Sports and Violence

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History, Theory, and Practice

Edited by
Craig Hovey, Myles Werntz
and John B. White

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CONTENTS

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INTRODUCTION

On the heels of recent media attention to concussions in American football and domestic violence in the National Football League, there is currently great interest among coaches and athletes at all levels, as well as many others, to come to practical terms with violence associated with competitive contact sports. There are, moreover, questions about the relationship between sports violence and other habits and behaviors among athletes and spectators, the formation of virtue in sports, moral education in sports, and the intersection of sports, gender, and violence. In some cases, sports function to inculcate virtue and channel aggression as an alternative to conflict. This analogy, following some theorists, holds true within spectators as well, who through their support of the aggression on the field cathartically direct their passion into their support of the game. These positive effects stand alongside other descriptions of sports as producing "casualties of war" such as injured (especially concussed) players with a determination to "play through it," often leading to long-term effects for the players.

With the growing attention given to topics such as these, this volume fills a pivotal need. The questions, first of all arise at the level of culture. From the international broadcaster *ESPN*, which regularly features stories about the physical trauma of sports, to recent films such as *Rush*, *Concussion*, *Creed*, and *Southpaw*, which turn on the violence of their respective sports, there is an increasing necessity to examine the ways in which our most valued sports are deeply dependent upon forms of violence. As we saw in the 2016 Olympics, the question of the physical sacrifices which accompany sports once again became a pressing one. But even beyond the Olympics, these questions of how to appreciate athletic excellence while also dealing with the violence which often accompanies it, continue to be asked. In scholarly study as well, the relationship between sports and violence is an increasingly important one. From historians to sociologists to cultural ethnographers, sport is more and more recognized as an underexplored cultural expression of value. Beyond scholars, the question of sports violence is one which lingers at every level, from professional to youth sports, as increasing numbers of people have begun more critically to examine the way in which sports both involves and encourages violence.

This edited collection arises out of the 2016 Sports and Violence Conference hosted by the Ashland Center for Nonviolence at Ashland University (Ohio, United States). It contains 11 essays authored by an interdisciplinary group of scholars reflecting on the confluence of violence within organized sports. The three sections of book (history, theory, and practice) create a full-scale exploration of this topic. The authors not only detail past phenomena of sports violence, but offer ethnographic and sociological explorations of the violence of sports, alongside philosophical treatments of sports violence.

Some of the essays in these pages also explore the relationship between violence and sports beyond violence *within* sport itself. They go on to analyze how sport fosters and/or mitigates violence *outside* of sports and how audiences and spectators contribute to and are shaped by the practice of sports. By describing the effects of violence in sports beyond simply its effects on athletes, the authors treat a wider range of sports, from American football to soccer, boxing, mixed martial arts, and auto racing.

We believe this volume will be of interest to two primary groups. The first group consists of scholars and practitioners working in various areas of sports and sports research, ranging from sociologists and historians to those working with student athletes in academic settings. The second group consists of practitioners who work more directly with athletes, such as sports chaplains, athletics officials, and athletic trainers. By treating not only history, but the theory and practice of the relationship between sports and violence, our hope is that this volume will be a useful and welcome contribution to the field.

I.

SPORTS AND VIOLENCE: THE HISTORICAL RECORD

CHAPTER ONE

THE UGLY SIDE OF THE BEAUTIFUL GAME: PICTURING VIOLENCE IN SOCCER[1]

DANIEL HAXALL

In 1945, George Orwell famously wrote: "Serious sport has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence: in other words it is war minus the shooting."[2] While Orwell perceptively understood the symbolic value of athletic competition, he overlooked the literal violence engendered by sport. In some instances this occurs within the rules of competition, particularly in "contact" sports like ice hockey and American football, but other games possess their own codes of aggression and hostility. Despite being hailed as the "beautiful game," the sport of soccer has long been plagued by violence, including clashes between fans and combative athletes on the pitch. At times this violence includes shooting, with the legendary "death match" in the Ukraine during World War II, and *La Guerra de Fútbol* staged between Honduras and El Salvador in 1969, proving that soccer and war often coexist.[3] While the topic has received attention from sociologists and sport historians, this chapter offers a unique perspective by examining the ways artists represent soccer and its capacity for violence. As the world's most popular sport, soccer appears as a frequent subject throughout art history, and artists often employ the game to symbolize a range of social and political issues, including soccer's volatile potency. By considering the international contemporary

The Office of Grants and Sponsored Projects and Department of Art and Art History at Kutztown University of Pennsylvania supported this project.

[1] The sport of "soccer" is commonly called "football" throughout the world; as such both terms are employed interchangeably throughout this essay. A direct statement will indicate if American gridiron football is being referenced, otherwise all discussions of soccer or football should be considered analogous.

[2] George Orwell, "The Sporting Spirit," *Tribune* (14 December 1945).

[3] For more on these events, see: Andy Dougan, *Dynamo: Triumph and Tragedy in Nazi-Occupied Kiev* (Guilford: Lyons, 2001); Ryszard Kapuściński, *The Soccer War*, trans. William Brand (1986; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

scene, this study explores the charged emotional and physical climates surrounding mass sport, focusing on the unique fervor associated with soccer.

Fan violence and stadium unrest

One word has come to represent the notorious reputation of soccer fans throughout the world: hooligan. This term conjures images of bloody fights between rival fans, vandalism in the stadium and its surrounding community, pitch invasions by supporters storming the field to disrupt play, and vitriolic songs and chants exchanged on the terraces. Soccer has been plagued by such behavior for decades, and as this summer's European championships proved, hooliganism remains a problem in Europe. In recent years, the hooligan has been studied by academics,[4] featured in popular films and memoirs such as *Green Street Hooligans* and *Among the Thugs*,[5] and received attention from artists who represent the motivations and behavior of fanatics and violent fans.

Like many British children, Mark Wallinger grew up a football fan and several of his artworks confront the causes and effects of unrest among soccer supporters during the 1980s, the height of crowd trouble in the English game. In *Where There's Muck* (1985), Wallinger arranged ten sheets of plywood in an irregular manner on the gallery wall, covering each panel with charcoal drawings based on art history. (See Figure 1) These include Thomas Gainsborough's portrait of affluent land barons in the eighteenth century and a nineteenth century image of a peasant working as a live scarecrow. The title of the work stems from an old English adage about the profits available within difficult jobs, however only the lower class "scarecrow" performs such dirty labor and the gentleman farmer maintains a healthy distance from menial tasks. The contrasting images of wealth, privilege, and lifestyle become magnified by Wallinger's act of spray-painting "ALBION" across the panels. Referencing fans of English football club West Bromwich Albion, this

[4] Simon Kuper, *Football against the Enemy* (London: Orion, 1994); Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti, eds., *Fear and Loathing in World Football* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001); Eric Dunning, Patrick Murphy, Ivan Waddington, and Antonios E. Astrinakis, eds., *Fighting Fans: Football Hooliganism as a World Phenomenon* (Dublin: University College of Dublin Press, 2002).

[5] *Green Street Hooligans*, directed by Lexi Alexander (2005; Burbank: Warner Home Video, 2006), DVD; Bill Buford, *Among the Thugs* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1990).

Figure 1: Mark Wallinger, *Where There's Muck*, 1985. Plywood, charcoal, corrugated iron, cellulose paint, 335 x 700 cm (131 x 275 ½ in). Tate Modern, London. © Mark Wallinger.

graffiti appears in the shade of blue associated with the Conservative Party who, in the 1980s, attempted to impose severe restrictions on soccer fans they considered unruly hooligans.[6] Many criticized these efforts as rooted in class politics, with Thatcher's government punishing the same demographic who suffered under, and protested, her economic policies. Thus, the disconnect between the working class and Gainsborough's landed gentry parallels that of Albion supporters and Thatcherites, with Wallinger suggesting the socioeconomic and political motivations of disaffected citizenry and disenfranchised fans.

Such connotations became more pronounced in Wallinger's *National Trust* (1985), a three-part series of cruciform plywood panels covered with drawings based on George Stubbs' paintings of eighteenth century laborers and photographs of the Heysel Stadium disaster of 1985. Stubbs was popular for his picturesque compositions of animals and rural life, yet Wallinger extracted the sections of his work featuring workers toiling under the supervision of a mounted boss. The oak leaf logo of the National Trust, the British conservancy agency dedicated to historic buildings and natural ecosystems, appears on two of these panels, with the word "Jerusalem" positioned in the central section. The Jerusalem promised by name or deed escapes Wallinger and his working class protagonists, with

[6] Martin Herbert, *Mark Wallinger* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2011), 14.

the artist critical of the "theme parks" created by the National Trust during a time of war in the Falklands, industrial strikes in the north, and housing crises throughout the United Kingdom.[7] Here, footballing violence again symbolizes inequity and class exploitation as Wallinger drew some of the thirty-nine soccer fans killed during the 1985 European Cup Final at Heysel Stadium in Brussels. This tragedy occurred when Liverpool supporters attacked Juventus fans, and substandard policing and stadium infrastructure allowed a deadly crush to ensue. While most of the blame and legal responsibility was levied towards the British crowds, Belgian officials and police officers were charged with manslaughter for negligence. Heysel was one of several disasters where deplorable stadium conditions and inadequate security rendered fans helpless to avoid suffocation, stampede, or fire in the stands.[8] Ultimately, Wallinger linked such conditions to broader class struggles unfolding within Thatcher's England and Europe as a whole, and sport provided one outlet for expressing dissent, whether through graffiti or physical altercation.

Where Wallinger linked fan violence to class conflict, Lyle Ashton Harris explored the tribalism performed at soccer stadiums during his fellowship at the American Academy in Rome in 2001.[9] While documenting games in Italy, the artist captured the intersecting displays of masculinity, class, and power that occurred on match days.[10] His subsequent black-and-white prints depict riot police as they monitor fan behavior, and throughout these images Harris locates intense gazes in his subjects, particularly the focus of authorities as they survey the crowds. In two photographs, uniformed officers wear helmets and carry batons, and in each, a guardsman looks away from the camera towards a threat outside the picture plane. The point of view adopted by Harris conveys the tension at the stadium as he worked at field level and photographed his subjects from below. This perspective generates a claustrophobic horizon with the

[7] Ibid., 17-22.

[8] For an overview of fan troubles in European soccer in the 1970s-90s, including Heysel, see David Goldblatt, "If This is Football, Let It Die: The European Crisis, 1947-1990", in *The Ball is Round: a Global History of Football* (London: Viking, 2006), 543-605.

[9] For a discussion of Lyle Ashton Harris' use of soccer to represent masculinity and class, see my, "Pitch Invasion: Football, contemporary art and the African diaspora," *Soccer & Society* 16, nos. 2-3 (March-May 2015): 259-281.

[10] Cassandra Coblentz, "Multiplicities and Singularities: Lyle Ashton Harris Takes a Picture," in *Lyle Ashton Harris: Blow Up*, ed. Cassandra Coblentz (Scottsdale: Scottsdale Museum of Contemporary Art; New York: Gregory R. Miller & Co., 2008), 49-50.

entire visual field of each photograph engulfed in crowds extending beyond the frame. The nightsticks, visors, and other security measures of the police force reinforce the threat of violence, and Harris juxtaposed these portraits with wide-angle pans of *Ultras*, or extreme fan groups, in Verona and other locales. Flags and banners, some of which declare the soccer club to be the "love of my life", are held aloft by spectators, while other images detail fans climbing the fences constructed to keep hooligans at bay. These photographs are populated almost solely by men, some shirtless and others festooned in their club's colors, linking the potential of civil unrest with a performative masculinity centered around local allegiance, synchronized chanting, and one-upmanship.

Where Harris positions us below the *ultras* in the stands, Ferdinando Scianna assumed a bird's eye view while photographing a clash between (See Figure 2) Buenos Aires, Argentina. A member of the celebrated photographic collective Magnum, Scianna frequently documents soccer throughout the world, capturing the global game in Africa, South America, and Europe. Some of his photos show humble pickup games in small villages while others capture skirmishes among fans in Italy. His series of images from 2002 depict riots between *ultras* of the team Chacarita Juniors and police officers, demonstrating the boldness of fans and severity of authorities. Perched above a fenced-in promenade at the ground level of the stadium, Scianna sequentially presents a group of men confronting police who retaliate with billy clubs. The dark uniforms of the officers contrast with the bare skin of the shirtless crowd, and many of the security force are photographed in the act of swinging their batons. One shot isolates a bloodied officer striking a detainee while the next image shows the fan prone on the asphalt. In another photograph, a father hurries his daughter past the scene, holding his arm around her to provide protection. The events captured by Scianna were hardly isolated incidents for the *barra brava* of Chicarita Juniors, as their fans have a notorious reputation following many brawls with rival fans and police.[11] In 2014, hooligans loyal to Chicarita Juniors killed a player from an opposing team, attacking him in the parking lot after a contentious match was abandoned due to violence on the pitch. Franco Nieto's murder represented the fifteenth death in soccer-related incidents in Argentina that year.[12] This portfolio represents the extreme brutality of fan culture, and when

[11] Sam Kelly, "Barras boys," *When Saturday Comes* 271 (September 2009): 38.
[12] "Argentine footballer Franco Nieto dies after attack," *BBC* (4 December 2014): http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-30329576.

juxtaposed with Scianna's other work of children playing football, exposes the contradictions inherent in the beautiful game.

Figure 2: Ferdinando Scianna, *Buenos Aires, Argentina. Cacharita football supporters rioting in Concha de San Lorenzo during the match with Boca Juniors and Cacharita*, April 2002. © Ferdinando Scianna/Magnum Photos.

Mexican artist Gonzalo Lebrija similarly adopted a bird's eye perspective when capturing crowd disturbance in his video, *Aranjuez* (2002). Lebrija filmed groups of men piled into violent scrums from his apartment outside Guadalajara's Estadio Jalisco, and as the slow motion footage unfolds, the masses disperse to reveal women being groped and harassed by male soccer fans, many of them wearing the green jersey of the Mexican national team. These women are isolated, greatly outnumbered, and fight to repel the outstretched arms of their molesters. The camera focuses on one victim who is able to escape, only to have men slap her buttocks as she flees. Accompanying the video is a high tempo rendition of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* performed by Herb Alpert and the Tijuana Brass, an American ensemble popular in the 1960s for playing Latin music despite having no Hispanic members. Lebrija created a jarring juxtaposition with horrific scenes of sexual harassment accompanied by the peppy, disco-infused soundtrack. According to Carlos Ashida and Baudelio Lara, the artist selected the score because the composer, Joaquín Rodrigo, was inspired by Goya's paintings of bullfights as well as the

festival of San Fermin in Pamplona that features the running of the bulls.[13] In this way, *Aranjuez* evokes a Latin sensibility but more importantly, connects contemporary fan behavior to historic rituals and public unruliness. Curators from the Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Monterrey linked these actions to an "excess of euphoria," where "passions are unleashed in the environment of a celebration and violence." This display of power ultimately becomes a "collective apotheosis that crosses the delicate line between popular merriment and violence."[14] Indeed, the football fans in these images of violence—Wallinger's vandals, Harris' *ultras*, Scianna's rioters, and Lebrija's chauvinists—each enact forms of control over their antagonists, whether the upper class, police, rival fans, or women. The struggle for power, and means of rehearsing it publicly, occurs at the stadium, with soccer matches the occasion for mass gatherings and disorderly conduct.

Violence on the pitch

Action on the pitch often incites fan behavior and vice versa. Many artists represent the beauty and artistry of the game, but they also show how competition can turn violent. For example, in Marc Fromm's wooden sculpture, *Hit the Road Jack* (2004), two rough-hewn footballers compete on an artificial pitch, with one executing a slide tackle that sends his opponent soaring through the air. (See Figure 3) The defender's contorted torso and outstretched leg suggests the sweeping motion that felled the other contestant, while a repeating ball evokes its flight during the encounter. Fromm left the athletes largely anonymous with no suggestion of jerseys to render team affiliations in the unpainted carving. Some of the athletes' limbs remain bare tree stalks with bark intact, yet the artist carefully modeled and painted Nike and Adidas cleats, distinguishing the combatants by their corporate sponsorship. The violence of the play is heightened by the expressive yell released by the victim of the tackle, whom has one leg "hacked" off abruptly with no indication of his foot or cleat. This double entendre stems from the vocabulary applied to sports, where soccer players are "hacked" or "cut down" in the penalty box. As such, Fromm's decision to immortalize a foul—the ball is nowhere near the play—challenges a tradition of sports monuments that typically

[13] Carlos Ashida and Baudelio Lara, *Gonzalo Lebrija: R75/5 Toaster* (Paris: Galerie Laurent Godin / Onestar Press, 2008), 140.
[14] Patrick Charpenel, Mauricio Maillé, and Mauricio Ortiz, *Futbol: arte y passion* (Monterrey: Museo de Arte Contemporáneo, 2012), 22.

celebrate heroic victories and noble deeds. Where many are cast in bronze or carved in marble and set atop a classical plinth, Fromm's piece is crudely fashioned of wood and cheap Astroturf and set on a plain wooden table. This unusual ode to the slide tackle recalls notorious episodes from soccer history, notably the horrific injury suffered by Ewald Lienen of Arminia Bielefeld, when Norbert Siegmann of Weder Bremen gashed Lienen's thigh with a kick, exposing his muscles and bone. This incident occurred when the artist was ten years old in 1981, and as Jan Nicolaisen and Andreas Höll note, "This horrible image scarred the collective unconsciousness, and is the total antithesis of the game that is marketed these days as family-friendly and easy entertainment."[15]

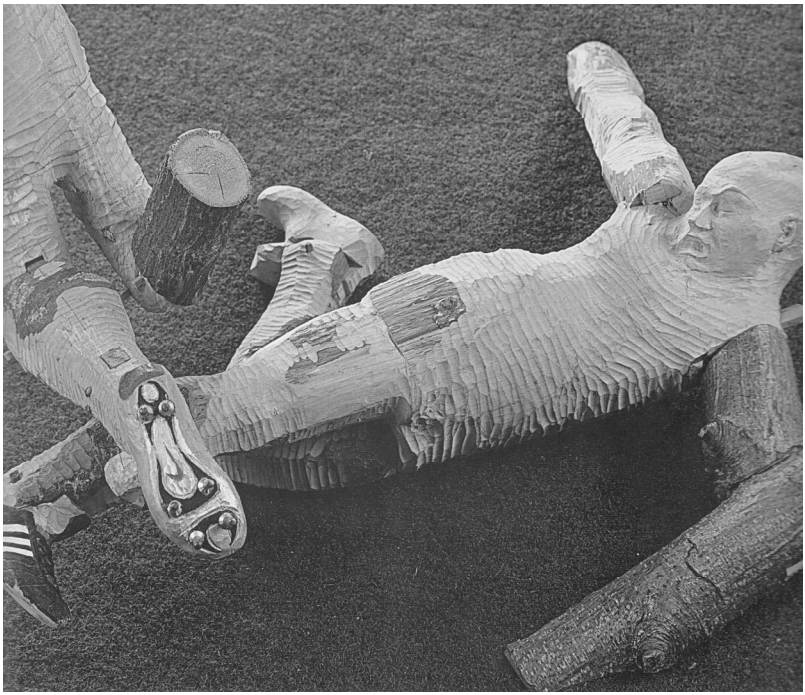

Figure 3: Marc Fromm, *Hit the Road Jack*, 2004. Alderwood, polychrome painted wood sculpture, 105 x 102 x 79.5 cm (with table). Courtesy of the artist.

[15] Jan Nicolaisen and Andreas Höll, "Catalogue: Marc Fromm," in *Ballkünstler*, ed. Hans-Werner Schmidt (Bielefeld/Leipzig: Kerber Verlag, 2006), 74.

While Lienen's injury might remain one of the more graphic examples of violence between footballers, Zinedine Zidane's headbutt of Marco Materazzi during the 2006 men's World Cup final is perhaps the most infamous. An icon for leading France to World Cup and European championships, Zidane was ejected in the final match of his career after he struck the Italian defender. This assault was broadcast to over one billion people around the world and cemented Zidane's reputation for being quick-tempered; he was issued fourteen red cards throughout his career. The stakes of the match, bizarreness of the incident, and complicated identity of Zidane rendered the headbutt culturally significant and a range of artists and writers produced work about the event.[16] Adel Abdessemed created perhaps the most surprising monument to Zidane, crafting a 5-meter tall bronze statue of the headbutt. This sculpture towers over the public and offers an ironic celebration of what the artist called Zidane's "moment of weakness."[17] Abdessemed considered Zidane a compatriot since he is Algerian and the footballer was born to Algerian immigrants in France, yet the nature of this nationalistic connection remains problematic. The artist undermines the grand rhetoric of sculpture by honoring defeat rather than victory (Zidane's team would lose the match after his expulsion), and viewers wonder whether the artist admires Zidane's aggression and condones his behavior. Indeed, Abdessemed's statue received considerable criticism, from French school districts concerned that its appearance at the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris set a bad example for children, as well as citizens of Qatar who protested its display in Doha as idolatrous and inflammatory towards Islamic culture.[18]

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[16] For a discussion of artworks that consider Zidane within the contexts of immigration, colonialism, Muslim identity, and globalization, see my, "From Galáctico to Head Butt: Globalization, Immigration and the Politics of Identity in Artistic Representations of Zidane," in *Football and the Boundaries of History: Critical Studies in Soccer*, eds. Brenda Elsey and Stanislao Pugliese (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

[17] Adel Abdessemed, as quoted in Margherita Dessanay, "Adel Abdessemed: Art with a Hammer," *Elephant* 14 (Spring 2013): 93.

[18] Adam Sage, "Fans furious as Zidane's moment of madness is immortalized by artist," *The Times* (23 October 2012): 30-31; Robert Mackey, "Qatar Removes Statue of Zidane's Head Butt After Complaints," *The Lede: New York Times* (30 October 2013): http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/10/30/qatar-removes-statue-of-zidanes-head-butt-after-complaints/; Victoria Scott, "QMA moves Zidane head-butt statue from Corniche to Mathaf," *Doha News* (28 October 2013): http://dohanews.co/qma-moves-zidane-head-butt-statue-from-corniche-to-mathaf/.

While Abdessemed drew his inspiration from the sporting incident and not the various issues projected onto it,[19] Hassan Musa considered the headbutt a postcolonial tour de force. In a series of artworks about the clash between Zidane and Materazzi, Musa recast the footballers as Delacroix's famous painting, *Jacob Wrestling the Angel* (1861). (See Figure 4) In addition, he incorporated design elements from Asafo war flags into the perimeter of his paintings and prints, symbolically linking Zidane, the Algerian descendant, to Africans who resisted European rule. Citing Carl von Clausewitz and his commentary on war, Musa claimed that many Africans consider soccer a continuation of politics and praised Zidane for retaliating against European hegemony.[20] Indeed, some in the press praised the midfielder as a "good Muslim" for defending his family's honor after Materazzi allegedly insulted them.[21] Regardless of the politics attached to the headbutt, this instance of violence remained within the purview of sport. In one work from the series, Musa included text from a lawyer's blog that points out how, instead of the judicial system, sporting governance administers the fines and other punishments for such behavior, and athletes usually avoid legal prosecution for similar assaults.[22]

For many artists, soccer functions as a valuable metaphor because of the ubiquity of the game and its applicability to a range of concerns. As Chris Beas explains, "Football is this sort of cauldron of different aspects of life, whether it's violence, beauty, politics or economics. There are all these social aspects of the game outside of the physical act of playing, so for me, it's a great place to gather information."[23] In his tabletop tableau, *International Friendly* (2007), Beas appropriated plastic figurines of the game's biggest stars and arranged them into complex groupings. Set on simulated turf, these athletes compete in a cluster away from the ball, leading us to question their activity. The title, *International Friendly*, is an

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[19] Email correspondence with the artist, September 18, 2014.

[20] Hassan Musa, http://www.pascalpolar.be/site/oeuvresview.php?no_inv=musa-01-059.

[21] Yasmin Jiwani, "Sports as a Civilizing Mission: Zinedine Zidane and the Infamous Head-butt." *Topia: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies* 19, no. 11 (Spring 2008): 26.

[22] English translation from Hassan's Musa website, http://www.pascalpolar.be/site/oeuvresview.php?no_inv=musa-01-18.
The original appeared on: http://www.maitre-eolas.fr/post/2006/07/10/397-le-coup-de-boule-de-zidane-est-il-passible-de-la-correctionnelle.

[23] Chris Beas, as quoted in Rhea Mahbubani, "Soccer is artist's muse," *Coastline Pilot* (May 28, 2014): http://www.coastlinepilot.com/entertainment/tn-cpt-et-0530-laguna-art-museum-chris-beas-20140529,0,889409.story.

Figure 4: Hassan Musa, *The Good Game I*, 2008. Assembled textiles, 212 x 142 cm. Galerie Pascal Polar, Brussels.

ironic play on words because exhibition soccer matches are referred to as "friendlies," yet the scene depicted here is anything but amicable. Players in national team jerseys grab each other and fight, and statuettes designed as toys become the means for projecting violence. John Terry of England tackles Spanish defender Carlos Puyol from behind while the former's compatriot Steven Gerrard flattens French goalkeeper Grégory Coupet. An acrobatic Thierry Henry of France boots British icon David Beckham in the head, while England forward Wayne Rooney kicks a prone Zidane.[24] Is this scrum a brawl, the type of behavior football struggles to prevent? With each combatant wearing their country's colors, this work recalls the nationalistic rhetoric frequently attached to tournaments such as the World Cup, where military metaphors or political undertones become grafted onto the game. As Christopher Bollen observes, "Much of Beas's work revolves around the symbols and obsessions that forge national identity. Soccer certainly creates the collective patriotic unity that can also lead to discrimination and violence."[25]

While the type of aggression represented by these artists can mar competitive matches, the sport of soccer is also associated with diving and other theatrical forms of gamesmanship. FIFA, the world's governing body of soccer, has tried to remove this component from the game, granting officials the power to caution players for "unsporting behavior." Among the infractions listed in this category is "simulation," defined by FIFA as "attempts to deceive the referee by feigning injury or pretending to have been fouled."[26] In his three channel "video sculpture," *Caryatid (Red, Yellow, Blue)* (2008), Paul Pfeiffer captures footballers falling to the ground in acts of simulated violence. Pfeiffer carefully manipulated footage of soccer matches, removing extraneous details from each looping video. The focus of the camera, and by extension the viewer, centers on the athlete toppling to the ground and writhing in agony. The melodramatic nature of these maneuvers contradicts conventional means of representing sporting heroes. The normal grandeur and physical prowess associated with sport is replaced by loss and theatrics, while the

[24] For a discussion of Beas' tribute to Zidane, *No That Really is El Cid, He Only Thinks He's Zizou* (2007), as well as other works by the artist, see my essay referenced in note 6.
[25] Christopher Bollen, "The Art of the Game," *V Man* (Spring/Summer 2006): 91.
[26] FIFA, *Laws of the Game: 2015/16* (Zurich: Fédération Internationale de Football Association, 2015): http://www.fifa.com/mm/Document/FootballDevelopment/Refereeing/02/36/01/11/LawsofthegamewebEN_Neutral.pdf.

title playfully reverses gendered assumptions concerning the body. A "caryatid" refers to a classical maiden often used as an ornamental column in Greek temples. However, men collapsing in fits of hysteria and fictionalize being assaulted, replace the upright support offered by these female architectural devices.[27] The sportsmanship expected from athletes becomes compromised by deceit and weakness, a reversal of the virtues instilled upon sport.

Politicized sporting violence

The violence portrayed by Beas, Abdessemed, and Musa certainly carries sociopolitical implications as matches between clubs and nations often serve as surrogates for past issues and contentions. The artwork of two South Africans further articulates the capacity of sport to represent histories of civil dispute and partisanship. In a series of cartoonish drawings, illustrator Anton Kannemeyer caricatured black athletes playing soccer with a white man's head. (See Figure 5) Kannemeyer rendered these figures according to racist stereotypes, with the black footballers having ultra dark skin, oversized lips, and nappy dreaded hair, while the white "ball" is balding and blond with pink flesh tones. The athletes wear the national jerseys of South Africa, projecting a symbolic reversal of the apartheid policies that brutalized black South Africans for decades. In addition, the work acknowledges the way sport was applied by many, including Nelson Mandela, to foster unity and reconciliation following the abolition of segregation. Victory at the rugby World Cup and hosting the FIFA men's World Cup in 2010 symbolized the newly free South Africa, where fans of all ethnicities could applaud the accomplishments of multiracial athletes. As Kannemeyer admitted, **"**That's the only way I get a sense of nationality—through sports," yet despite these developments, the "post-racial" state of contemporary South Africa and soccer remains plagued by bigotry and violence.[28]

Racial epithets similar to those lampooned in Kannemeyer's cartoons continue at football matches and violence among fans often stem from wide-ranging ethnic and regional differences. For example, one of his drawings depicts the Orlando Pirates in action, one of South Africa's most

[27] "Paul Pfeiffer, *Caryatid (Red, Yellow, Blue)*, 2008," *Albright-Knox Art Gallery* (13 July 2014): http://albrightknox.tumblr.com/post/91646673430/paul-pfeiffer-caryatid-red-yellow.

[28] Colin Liddell, "Interview: Anton Kannemyer," *Alternative Right* (11 June 2014):
http://alternative-right.blogspot.com/2014/06/interview-anton-kannemeyer.html

popular and iconic clubs yet a team that has been involved in two of the worst stadium disasters in African history. The "Sowēto Derby" is the fierce rivalry between Orlando Pirates and Kaizer Chiefs, and on at least two occasions, competitions between the two ended with mass casualties.

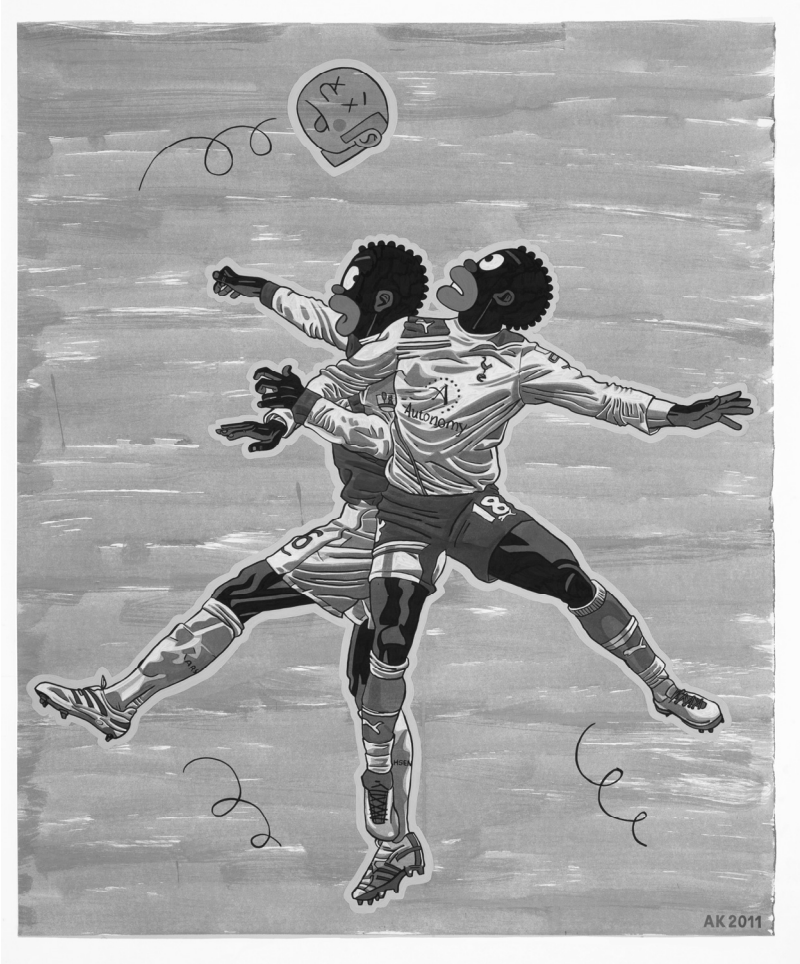

Figure 5: Anton Kannemeyer, *Untitled (Rugby and Soccer Juxtaposition)*, 2011. Black ink and acrylic on paper, 59 x 96 1/2 inches installed, 59 x 48 1/4 inches per panel. ©Anton Kannemeyer. Courtesy of the artist and Jack Shainman Gallery, New York.

First, in 1991, a "friendly" exhibition between the clubs ended with forty-two deaths at Orkney's Oppenheimer Stadium when clashes between fans led to a stampede that crushed dozens. Ten years later, in 2001, forty-three fans were killed at Ellis Park Stadium in Johannesburg due to it being overcrowded and poorly policed. These were not isolated incidents and as Cora Burnett suggests in her study of the Pirates-Chiefs rivalry, these brawls stem from the socialization of impoverished male youths, wherein violence provides a means of validating oneself and earning peer recognition.[29] The bellicosity suggested in Kannemeyer's drawings reflect a painful component of apartheid's legacy: reciprocal aggression used to reclaim the power lost under white supremacy.[30] As such, Kannemeyer's footballers earn agency through sport, one introduced to Africa by European merchants and missionaries, and then utilized to further European hegemony through the networks of colonialism and globalization. By symbolically defeating the white Afrikaner at his own game, and by extension Europeans in international tournaments, these sportsmen embody Homi Bhabha's critique of Western imperialism, wherein colonizer becomes colonized.[31]

Kannemeyer's compatriot Kendell Geers also utilized the metaphor of heads as balls, covering soccer balls with rubber masks representing various political leaders. This "team" consists of Winston Churchill, John F. Kennedy, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Tony Blair, Jacques Chirac, Gerhard Schröder, Yasser Arafat, and Saddam Hussein. In *Masked Balls* (2002), museumgoers encounter these objects scattered across the gallery floor and are encouraged to kick them about, while in *Dirty Balls* (2002-06), the balls are suspended in nets from the ceiling. Both formats enact a playful projection of political violence reminiscent of the decapitations of heads of state throughout history. Disturbingly, Geers' work bears similarities to contemporary practices, as news agencies reported that members of the Islamic State played soccer with a decapitated head in Damascus and the organization's desensitization training for children featured similar games.[32] The fantasies and realities of

[29] Cora Burnett, "The 'black cat; of South African soccer and the Chiefs-Pirates conflict," in *Fighting Fans: Football Hooliganism as a World Phenomenon*, eds. Eric Dunning, Patrick Murphy, Ivan Waddington, and Antonios E. Astrinakis (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2002), 186-188.
[30] Ibid., 189.
[31] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).
[32] Rim Haddad, "Fleeing the horror of IS atrocities in Syria," *AFP* (6 April 2015): https://www.yahoo.com/news/fleeing-horror-atrocities-syria-193048393.html

soccer violence appeared in other works by Geers, including a performative intervention staged at YOUNGBLACKMAN in Cape Town in 2009. For this exhibition, Geers threw several bricks through its storefront windows, giving the gallery the appearance of having been looted. As Andrew Lamprecht noted, the vandalism of the space referred to fears expressed in the media that hooligans would cause trouble at the 2010 men's World Cup hosted in South Africa.[33] While such concerns proved baseless, the shattered glass reenacted legacies of racial and class disturbance that plague not only soccer but South Africa as well.

War and militarism

The political implications of football date to the origins of the modern game and intensified during the First World War. As Iain Adams and John Hughson have written, soccer appears in several artworks from the Great War, representing the military's use of football to foster camaraderie, enhance fitness, and provide respite from the trauma of combat.[34] While soccer offered a sense of leisure and normalcy away from the trenches, it also helped initiate one of the war's worst battles. Crispin Jones commemorated this episode in a work commissioned by the Manchester Art Gallery for an exhibition coinciding with the European championships hosted by England in 1996. In *Captain Nevill* (1996), Jones printed an oversized photograph of one of the balls used by Captain Wilfred P. Nevill at the Battle of the Somme in 1916. Nevill purchased two footballs and offered a reward to the platoon that could get their ball to the German line first.[35] A text panel accompanying Jones' photograph offers a first-hand account of the battle's progression:

Oman Benotman and Nikita Malik, *The Children of Islamic State* (London: Quilliam Foundation, 2016), 49: http://www.quilliamfoundation.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/publications/free/the-children-of-islamic-state.pdf.

[33] Andrew Lamprecht, "Cape Town 2010: Smashing Shopfronts," *African Arts* 44, no. 2 (Summer 2011): 41.

[34] Iain Adams and John Hughson, "'The First Ever Anti-Football Painting'? A Consideration of the Soccer Match in John Singer Sargent's *Gassed*," *Soccer & Society* 14, no. 4 (2013): 502-514; Iain Adams, "Football: a counterpoint to the procession of pain on the Western Front, 1914-1918?," *Soccer & Society* 16, nos. 2-3 (March-May 2015): 217-231.

[35] Alexander Jackson, "Football and the First World War in Fifteen Objects" in *The Greater Game: a History of Football in World War I* (Manchester: National Football Museum; Oxford: Shire Publications, 2014), 26-27.

> As the gun-fire died away I saw an infantryman climb onto the parapet and into No Man's Land, beckoning others to follow. As he did so he kicked off a football; a good kick, the ball rose and traveled well towards the German line. That seemed to be the signal to attack.[36]

While Nevill was killed in combat that day, his men seized their position and this particular football earned mythical status and now resides in the permanent collection of the Queen's Royal Surrey Regimental Museum.[37] Importantly, Crispin Jones did not submit artifacts from the more popular football story of World War I: the legendary Christmas truce of 1914 when English and German troops ceased combat and gathered in No Man's Land to stage a friendly kickabout, share cigarettes, and sing holiday carols.[38] Instead, the artist offered a reminder of conflict and war during the 1996 European championships, an event celebrating peaceful athletic competition among European nations. In this context soccer does not beget harmony and union, rather it initiates bloodshed and jingoism.

While Jones engaged the literal intersection of soccer and war, George Afedzi Hughes connects the militaristic language used in sports to the aggression that plagues human history.[39] His painting, *Parallel* (2009-11), makes this connection overt, as a black soccer boot corresponds with the pale silhouette of a machine gun. (See Figure 6) The word "STRIKER" is emblazoned across the painting, a term that refers to a goal-scoring forward as well as the handler of the weapon. By pairing soccer cleat with firearm, Hughes said he wanted to acknowledge the game's "potential to create hostile rivalry between members of opposing teams, resulting in riots before and after games. The nationalist tendencies of soccer have often been catalyst in racist behavior amongst fans towards minority players."[40] In addition to the hawkish metaphors used to describe athletic competition, *Parallel* suggests how the industries of sports and militarism

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[36] Private L. S. Price, as quoted in Martin Middlebrook, *The First Day on the Somme* (New York: Penguin, 1972), 122.

[37] John Gill, Introduction to *Offside! Contemporary Artists and Football* (Manchester: Manchester City Art Galleries and Institute of International Visual Arts, 1996), 9.

[38] Stanley Weintraub, *Silent Night: the Story of the World War I Christmas Truce* (New York: Penguin, 2001).

[39] For an extended discussion of artworks by George Afedzi Hughes that utilize soccer as a sociopolitical emblem, see my, "The Politics of Soccer in Contemporary Ghanaian Art," in *Picturing the Beautiful Game: Essays on Soccer and Visual Culture*, ed. Daniel Haxall (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017).

[40] Email correspondence with the artist, 13 September 2015.

Figure 6: George Afedzi Hughes, *Parallel*, 2009-11. Acrylic, enamel, and oil on canvas, 71 x 97 in. Courtesy of the artist.

often overlap. For example, Nike sells "Soldier" hightops and the "Hypervenom Phatal" soccer cleat, with the "F" of fatal replaced by "Ph", while Umbro caused outrage with their "Zyklon" shoe because the product name unwittingly matched that of a chemical weapon used in the Holocaust.[41] As Hughes stated, *Parallel* "shows two distinct paths that humanity could choose from. Both paths involve some form of contest, except the militarist choice has fatal consequences. Soccer is a form of civilized contest with the intention of winning games and selling merchandise."[42]

These paths often collide as stadiums designed for sport and leisure become sites of bloodshed during times of war. The National Stadium of Chile in Santiago illustrates this reality and its complex legacy inspired two artworks about memory and loss. This arena was constructed in 1937-38 and hosted numerous soccer tournaments: the South American Championship (1944, 1945, 1955), Copa America (1991 and 2015), and men's World Cup (1962) including the tournament final won by Brazil

[41] Jonathan Petre, "Umbro drops its Zyklon shoe after Jewish protests," *The Telegraph* (29 August 2002): http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1405692/Umbro-drops-its-Zyklon-shoe-after-Jewish-protests.html.

[42] Email correspondence with the artist, 13 September 2015.

over Czechoslovakia. In addition, rallies for significant cultural and political figures were held at the National Stadium, including Pope John Paul II, Fidel Castro, and Pablo Neruda. However, the venue served a different purpose during the 1973 coup d'état that overthrew President Salvador Allende: it became a detention center with over 40,000 people held at the stadium during the military junta. Interrogations, torture, and executions occurred throughout the facility, and a building that once brought Chileans together to support their national soccer teams embodied fracture and civil war. Recognizing the profound significance of the National Stadium, two Chilean artists developed projects about reconstruction and healing within its confines.

In 2009, Camilo Yáñez filmed and photographed the renovations of Chile's National Stadium that would modernize the venue and honor the nation's bicentennial in 2010. For *National Stadium 11.09.09, Santiago, Chile*, he projected two feeds of a continuous pan of the stadium at sunset. The pink sky coupled with an audio recording of Carlos Cabezas' rendition of "Luchin" adds an elegiac expressivity to the video installation. "Luchin" was written by Victor Jara, a Chilean poet, songwriter, and activist who was tortured and murdered at the stadium during the junta. Jara became a symbol of the brutality of Pinochet's regime and the quest for justice through the legal conviction of his killers remains ongoing. To honor this man and the circumstances of his death, Yáñez selected a song about overcoming catastrophe as "Luchin" tells of the fragility of life and need for children to live freely. With this soundtrack playing in the background, cameras scan the removal of terraces. Piles of discarded seats and excised sod offer bodily projections of the lives lost during the dictatorship. The artist hoped the destruction of the stadium could express the tragedies experienced within its walls, saying, "The work somehow tells the story of the stadium and Chile without a script or characters. It conveys the pain and hope that have been so intensely experienced there."[43]

Three years before the renovations of the National Stadium, Sebastian Errazuriz staged a different type of intervention at the site, planting a 10-meter tall, live magnolia tree in the center of its soccer pitch. (See Figure 7) The stadium functioned as a public park for a week, culminating in an exhibition march between the Chilean men's national team that played in the 1998 World Cup and an "all-time" squad. Proceeds from this game benefitted charity, with nearly 20,000 fans in attendance to see Marcelo Salas, Ivan Zamorano, and other legends negotiate a surreal obstacle in the

[43] *Untitled (12th Istanbul Biennial),* 2011 (September 17 - November 13), http://12b.iksv.org/en/sololar.asp?id=51&c=4&show=metin.