

Chapter 13: Emotions in Sports Stadia¹

Mike S. Schäfer and Jochen Roose

The ball changed possession, moving fast from one end of the field to the other. The tension mounted; it became almost unbearable. People forgot where they were standing. They were pushed, and pushing back, were again jostled back and forth, up and down the terraces. There was a tussle to the left of the guest team's goal, a quick centre, a header. Suddenly the ball was in the net, and the joy, the delight, of the home supporters went up in a thundering roar that one could hear over half the town, a signal to everyone: 'We've won!'

(Elias and Dunning 1970: 47)

One of the most striking characteristics of the sports stadium is the emotional intensity found there. On the one hand, stadia play host to an 'adoring audience' (Lewis 1992) of enthusiastic, shouting, celebrating or crying fans, while on the other, they are a place in which deviant and violent behaviour, fuelled by emotions such as anger and hatred, can break out. Thus however it is expressed, sport seems to carry an 'enormous emotional load' (Wohl 1970: 122), something that has repeatedly been described in popular novels such as Nick Hornby's *Fever Pitch*, in countless mass media reports and, also, in academic accounts such as Norbert Elias's case study on football which provided the introductory quote. Although this emotional intensity extends beyond the time and space in which the game is actually played, it is most striking at the site in which professional spectator sports are usually located: the stadium.

However, such emotional intensity is in fact not what social scientific theory would lead us to expect. Several classical sociological authors converge in their diagnosis that modern societies develop in a way that increasingly suppresses, substitutes or regulates emotions. Max Weber, probably the most influential founding father of sociology, sees rationalization as a major and general characteristic of modern societies, a trend that manifests itself not only in bureaucratic institutions but also in cultural leitmotifs which lead to a devaluation of emotions and emotion-based action. In his works on religion, Weber (1993) describes how

the specific leitmotif of the Occident, Ascetic Protestantism, not only gave birth to the capitalist regime, but also strongly emphasized a methodical way of living, an inner-worldly asceticism and, connected to that, emotional control and restraint. Similar views, albeit less explicit, can be found in the works of other sociological classics. Emile Durkheim (2001) interprets collective emotions and effervescent phenomena as characteristics of pre-modern societies, characteristics which in modern societies are relegated to the religious sphere and are considered less important overall. Along similar lines, Norbert Elias (2000) assumes that 'civilizing' processes in modern societies involve a more rigid emotional control and an increasing suppression of emotions – although he, as we will see later, also allows for certain exceptions.

This theoretical backdrop can shed interesting light on an analysis of the emotionality associated with stadia. Accordingly, our chapter asks how sports stadia facilitate the emotions of spectators, and pays specific attention both to spatially specific social rules as well as to the built environment. It aims to gather findings, interpretations and ideas scattered in the literature on spectators' emotion in stadia, on its facilitation and containment. In the first section, we will argue that in contrast to Weber's and Durkheim's rationalization hypothesis, sport and sports stadia can be seen as niches in which emotions in modern societies can still be found. Norbert Elias, Eric Dunning and their colleagues have prepared the field for this argument. In the second section, we turn to the built environment stadia constitute for emotions of sport spectators. Emile Durkheim's works on religion and religious rituals, and its subsequent uptake by Randall Collins, provide the material which can be applied to the situation in stadia. In the third section, we turn to the social rules targeting the creation of emotions in stadia. Employing a symbolic-interactionist perspective we can learn how the feeling and expression of emotions is regulated in stadia. As a contrast, we take up Foucaultian arguments pertaining to the containment of emotions. The combination of both approaches illustrates the interplay between the orchestration, control, and performance of emotions in stadia.

SPORT AS AN EMOTIONAL NICHE

Norbert Elias's theory, and its application on sport by himself, Eric Dunning and their numerous collaborators will serve as our starting point, as Elias is one of the few modern classics of sociology who not only explicitly deals with emotions, but also considers sport and sports spectators as a subject worthy of academic interest.

His analyses of sport – and other societal fields – are embedded in a larger framework which Elias uses to interpret the development of societies; a framework that can only be roughly sketched here. As a general trend, Elias describes how modern societies became less emotional over time. In his seminal two volumes on *The Civilizing Process* (2000), Elias views the historical development of several European societies as ever-increasing 'civilization' based on the

monopolization of violence in certain regions. He argues that this pacification enabled the emergence of increasingly complex social networks ('figurations', e.g. Elias 1986a: 154) of actors and institutions, and that this societal complexity necessitated increased individual control of affects and emotions. Elias demonstrates this change in norms of violence, sexual behaviour, dealing with bodily functions, table manners and forms of speech and how these were gradually transformed by increasing thresholds of shame and repugnance, respectively, which started with court etiquette and then worked their way outwards to other societal spheres and strata.

Thus, emotional control and restraint pervaded most societal realms in 'civilized' societies and limited emotions to private life and intimate relations. However, Elias, particularly in collaboration with Eric Dunning, also argues that the civilizing of many and most spheres of society creates a 'counter-move' (Elias and Dunning 1970: 31). Although societies are becoming generally less affective, niches continue to exist which serve a basic – almost anthropological – need of human beings for something the authors call 'excitement' (Elias and Dunning 1986d; see also Dunning 1976; Dunning and Rojek 1992). Thus, Elias and Dunning argue that the increasingly controlled and regulated emotions, whose expression was legitimate in many places and in public for long periods of time, do not become entirely extinct but are relegated to certain areas within society (Elias and Dunning 1984: 47ff.). People are on a 'quest for excitement in unexciting societies' (Elias and Dunning 1970); i.e. they search for the 'kick' lacking in most realms of the bureaucratized, rationalized, professional society, the emotional experience they can no longer enact in the wider society with its 'built-in restraints [and] social control' (Elias and Dunning 1970: 35). The authors argue that people seek and find this excitement in their leisure time, and that they do so in a variety of ways: in music and dancing, in movies, in exciting hobbies and also (perhaps even mainly) in sport (Elias and Dunning 1970; 1984).

This standpoint allows Elias and Dunning to interpret sports phenomena and spectators not as isolated 'small group problems', but as connected to a larger societal context (Elias and Dunning 1966: 191), as one of the typical realms of society providing 'pleasurable' (Elias 1986c: 15) forms of 'tension-excitement' (Elias and Dunning 1970: 49). On this theoretical foundation, sport analyses became one of the main applications of this approach. In their works, Elias and Dunning focus on two interconnected facets of the described 'counter-move'. First, they describe changes in sport itself. They demonstrate that, for sportsmen and sportswomen, active participation in sport served as an exciting substitute for violence and battles. Sport is understood as a mimetic alternative to 'real' violence and fights, as 'mock battles' (Elias 1986a), which, according to the authors, explains the increasing 'sportization' of societies, and also that many sports emphasize the element of (often physical) competition (Elias 1986a). Nevertheless, sport itself is also shown to be influenced by the general pacification trend in society: sport in many disciplines has developed from its often (when compared with current beliefs) 'crude' or 'savage' (Elias 1986b: 131),

'wild' (Elias and Dunning 1986a: 197) and 'dead serious' (Elias 1986b: 135ff.) origins in Ancient Greece (cf. Chapter 2) or in Western Europe's Middle Ages, towards a non-violent simulation of battle, an ethos of fairness (Elias and Dunning 1984: 26), the development and elaboration of rules and, eventually, towards a less pronounced expression of emotions. Elements of violence, for example, which are still prevalent in some of today's sports, are no longer expressions of uncontrolled emotions such as anger, hatred or aggression, but serve 'rational' and 'instrumental' ends, like winning according to the rules (Elias 1986c: 16). Such trends can be seen in boxing (e.g. Elias 1986b), football (e.g. Elias and Dunning 1986b), rugby (Dunning and Sheard 2005), wrestling (Stone 1976) and other sports. Moreover, the emotional motivation for doing sport, i.e. inherent 'fun', is, according to Eric Dunning, being supplanted by a 'growing seriousness' and a general orientation towards 'achievement' (Dunning 1986a: 214ff.).

Elias's and Dunning's second focus, which is of particular interest for this chapter, is the behaviour and emotional make-up of sports spectators. The authors claim that not only enacting, but also and even more so watching sport has become one of the most desired exciting leisure time activities. It seems, however, that the authors do not perceive sports spectators as becoming both less violent and less emotional over time. What they do show, on the one hand, is a long-term pacification of sports spectators that parallels a trend in sport itself – they can demonstrate that the violent behaviour of early sports crowds has cooled down significantly (Elias and Dunning 1986b, Dunning 1986b), and they interpret widespread attempts to 'solve' the problem of football hooliganism as another symptom of this trend (Dunning *et al.* 1988). The pacification of violence amongst spectators aside, however, Elias and Dunning argue that watching sport has remained one of the few societal realms in which positive and also some negative emotions – joy, enthusiasm, affection, suspense, but also distress, suffering, and to some extent, even hatred – can be enacted in a way that is widely seen as legitimate and which is usually shared with others (Elias and Dunning 1970: 142). Here, it seems, the authors do not perceive an increasing emotional control, but rather a persisting legitimacy of emotions amongst spectators. Sports spectatorship, they observe, gives people the chance to 'loosen their [emotional] armour' and experience the 'strong emotional excitement' (Elias and Dunning 1986c: 124f.) they are looking for in today's societies.

Accordingly, Elias and Dunning are a useful starting point from which to emphasize the general relevance of an analysis of sport and, specifically, of sports spectators (see also Ferguson 1981). They convincingly argue that even in seemingly rationalized societies, niches continue to exist where the expression of emotions, and even collective emotions, is legitimate, becomes public again and actually takes place (cf. Chapter 12). Sport, in their view and also according to numerous other scholars, is one such (and maybe the primary) niche of this sort, and particularly sports spectators are of interest in this respect (cf. Bromberger 1995; Josuttis 1996; Prosser 2002) – something that is certainly connected to the

fundamental openness of sports, where results and outcomes in general are undetermined, and where identification with participants and teams seems relatively easy due to the competitive structure of the game or competition (cf. Riedl 2006: 155). Accordingly, it can be shown that spectators perceive sports settings as legitimate places for emotion-based action in general (e.g. Cachay *et al.* 2005: 17ff., Földesi 1996: 419ff.), and also as places in which they can enact emotions de-legitimized in other fields of society, such as emotions connected with certain notions of masculinity (e.g. Taylor 1976: 359f., cf. Bromberger's Chapter 10 in this volume).

In turn, however, some important aspects seem to be missing in Elias's and Dunning's investigations. For instance, they – like many scholars in this field (cf. Bale 1989: 10ff.) – tend to neglect the spatial dimension of sports, along with an analysis of its concrete and also architectural setting: The stadium as the place in which sport often takes place and, particularly, where it is usually watched in public, is not taken up systematically. An analysis of emotions amongst spectators within the stadium is also absent: Elias and Dunning cannot tell us precisely how emotions amongst sports spectators are orchestrated and performed in the stadium (Taylor 1976). Accordingly, these areas of neglect will be considered in the next sections of this chapter. The chapter will attempt to outline the specifics of the spatial setting of spectator sports first, and then move on to an analysis of the emotional dynamics within the stadium.

THE STADIUM AS AN EMOTIONAL SETTING

Elias and Dunning, while emphasizing the importance of an analysis of emotions in sport, neglect the spatial setting of sport and sports spectators, even though they mention the playing field, the stands or the terraces often in their analyses, and despite the fact that 'spectators' already implies a space in which these spectators actually watch sport. This omission is particularly regrettable, since the stadium can not only be considered as the archetypal locus of sports watching, but also as an ideal environment for emotional behaviour of sports spectators.

Of course, spectators and particularly fans loosen their 'emotional armour' not only in the stadium, but as soon as the social situation becomes defined as a sports setting. On game day, for example, the visit to the local pub or the bus transfer to the stadium will already be charged with a special emotional atmosphere (cf. Chapter 8); and this is even more relevant on longer trips to away games. The stadium, however, is at the very core of this atmosphere, not only because it is a part of an already emotionally charged sports setting, but also because it implies a specific, emotionally relevant code of conduct (Kopiez 2002: 294ff.).²

In part, this has to do with the stadium's ability to highlight and aggravate the difference between participants and non-participants. It aims to establish a border between the inside and the outside world (Bale 2005): The carefully monitored gates of modern stadia demonstrate this, as well as the visual borders they



Figure 13.1
The LTU Arena in
Düsseldorf, 2005
(Courtesy of Reinaldo
Coddou H., www.fussballtempel.com).

erect – modern stadia are closed in the sense that they usually make it impossible to watch games from nearby houses or trees nowadays; the ‘closed circle of the bowl breaks the visual connection between the stadium and the town’ (Neilson 1986: 42, see also Schroer 2008: 161), ‘the sports arena is a bounded universe [and it] is no accident that the best sports stadia are those that do not allow any glimpse of the World outside’ (Whannel 1993: 346). The trend for closed (or closable) stadium roofs also aggravates this (Schroer 2008: 164). Moreover, sound is almost hermetically enclosed as well, as recent stadium construction tends to create an intense atmosphere with good acoustics inside the stadium (Alkemeyer 2008: 92). In turn, excluding the outside world also emphasizes the fundamental other-worldliness of the inside, that is, of the stadium (cf. Bromberger 1995).

Furthermore, the architectural make-up of today’s stadia provides a particularly advantageous setting for the arousal of emotions. This insight stems from another theoretical tradition which mainly draws from Emile Durkheim’s works on religion (2001). In this tradition, it is asked how a social setting should be structured in order to further an intense emotional atmosphere. Durkheim argues that shared rituals arouse individual emotions and (may) result in collective emotions, and that these rituals, especially when coupled with shared emotions, are essential for the stability, cohesiveness and self-affirmation of social collectives – an idea that Randall Collins has taken up and elaborated in recent years (see Collins 2004). For our purposes, it is interesting that both Collins and Durkheim describe a set of ‘ingredients’ (Collins 2004: 47) which they perceive to constitute a favourable environment to generate collective emotions, and that their descriptions converge in most points (for the following see Collins 2004: 47ff., Durkheim 2001: 221ff.).³

First, they argue that participants of rituals should be co-present, i.e. physically present at the place of the ritual. Moreover, they should be visible to each other and, thus, mutually aware of their participation in the ritual (a condition that would usually be fulfilled in smaller rituals, but one which is important to point out when looking at stadia). Second, the participants should share a ‘mutual focus’ (Collins 2004: 47), for example the proceedings on a stage or certain aspects of nature. A third condition is the physical involvement of the

participants in the ritual, preferably in the form of some synthesized motion like shared dances, rhythmical behaviour etc. Fourth, and finally, it is helpful if participants are symbolically unified, e.g. by shared symbols such as totems, signs or banners. These conditions, when present in rituals, not only strengthen the sense of community amongst participants, but are also likely to intensify the individual emotions of the participants and can lead to ‘effervescence’ (Durkheim 2001: 153ff.), an intensive collective emotional experience.

Durkheim’s and Collins’s theory was applied quite frequently to sport. Usually, the respective studies focused on one of the above-mentioned ‘ingredients’ and described its existence and relevance in sports settings and amongst sports spectators. For the purposes of this chapter, it is interesting that they can demonstrate that stadia, particularly modern, tightly packed, monofunctional stadia with steep terraces exhibit, and even emphasize, the characteristics necessary for powerful rituals and, thus, for intensive emotionalization to take place.⁴

First, the spatial organization of the stadium not only excludes outsiders, but also organizes the insiders on steep terraces around a field, pitch or track. Thereby, stadia facilitate the co-presence of a large number of spectators and amplify this by making it visible to all participants at the same time, allowing them to observe each other (Schroer 2008: 167).

Second, the spatial arrangement of the stadium is designed for a main purpose: to enhance the visibility of the game or the competition (Bromberger 1995: 302) – or, when seen through the lens of ritual theory, to further the mutual focusing of a large crowd (Alkemeyer 2008: 90). From early on in stadium history, one of the few constants has been the organization of spectators around or before the respective events (cf. Alkemeyer 2008: 97; Kratzmüller’s Chapter 2 in this volume).

A third characteristic of the stadium is that procedures are highly ritualized and often include some kind of physical involvement and synchronized motion. In football stadia, this starts with the extreme density of human bodies occupying limited space (cf. Alkemeyer 2008: 88). The behaviour of spectators follows standardized routines in certain game situations, i.e. when corners or free kicks are awarded and executed, and chants largely remain the same over time and often vary only slightly from stadium to stadium (cf. Klein and Schmidt-Lux 2006). Moreover, many of these situations involve spectators physically; they have to stand up for the ‘Mexican Wave’, or to jump, sing and shout rhythmically (e.g. Trujillo and Krizek 1994: 311), following the development of the game as well as the rules of the ritual.

Furthermore, these commonalities amongst spectators are amplified by shared symbols (the club logo or colours, for instance), common clothing rules like wearing a club scarf (Kopiez 2002: 289f.), and also by being explicitly addressed by public announcers and others as a ‘crowd’, i.e. as ‘an aggregation of people who do, in fact, have a common focal concern’ (Bryan and Horton 1976: 7). With these features, stadia further a sense of community that, in many cases, even exceeds social positions or personal differences. For the time of the



Figure 13.2
Emotions in sport stadia:
Fans of 1. FC Lokomotive
Leipzig, (Courtesy of
Thomas Franke, www.von-athen-nach-althen.de).



Figure 13.3
Fans supporting their
team (Courtesy of
Thomas Franke, www.von-athen-nach-althen.de).

game, and for some time before and after that, it establishes a 'casual sociability' (Riedl 2006: 169) amongst potentially very different spectators. Moreover, and particularly relevant here, is the fact that intertwined with this sense of community, emotions are aroused.

It is further interesting to note that these features of stadia, which make them ideal catalysts for spectator emotions, seem to have been increasingly emphasized over time. Not only has the place in which the game takes place been increasingly confined in many sports, but the development of stadia has taken quite similar paths in this respect in football, American football, rugby, baseball etc. (cf. Bale 1989: 145ff.). 'If one could watch the history of stadium construction as a fast-forwarded video, a continuing enclosure of the masses would be visible. This movement – like an oyster slowly closing itself – is repeated

symbolically by the sliding roofs which can be found in new stadia in the 1990s' (van Winkel 2005: 251).⁵ Accordingly, the other-worldliness of the stadium and its seclusion are emphasized more strongly than before. The same is true for the stands, which have moved closer to the pitch and at the same time have become steeper, thus enabling spectators to follow the game(s) from only a few metres away, watching themselves and the other spectators in the stadium more closely, and also allowing for a more intense, noisier, more resonating atmosphere which generates emotions more easily (cf. Bale 1993), something that is not only known to architects but is intentionally created for this purpose (cf. Prosser 2002: 275).

What we can learn from the above is that stadia – and particularly modern sports stadia – can be understood as extremely favourable environments for the facilitation of emotions. They segregate spectators from the wider societal context and from everyday life, show them that they are part of a large collective, try to draw their attention to a shared focus, and involve them mentally and physically in collective rituals (cf. Chapter 14). This is an ideal environment, not only for an individual emotional experience, but also for the perception of other people being emotional and, thus, for the emergence of collective emotional phenomena, an 'enthusiasm about [the others'] enthusiasm' (Bette and Schimank 2000: 315); spectators 'become progressively more excited and outspoken; they become increasingly more agitated and active in venting and displaying their emotions' (Bryan and Horton 1976: 7) – precisely what Durkheim calls 'effervescence' (Durkheim 2001: 153ff.).

Nevertheless, what we have described so far may be more an account of the extraordinary potential of the stadium to induce emotions and to further an intense atmosphere than a description of daily proceedings in stadia. Effervescent phenomena, of course, do not occur every time a game is played or a competition is held (cf. Leistner and Schmidt-Lux 2010). This leads us to the last section of our chapter, in which we will deal with the question of emotional orchestration and control: How are emotions induced in a stadium setting, which social rules apply, and which emotions are targeted?

EMOTIONAL RULES IN THE STADIUM

The stadium is not only an ideal place for emotions, but also characterized by specific emotional rules which aim to impact on the actual experience and performance of emotions. In different ways and from different parties, efforts to steer and control emotions and their expression can be found in stadia: On the one hand, rules can be constituted by peer or reference groups, as symbolic interactionist scholars emphasize; on the other hand, writers in the tradition of Michel Foucault stress the interplay of architectural or spatial configurations and (internalized) social rules of behaviour. Both perspectives are helpful in shedding some light on existing emotional rules for spectators.

Symbolic interactionism has been applied to emotions most prominently in

Arlie Hochschild's *The Managed Heart* (1983), a study of flight attendants and bill collectors describing how both professions imply a certain emotional appearance, how this appearance is regulated by US companies and how individuals try to adapt to these rules. In her book, Hochschild strongly emphasized the socio-cultural origins of emotions, and very successfully introduced to the sociology of emotions the terms 'feeling rules' (which apply to felt emotions: what should I feel?), 'display rules' (which apply to the expression of emotions: should I smile now?) and 'emotion work' (individuals labour to synchronize their own emotions and expressions with the emotional rules that seem valid in a given situation).

This view has also been applied to sport. Most of these writers have dealt with sports professionals and their emotion work before and during games, for example in (American) football (Zurcher 1972) or US pro hockey (Gallmeier 1987).⁶ Of particular interest to this chapter are several studies which also applied the symbolic interactionist approach to sports spectators, mostly in US college settings (Bryan and Horton 1976; Friedenberg 1967; Zurcher 1972), but also, for example, in German football (Schwenzer 2001).

In line with Elias and Durkheim, these studies demonstrate that the stadium is not only a peculiar place in the sense that there, emotions are legitimate and even furthered by the ritual setting, they also show that stadia are places where the expression and, in fact, the sensation of certain emotions is expected and, at times, demanded by others (cf. Schwenzer 2001). The emotions that are demanded can be both positive and negative. On the one hand, support and enthusiasm for the home team are naturally expected, and spectators are to 'develop a behaviourally overt response to vicarious experiences' (Bryan and Horton 1976: 5). Yet on the other hand, spectators may also be expected to express negative emotions, mainly towards the opponents. '[G]ood fans – like good soldiers – need to be initially hostile toward their opponent' (Bryan and Horton 1976: 6). Such expectations are brought forward from different sides. Before games, for example during 'pep rallies' at US universities, an emotional atmosphere is created in which the spectre of emotions that could be necessary during the game is presented and practiced: Spectators are shown that they should be 'ready to enact, at different times during the game, affection for other fans and hostility or even hatred for the opponents. We might be called upon to show compassion for the injured. If the game went well for the team, we would be expected to show pride, joy, and perhaps ecstasy. If the game went badly, it would be appropriate for us to display anger, disappointment, disgust, and perhaps even shame' (Zurcher 1972: 5).

During games or competitions, a number of 'emotional prompters' or 'orchestrators' can be identified, who try to activate certain emotions amongst spectators. On the one hand, these orchestrators can be spectators themselves, who have acquired a special position in the hierarchy of spectators and work – jumping, shouting, drumming, singing, etc. – as 'informal cheerleaders' (Zurcher 1972: 14) to get other spectators to support the team or to mock the opponent (cf. Bryan and Horton 1976: 4). On the other hand, some orchestration is also

provided by the team and its representatives. For them, the emotional atmosphere is 'an important element in this spectacle, and [they] do not risk leaving it to spontaneous self-expression' (Bryan and Horton 1976: 7). Accordingly, cheerleaders, speakers, bands, mascots, stadium announcers, and sometimes even team representatives like managers, coaches or players, will attempt to orchestrate the spectators' emotional performance, for instance by asking spectators simply to 'shout', to 'support the team', 'yell louder' or 'yell like hell' (Bryan and Horton 1976: 6).

Symbolic interactionist writers usually concentrate on social rules and the orchestration of emotions, in most cases strongly focusing on positive emotions such as joy, support, happiness etc. It is interesting to counter this view with the works of Michel Foucault, who also describes rules, but highlights two aspects neglected by symbolic interactionism. First, while rules were mainly understood as trying to evoke emotion, the focus of Foucault's (1977) work on prisons, asylums and similar institutions has been the control and restraint of emotion. Second, he does not limit himself to social rules and human orchestrators, but stresses that rules are also embedded in and emitted by architecture and infrastructures. According to Foucault, built-in devices are crucial to implement and supervise social rules, leading eventually to an internalized control. Foucault emphasizes the interweaving of generalized external supervision and internal control, blurring the border between architectural setting and social rule.

John Bale (e.g. Bale 1989, 1993, 2005) transferred Foucault's view to stadia and emphasized that they inhibit methods of controlling negative emotions and, particularly, limiting violence as their outcome (cf. Chapter 1). For example, Bale shows how the segregation within stadia according to team affiliation – home fans on one side, away supporters on the other – led to fights between 'home' and 'away gangs' who, as they usually watched from fixed locations, could try to 'take' the other side's location, as in combat (Bale 1993: 125). This led to an emphasis on crowd control, which quickly became a major influence on stadium construction. Stadia were soon built in specific ways for safety reasons, not only to ensure fire safety for the initially wooden constructions, but also to decrease fights between spectators. Most notably, subdivisions of the terraces with physical barriers were erected that herded spectators into small pens, and stadium sections were separated from one another. Nowadays, in a 'new phase of spatial control' (Bale 1993: 125), CCTV observation is being used which, according to Bale, shows close parallels to Foucault's idea of panopticism: At any given time, each spectator must assume that he is potentially being watched at that moment, and therefore regulates his behaviour accordingly. Consequently, the containment of negative emotions, especially of aggression and violence, is transferred from physical barriers and specialized control personnel to an internal regulation of each spectator (cf. Conclusion).

In the Foucaultian approach, the effects of controls on emotions are not explicitly spelled out, as the major focus is on the control of violence. But, when considered together with symbolic interactionism, an emphasis on architectural

influences on the supervision and internalization of emotional rules results in some interesting questions. For example, it makes clear that while different orchestrators may exist in the stadium, it is important to recognize that some have better chances of reaching the audience and, thereby, of implementing their desired rules because they are advantaged by infrastructural features. Amongst fans, those orchestrators who – like some drummers and ‘capos’ in football stadia – are allowed to sit in front of other fans are more visible than others and can use this advantage. ‘Ultra’ fans are another example of this observation, who, due to their established positions within the stadium, are able to use the stands for elaborate choreographies, displays of large banners, etc., and often reflect upon the architectural layout of the respective stadia when planning their choreographies (how steep are the stands?, what will look good from the other side of the stadium?, how big do the banners have to be? etc., see Leistner and Schmidt-Lux 2010). As well as fans, however, team representatives may have even more advantages: By using the stadium’s speaker systems, for example, stadium announcers can make their announcements more pervasive, clubs can play certain songs to evoke emotional outbursts (Bryan and Horton 1976: 3) and employ video screens for messages to the spectators, such as ‘make some noise’, or to show action replays of crucial plays and successful actions of the home team (Bale 1989: 147). Thus, technical equipment establishes a hierarchy among the orchestrating actors, giving the home teams and athletes an advantage.

Furthermore, the room for spectators in stadia is internally differentiated corresponding to emotional rules. According to Bale, the separation, first, mirrors a societal hierarchy, in that social positions are usually displayed in the ‘quality’ – and price – of the seats; second, it mirrors the hierarchy of the sports world, with managers, ex-players, etc. being privileged; and third, segregation also follows a hierarchy based on the level of emotional support (cf. Bromberger 1995). Die-hard fans are usually positioned in a certain area of the stadium – for instance, behind the goals – while other spectators sit elsewhere. All these sections vary in their emotional rules. Amongst spectator groups such as fan club members or ‘ultras’, for example, sitting down will already be seen as an illegitimate behaviour and as a lack of identification and support. In other parts of the stadium, in contrast, rules may apply that resemble those of concert halls and drama theatres: Spectators remain on their seats, follow the game as critical connoisseurs and give the appropriate amount of applause whenever necessary.

CONCLUSION

Modern societies have regulated emotions to an astonishing extent. In most social settings we are confronted with extensive rules confining emotional expression. The processes of rationalization, as described by Max Weber and Emile Durkheim, or the ‘process of civilization’, documented by Norbert Elias, are immediately visible in many areas of everyday life. One of the few ways to escape these rules is to visit sports stadia. During sport events entirely different

opportunities and restrictions for emotional expression apply. Thus sports stadia become an interesting setting for the study of emotions. By integrating and contrasting very different theoretical traditions, remarks and observations from a scattered literature, this chapter has painted a multifaceted picture of the social and architectural setting that sports stadia provide.

First, it has shown that sports stadia provide an advantageous environment for the experience and expression of emotions. The architecture of sports stadia is bound to intensify the emotional experience by complying with Durkheim’s suggestions for facilitating ‘effervescence’. Furthermore, technical equipment and spatial organization in stadia also allow control of spectator behaviour. On the one hand, some social, infrastructural and architectural features help to arouse and intensify team support by enhancing positive emotions; while others are used to control aggression and violence.

Second, the analysis shows that sports stadia in modern societies are by no means places where emotional rules do not apply. Rather, we find an emotionally charged place in which the expression of emotions is regulated in very specific ways, and in which some emotional expressions strictly forbidden in other social arenas are possible, present and even requested. In sports stadia an exceptional emotional experience is not simply left to chance. Architectural and social rules, in close combination, prepare the ground for an emotionally intense event unlikely to be found elsewhere in modern rationalized and civilized societies.

Whether such high emotionality ultimately occurs is another question. The described conditions do not determine the proceedings in the stadium. For every competition or game, they influence the emotional reality in the stadium anew, and the outcome not only of the game, but also of the emotional atmosphere may differ significantly and for reasons unknown to the participants themselves. Thus, the legitimacy of emotions, the ritualistic aspects of the setting and the rules of conduct interact with the actual spontaneity of emotions, which remain incalculable to some extent.

When seen from a more abstract perspective, our article could also demonstrate that the sports stadium is a place with facets that can only be understood when contextualizing it with other societal developments, such as the ‘civilizing’ of the larger society. In turn, however, it also exhibits features that are unique to the stadium and constitute the specific make-up of this emotional niche. It is the interplay of both that makes the stadium such an interesting subject for sociological analyses (cf. Conclusion).

NOTES

- 1 The authors would like to thank Alexander Leistner and Lars Riedl for valuable comments, and Inga Ganzer and Louise Hughes for proof-reading the manuscript.
- 2 Several studies also emphasize another emotional aspect of the stadium: Quite often, the stadia themselves are emotionally charged places which fans connect to notions of ‘home’ and to their own biography, for example to childhood memories (e.g. Trujillo

and Krizek 1994, cf. Brown's Chapter 9 in this volume). In turn, changes that are being made to these stadia, such as renaming them after companies or rebuilding them to facilitate more VIP or commercial uses, are often disapproved of (e.g. Schroer 2008: 165, cf. Zinganel's Chapter 4 in this volume). These emotions towards stadia, however, will not be considered any further in the chapter.

- 3 The works of anthropologist Victor W. Turner show several similarities to this view, he describes how rituals can be the foundation for a sense of community he calls 'communitas' (see Turner 1974). Turner applied this idea, although only briefly, to youth movements such as 'hippies' and 'teeny boppers' (Turner 1989: 111) and other authors used it systematically for the analysis of sports (e.g. Zurcher 1972).
- 4 Quite similar observations are possible for pop and rock concerts, where proceedings can also easily be interpreted using Durkheim's description of rituals (for a summary see Schäfer 2010).
- 5 This quote has been translated into English for this publication, as have several other quotes from German books and articles.
- 6 Apart from these texts, more literature exists on emotional rules for competitors and players themselves, and also on the effects of crowds on team achievement (e.g. Bale 1989: 29ff., Bryan and Horton 1976: 4). But these effects on players and teams will not be focused on here.

REFERENCES

- Alkemeyer, T. (2008) 'Fußball als Figurationsgeschehen. Über performative Gemeinschaften in modernen Gesellschaften', in G. Klein and M. Meuser (eds) *Ernstes Spiel. Zur politischen Soziologie des Fußballs*, Bielefeld: transcript.
- Bale, J. (1989) *Sports Geography*, London/New York: Spon.
- (1993) 'The spatial development of the modern stadium', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 28: 121–33.
- (2005) 'Stadien als Grenzen und Überwachungsräume', in M. Marschik, R. Müllner, G. Spitaler and M. Zinganel (eds) *Das Stadion. Geschichte, Architektur, Politik, Ökonomie*, Wien: Turia+Kant.
- Bette, K.-H. and Schimank, U. (2000) 'Sportevents. Eine Verschränkung von "erster" und "zweiter Moderne"', in W. Gebhardt, R. Hitzer and M. Pfadenhauer (eds) *Events. Soziologie des Außergewöhnlichen*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Bromberger, C. (1995) 'Football as world-view and as ritual', *French Cultural Studies*, 6: 293–311.
- Bryan, C. and Horton, R. (1976) 'School athletics and fan aggression', *Educational Researcher*, 5: 2–11.
- Cachay, K., Thiel, A., Riedl, L. and Wagner, C. (2005) *Global Player – Local Hero. Der Sportverein zwischen Spitzensport, Publikum und Vermarktung*, Bielefeld: Universität Bielefeld.
- Collins, R. (2004) *Interaction Ritual Chains*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dunning, E. (ed.) (1976) *The Sociology of Sport*, London: Cass.
- (1986a) 'The dynamics of modern sport: Notes on achievement-striving and the social significance of sport', in N. Elias and E. Dunning (eds) *Quest for Excitement. Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*, Oxford/New York: Blackwell.
- (1986b) 'Spectator violence at football matches: Towards a sociological explanation', in N. Elias and E. Dunning (eds) *Quest for Excitement. Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*, Oxford/New York: Blackwell.
- Dunning, E., Murphy, P. and Williams, J. (1988) *The Roots of Football Hooliganism. A historical and sociological study*, London/New York: Routledge.
- Dunning, E. and Rojek, C. (eds) (1992) *Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*, Houndmills: Macmillan.
- Dunning, E. and Sheard, K. (2005) *Barbarians, Gentlemen And Players: A sociological study of the development of rugby*, London: Routledge.
- Durkheim, E. (2001) *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Elias, N. (1986a) 'An essay on sport and violence', in N. Elias and E. Dunning (eds) *Quest for Excitement. Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*, Oxford/New York: Blackwell.
- (1986b) 'The Genesis of Sport as a Sociological Problem', in N. Elias and E. Dunning (eds) *Quest for Excitement. Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*, Oxford/New York: Blackwell.
- (1986c) 'Introduction', in N. Elias and E. Dunning (eds) *Quest for Excitement. Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*, Oxford/New York: Blackwell.
- (2000) *The Civilizing Process. Sociogenetic and psychogenetic investigations*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Elias, N. and Dunning, E. (1966) 'Dynamics of sport groups with special reference to football', *British Journal of Sociology*, 17: 388–402.
- (1970) 'The Quest for excitement in unexciting societies', in G. Lüschen (ed.) *The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games*, Champaign: Stipes.
- (1984) *Sport im Zivilisationsprozeß. Studien zur Figurationssoziologie*, Münster: Lit.
- (1986a) 'Dynamics of sport groups with special reference to football', in N. Elias and E. Dunning (eds) *Quest for Excitement. Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*, Oxford/New York: Blackwell.
- (1986b) 'Folk football in medieval and early modern Britain', in N. Elias and E. Dunning (eds) *Quest for Excitement. Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*, Oxford/New York: Blackwell.
- (1986c) 'Leisure in the Spare-time Spectrum', in N. Elias and E. Dunning (eds) *Quest for Excitement. Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*, Oxford/New York: Blackwell.
- (1986d) *Quest for Excitement. Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*, Oxford/New York: Blackwell.
- Ferguson, J.D. (1981) 'Emotions in sport sociology', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 16: 15–25.
- Földesi, G.S. (1996) 'Social and demographic characteristics of Hungarian football fans and their motivations for attending matches', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 31: 407–25.
- Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and Punish: The birth of the prison*, New York: Vintage.
- Friedenberg, E. (1967) 'Adolescence as a social problem', in H.S. Becker (ed.) *Social Problems: A modern approach*, New York: Wiley.
- Gallmeier, C.P. (1987) 'Putting on the game face: The staging of emotions in professional hockey', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 4: 347–62.
- Hochschild, A.R. (1983) *The Managed Heart. Commercialization of human feeling*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Josuttis, M. (1996) '"Fußball ist unser Leben". Über implizite Religiosität auf dem Sportplatz', in K. Fechtner, L. Friedrichs, H. Grosse, I. Lukatis and S. Natrup (eds) *Religion wahrnehmen*, Marburg: diagonal.
- Klein, C. and Schmidt-Lux, T. (2006) 'Ist Fußball Religion? Theoretische Perspektiven und Forschungsbefunde', in E. Thaler (ed.) *Fußball. Fremdsprachen. Forschung*, Aachen: Shaker.
- Kopiecz, R. (2002) 'Alles nur Gegröle? Kultische Elemente in Fußball-Fangesängen', in M. Herzog (ed.) *Fußball als Kulturphänomen. Kunst – Kult – Kommerz*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Leistner, A. and Schmidt-Lux, T. (2010) '"Ein schönes Spiel reicht noch nicht aus".

- Fußballfans im Rausch', in Y. Niekrenz and S. Ganguin (eds) *Jugend und Rausch*, in press, Weinheim/München: Juventa.
- Lewis, L.A. (ed.) (1992) *The Adoring Audience. Fan culture and popular media*, London/New York: Routledge.
- Neilson, J. (1986) 'Dialogue with the city: the evolution of the baseball park', *Landscape*, 29: 39–47.
- Prosser, M. (2002) '“Fußballverrückung” beim Stadionbesuch. Zum rituell-festiven Charakter von Fußballveranstaltungen in Deutschland', in M. Herzog (ed.) *Fußball als Kulturphänomen. Kunst – Kult – Kommerz*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Riedl, L. (2006) *Spitzensport und Publikum. Überlegungen zu einer Theorie der Publikumsbildung*, Schorndorf: Hofmann.
- Schäfer, M.S. (2010) 'Fans und Emotionen', in J. Roose and M.S. Schäfer and T. Schmidt-Lux (eds) *Fans. Soziologische Perspektiven*, Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Schroer, M. (2008) 'Vom “Bolzplatz” zum “Fußballtempel”. Was sagt die Architektur der neuen Fußballstadien über die Gesellschaft der Gegenwart aus?', in G. Klein and M. Meuser (eds) *Ernste Spiele. Zur politischen Soziologie des Fußballs*, Bielefeld: transcript.
- Schwenzer, V. (2001) 'Fußball als kulturelles Ereignis: Eine ethnologische Untersuchung am Beispiel des 1. FC Union Berlin', *Jahrbuch für Europa- und Nordamerika-Studien*, 5: 87–115.
- Stone, G.P. (1976) 'Wrestling – The great American passion play', in E. Dunning (ed.) *The Sociology of Sport*, London: Cass.
- Taylor, I. (1976) '“Football Mad”: A speculative sociology of football hooliganism', in E. Dunning (ed.) *The Sociology of Sport*, London: Cass.
- Trujillo, N. and Krizek, B. (1994) 'Emotionality in the stands and in the field: Expressing self through baseball', *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 18: 303–25.
- Turner, V.W. (1974) *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors. Symbolic action in human society*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- (1989) *Das Ritual. Struktur und Anti-Struktur*, Frankfurt/New York: Campus.
- Van Winkel, C. (2005) 'Tanz, Disziplin, Dichte und Tod. Die Masse im Stadion', in M. Marschik, R. Müllner, G. Spitaler and M. Zinganel (eds) *Das Stadion. Geschichte, Architektur, Politik, Ökonomie*, Wien: Turia+Kant.
- Weber, M. (1993) *The Sociology of Religion*, Boston: Beacon.
- Whannel, G. (1993) 'Sport and popular culture. The temporary triumph of process over product', *Innovation*, 6: 341–9.
- Wohl, A. (1970) 'Competitive sport and its social functions', *International Review of Sport Sociology*, 5: 117–30.
- Zurcher, L.A. (1972) 'The staging of emotion: A dramaturgical analysis', *Symbolic Interaction*, 5: 1–22.

Chapter 14: Heroes, Myths and Magic Moments

Religious Elements on the Sacred Ground¹

Gunter Gebauer

Contrary to the general tendency in contemporary Western societies to divest the sacred of meaning, one sees an astonishing vitality of religious practices in football. In the Catholic regions of Europe such as southern Italy and Spain, one finds a close connection between the worship of saints and the veneration of exceptional football players. But not just there; the reverence for football heroes takes on religious dimensions in the protestant North as well. Football fans transform stadia into cathedrals where they perform roles and act in unison as a religious community. How is it possible for this kind of attitude to come into being?

INITIATION

Contrary to the deep-seated conviction among the fans of FC Barcelona, who believe themselves to belong to their club by birth, nobody is actually born a football fan. Rather, one becomes a fan of a particular club in a process that can be described as a 'second birth,' a process involving primarily men – in particular, fathers, older brothers, and sons (cf. Chapter 10).

The first time a child enters a football stadium, he is taken there by others. It is always the older ones that introduce the novice to the event; the fathers, older brothers, and good friends let the youngster come along into a world that was previously foreign to him. Within the interior of the stadium, they all become equals in the emotions of the game and the devotion of the fans to their team, in their collective arousal of enthusiasm – they form a brotherhood of initiates.² Thus, the distance is lessened between the sons and their fathers, who in the football arena become no more than older brothers. The brotherhood draws the initiate out of childhood; it takes him along into an arena ruled by very different values than those of the maternal world (cf. Chapter 13): combat, kicking, collision, but also the interaction among men and the virtuoso struggle for the ball. Initiation into the world of football means the recognition of growing up and the imminent arrival of manhood. Women are present here as well; they accompany