams’ loss, during UEFA Cup final against Zenit St. Petersburg, and the ethnic clashes over the summer between Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats after Turkey beat Croatia in the Euro 2008 all showcase the emotional and tumultuous relationship football fans have with the sport.

The police involvement in the cases above mixed with the media’s coverage of the incidents and their stereotypical approach to hooligans instigates harsh response, making the need to retaliate and join hooligan networks that much more appealing. The relationship that fans have with the police and their generally extreme responses to football fans only exacerbates the problems. Dougie Brimson, in the explanatory portion of his book defines, “police: known universally as ‘Old Bill’ or ‘The Filth.’ The sworn enemy of lads everywhere, as their primary role is to spoil the fun. However, they are handy to have around if things look like they are going to turn nasty.”14 When Manchester United fans traveled to Italy for the fixture against Roma last year (April 2007), at least three fans were stabbed by Roma fans and several others were viciously beaten by baton-wielding Italian police. Interestingly enough, the police were placed only within the United sections of the stadium. Papers covering the incident displayed pictures of United fans, bleeding from baton wounds to the head and the stadium in utter chaos. The question remains, was it necessarily the scourge of the English hooligan, or the overreaction of Italian police? Responses from English and Italian fans present at the game gave mixed responses,

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Andy Rayner, 30 in Cheshire: ban italian football until these racists (fans + police alike) learn how to behave like civil human beings. And to all the people slating united fans for reacting i say this - what are u gonna do when u go to watch ur team play football and ur abused like this? are u gonna sit in ur seat and do nothin? do u sit idly by while ur pelted with missiles and indiscriminately beaten? would u sit there and do nothin if ur wife and child were being beaten by cops when it was roma fans throwin missiles 1st and nothin was done??!!??!

Adam in Manchester: The riot police should have used live ammunition, violence in any sport should not be tolerated.

Matthew O'Dealy, 23 in Rochdale: I was there and me and my son was frightened, i was on the opposite side of the police, and i still managed to get hit by a baton, this was ridiculous!! Yes it was the fans, both sets of fans, but it was the police who caused the fatal injuries, ask your self a question and think why the police was in the united side, why not both??

Gianluca, 33 in Rome: It seems like nobody of the several english journalists watched what happened when 300 drunken fans of United attacked the Rome's fans upon the bridge outside the stadium: the Roma fans have reacted and some of the English were injured with knifes. Our anti-riot police is quite strong, it is true, but they use the force when needed.

The reactions to the event highlight both this stereotyping of English fans as rampaging savages, the sensationalizing tactics employed by journalists, and within it all the idea of sticking up for yourself in light of the injustice. The movie *Green Street Hooligans* aptly displays this need to defend your fellow supporters, when the fans were being beaten by the rival group, the main character, Elijah Wood, had no choice but to jump into the fray and protect them. This is one aspect of the hooligan network that police and officials must understand, the deep-rooted trust and familial relationship the members have with one another.

On the international stages, ones national pride and identity remains at stake, within the local level the history and pride of the club hinge on these encounters, the defense of which remains of topmost priority. Italian AS Roma fans demonstrate this need for success and the

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seriousness with which the position of the team reflect on them, when they confronted coach Luciano Spalletti outside of the training ground, demanding answers to the teams lack of form. The article, titled “Angry Roma Fans Rumble Trigoria,” reports,

Roma fans asked the coach: ‘Why is there no cynicism on the pitch? The players look like little girls and the team just cannot be looked at.’ The coach replied and he told them to calm down and that their attitude was not the right one... Reports in Italy suggest the coach had to push his way through the pack and climb over the gates in order to make his way into the grounds as the fans didn't want to let him go through.16

This is not the first time that such an incident has occurred with Roma fans; in 2005 they confronted players on the pitch itself, with Francisco Totti eventually controlling the situation. Prospects remain bleak as Roma continue to languish at the bottom of the table, and Spalletti is left apologizing profusely to fans. Italian fans of Reggina once sent their owner a bloodied calf’s head through the mail when the team started to perform badly, the unspoken yet vividly displayed threat clear for the manager to see. The reasons for such outbreaks are numerous, yet by viewing football as the realm of competition in post-colonial Europe, the power and extent of violent activity surrounding football matches are tenable.

The Euro 2008 was also plagued with hooliganism, both at the site of the competition, as well as in Bosnia following the tension-filled fixture between Turkey and Croatia. Ethnic and religious tensions between Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats have continued and grown increasingly dangerous, and the fixture between both teams found the two groups divided yet again, and equipped with another reason to start fighting with one another. The Bosnian Muslims sided with Turkey, with its Islamic albeit smothered, history, whilst the non-Muslim Bosnian Croats sided with Croatia. The game itself was stunning and one of the most memorable of the

competition. The quarter-final match against Croatia, went into a goalless overtime, when Croatia scored first courtesy of Ivan Klasnic’s header. Turkey, unexpectedly came back yet again (much like they had in their previous fixture against the Czech Republic) in the 122\textsuperscript{nd} minute, the injury time of overtime, with Semih Şentürk tying things up. The dreaded penalty shoot-outs yielded a 3-1 win for Turkey as second choice goalie Rustu made the winning save. Turkish fans revelled in unbelieving happiness, whilst the disbelieving Croatians sobbed and dragged themselves off the the pitch and out of the competition. A tension-ridden fixture such as this, coupled with an emotional and nail-biting performance and outcome, only added fuel to the flames of hardcore supporters, sparking violence. According to EuroSport and Vienna police spokesman, “It was a dramatic twist of fortune. But the fact we had only 12 arrests among 200,000 fans in the city shows we kept things under control.” He also stated that those arrested were Austrians, Croats, and Turks, but did not go into specifics. At the same time, clashes between Muslim Bosnian and Croatian Bosnian football fans in Mostar, left several hospitalized and were more serious in nature than those exhibited at and directly outside the stadium, as those acts were cited as having been committed due to drunkenness and emotionality about the game and not necessarily violent intent. The same could not be said about the happenings in Mostar, or the violent uncurbed passion of fans throughout Europe stemming from either national or league game fixtures, where hooligansim, unfortunately continues to remain a major problem.

Racism:

Along with the continuation of hooliganism, racism within the sport amongst black and minority players and managers has not ended either. Although English fans have predominantly contributed in the booing of their own players, the latest problem has come from other countries fans imitating the original British hooligan in issuing monkey chants and racial slurs at black players on the national level, and the continued abuse of black players by the English in their local level games. The most recent incident, and one in which black Manchester United defender Rio Ferdinand yet again vocalized his discontent with footballing institutions, this time the world-wide manager FIFA, centered around the verbal racial abuse thrown at England international Emile Heskey during a game against Croatia. BBC reports,

The Croatian FA was fined £15,000, but Ferdinand told BBC Radio 5 Live: ‘Fifa make comments about what they will do but never back it up with actions. The football authorities need to take a look at themselves...Croatia were fined a few thousand quid. What's that going to do? That is not going to stop people shouting racist or homophobic abuse. (FIFA president) Sepp Blatter likes to speak up about things that are good for Fifa's image but I would love to see them stand up and dish out the right punishments for these incidents. If things like this keep happening you have to take points off them. Then the punters will realise the team is going to be punished.’

The points Rio Ferdinand makes in his argument are valid and were reverberations of the same allegations made by Thierry Henry following comments made by Spain’s coach Luis Aragones years before. Although FIFA President Sepp Blatter has taken measures to try and prevent the seemingly rampant issue of racial and indeed even homophobic abuse, measurable progress has not necessarily been documented, besides the success of events sponsored by England’s various anti-racism organizations. On the local level, the issue remains much the same, as Portsmouth player Sol Campbell suffered the brunt of racist chanting by Tottenham Hotspur fans at an away game. “FA director of communications Adrian Bevington told BBC Radio 5 Live: ‘This is

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disgusting, vile abuse - whether it is homophobic or racist, any abuse of that nature is simply not acceptable. We have to have a zero tolerance approach to it. The FA, the clubs and the police are working together to identify the individuals.”

Fans clearly linked to and identified by the CCTV footage from the event will suffer a life-long ban from the football pitch, which would most likely help the problem in the short-run, but could also lead to serious backlash in the long-run, if the scheme even pans out, considering hundreds of fans were involved, and continue to be so in countless games.

Avram Grant, the former manager and coach for the Israeli national team, simultaneously made a nation proud and revealed the problematic racial attitudes of the English towards Jews. The problem with Avram Grant is that Chelsea has and continues to be, historically linked with pro-Nazi and extreme-right political and ideological views, and thus those meant to be his faithful turned against him. No manager can be successful if the most ardent and extreme of followers do not back them, and one with as much clout and history as the Chelsea Headhunters firm worked to make life difficult for Grant. The owner of the club, Russian Jewish oil mogul Roman Abromovich, Grant, and former Labour minister Denis MacShane all received hateful anti-Semitic emails in torrents upon Grant’s introduction as Chelsea manager. Grant himself was sent a package containing a white powder accompanied by a death threat. Police accosted the parcel and sectioned off the stadium until the area was deemed safe. The letter stated, “You are a back-stabbing Jewish b*****. When you open this letter you will die a very slow and painful death,” and an email sent to all three of the above-mentioned read, “I have been a Chelsea supporter since 1968. And Chelsea has always been a White, English, Christian football club in the land of St George. I would rather see Chelsea playing in the Isthmian league, than see you

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Jewish b****** ruin it with Russian, American and nasty Israeli terrorist Jews."²⁰ It is interesting to note, however, that when the Israeli Ben Sahar played at the club, the Chelsea faithful backed him completely and sang his praises with the chant, “Ben Sahar Sahar, He's our Israeli supreme, He's only seventeen, And in the Chelsea team.” This mentality, then, of supporting your own, yet being derogatory and racist to all others, minus the case with Avram Grant, speaks to a selective racism, or perhaps the overlooking of race and religion when one’s own reputation and pride stands to be lost, much like Tottenham adopting the name Yid for their team and hooligan group. Avram Grant’s situation is different in that his acquisition of the job came after the shock resignation or firing of the “Chosen One” Jose Mourinho by Roman Abromovich due to their inability to see eye-to-eye on several managing decisions, and thus the convenient placement of a fellow Jew to the position smacked of cronyism.

The Euro 2008 competition likewise, showcases the unfortunate lack of multiethnically rich teams. The only teams not composed of entirely white players were Turkey, France, and Spain. France given its ethnically, racially, and religiously diverse make-up, has allowed for such diversity to show in their national team, with the likes of players such as Thierry Henry, Samir Nasri, and Patrice Evra. France, however, dropped out of the competition early, and had it not been for Turkey and its predominantly non-Caucasian team and Spain’s single black player Marcos Senna, a midfielder and another outsourced Brazilian who gained Spanish citizenship in 2006, the final stages of the competition would reflect the lack of integration of non-white players representing national teams. Marcos Senna was also the only black player present in the

²⁰ David Byers, “Chelsea Coach Avram Grant is Sent ‘Poison’ Death Threat,” Timesonline.co.uk, February 21, 2008 http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/sport/football/premier_league/chelsea/article3406109.ece [accessed November 8, 2008].
final match-up between Spain and Germany. Senna came close to scoring during the game, though was unable to successfully finish due to hesitation on his part. This fact is deplorable given the vibrant and rich communities each nation represented in the Euro 2008 contain, with doubtless untapped talent.

The FARE organization, or Football Against Racism in Europe group, made sure, however, its objectives and messages to kick racism out of football, as well as the “Respect” campaign attempting to foster more respect for referees were highly visible and addressed throughout the competition. Billboards lining the sides of the football pitch contained the “Unite Against Racism” logos and messages, and all players’ kits had a respect badge stitched onto their sleeves, as well as the fact that the captains’ armbands were printed with the “Unite Against Racism” logo. Throughout the competition, a video highlighting the fact that diverse peoples from around the globe share the common passion for football was broadcast on the big screens before every game, entitled “Different Languages, One Goal: No To Racism.” Fans within the stadia were also involved by having different items to wear or wave throughout games. The campaign culminated during the semi-final matches, in which all four captains delivered oaths or statements against racism within football in their own native tongues for the crowd to see on the pitch before kick-off as preludes to the national anthems. Michael Ballack and Rustu Recber did so in the Germany vs. Turkey semi-final, and Iker Casillas and Sergie Semak similarly did so before the Spain and Russia semi-final. Each captain read aloud the following speech in their respective languages,

“I and my team mates wish to make clear that we stand against all forms of discrimination. We have seen over the last three weeks how football can bring people
together to enjoy our common passion whatever our religion, nationality or skin colour. Please join us to Unite Against Racism.\footnote{FARE, “Anti-Racism Programme at UEFA EURO 2008” farenet.org http://www.farenet.org/default.asp?intPageID=115 [accessed November 9, 2008].}

The message was first read in English for the benefit of those who did not speak these languages, and for the audiences around the world. Along with this initiative, the works of Kick It Out! in England continue to provide educational material, products, and awareness campaigns throughout the Premier League, and even have a separate branch for Asians. It would be unfair to say that such initiatives are not effective, but racism remains a large problem, which may not easily be eradicated given the imbedded historical role it has played throughout Europe.

Agent of Peace:

The power of football, however, has also continued to inspire hopes of unification and peace, especially within the increasingly savaged Palestine/Israel situation, where tensions and casualties continue to mount. Players themselves got involved with the mission of supporting the cause of the Palestinian, especially Egyptian local team Al Ahly’s Abu Trieka and Spain’s Sevilla player Freddie Kanoute. Both players displayed shirts, which they wore under their jersey’s containing a message of support for the population. In a more balanced act of promoting peace within Israel/Palestine the 2018 Dream Campaign was built upon the idea of uniting over the football pitch.

Abu Trieka and Freddie Kanoute, both Muslim players in larger clubs, on separate occasions attempted to garner support for the plight of the Palestinian within Palestine/Israel on the football pitch. Mahmoud Abu Treika, playing for Egypt, decided to use the Africa Cup of Nations to flash his message, after which he was controversially awarded most popular player
of the competition by fans. The game was played against Sudan, and Abu Treika revealed his shirt after scoring a goal, lifting his shirt as celebration,

Abu Treika was shown a yellow card for flashing a shirt underneath his jersey which supported the occupied Palestinian city of Gaza. ‘Sympathise with Gaza,’ was written on Abu Treika’s shirt beneath his national team jersey in English and Arabic in green. After the match, the midfielder was given a warning by the Confederation of African Football. CAF said Abu Treika had been warned after the display that political slogans were against football regulations. The shirt incident came on the same day of clashes between Palestinian residents, seeking to break the blockade of Gaza, and Egyptian police.22

This incident displayed along with the hopes, perhaps of peace, or at least cease-fire and rectification of the blockade, the political connection and venue through football. Freddie Kanoute repeated a similar feat on January 7, 2009 in a game between Sevilla and Deportiva La Caruna after scoring a goal. In Kanoute’s case,

He displayed a black T-shirt on which the word "Palestine" was printed in several languages. …Kanoute's action, which has been interpreted as a response to Israel's recent attacks on Gaza that have killed over 700 people [over 1,000 of which one third have been children], was met with a yellow card from referee Antonio Mateu Lahoz.23

Although both were fined, the goal was still accomplished; the support for the Palestinian cause was recognized on one of the world’s largest stage, the football pitch. A more balanced and acceptable form of support and attempts to gain peace within Palestine/Israel is through the 2018 Dream Campaign, sponsored by One Voice.

The 2018 Dream Campaign, launched under One Voice, is the envisioning of the dream of a joint sponsoring of the World Cup in Palestine/Israel in the year 2018. The Football 4 Peace and Soccer For Peace organizations, bringing together Jewish, Muslim, and Christian

Palestinian/Israelis have seen increased success, with the numbers attending their camps growing every year. The providing of a platform in which the estranged youth could talk, play, and learn from each other is the most effective way in which to hope for peace in the coming generations of Palestinian/Israelis. One Voice, in its statement on the 2018 Dream states on the official website that it,

> Is a grassroots movement promoting the voices of moderates in Israel and Palestine. Since our inception, we have been aiming at reframing the conflict, transcending the ‘left vs. right’ and ‘Israeli vs. Palestinian’ paradigms. We share the same grass (or sand) and we envision a future where we can meet, compete and celebrate on a football pitch rather than on a battlefield. In order to make our grass greener, we seek to motivate and back up our ‘moderate’ silent supporters who can hopefully join forces and tone down the minor but loud voices of the ‘hooligans.’

Although the idea seems impossible and far-fetched, one has to remember that the same was thought about Japan and South Korea; no one could have imagined that both could put their differences aside to host the World Cup themselves. Football can at least keep the dream alive when the possibility may have diminished beyond hope in other sectors as may, unfortunately, be the case in Palestine given the recent devastating and destructing violence against the Palestinians in Gaza, the raids of which killed three players from the Palestinian national team.

**Conclusion:**

Football has only solidified its position within the various fields of European society and will continue to do so, as football is not going anywhere, and the fans will keep the legacies alive, both good and bad. The future will hopefully see a decrease of hooligan and racist ideas within the game, although the recent rise in occurrences given the rise of the right once again in Europe, the process may be long and drawn out. The national teams continue to garner passionate support.

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and the competitions, such as the Euro 2008 and the World Cup net in millions of viewers every
time. The trend of naturalizing citizens, to improve the chance of the team, instead of looking to
purely home-grown or former colonial entities, remains a trend to be watched closely in the
future, as well as the increase of football savvy politicians and leaders. The continued
machinations of Silvio Berlusconi, whose recent antics of painting himself the ‘savior’ in a
threatening situation where Kaka´ was in danger of being pushed out of AC Milan, is only
further proof of the fact that football remains a lucrative political tool. Finally, like most pacifists,
peace advocates, and football fans, the dream of Palestine/Israel 2018 World Cup remains alive
and needs to remain alive given the current tumultuous situation, perhaps leading to fruition
when the time comes. Further investigation in regards to football as a tool and purveyor of
European society, in conjunction with the tracking of the marked increase of its use in every
aspect mentioned in this paper, is the changing status and position of women within football and
society at large.
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