

A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH: POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS, ECONOMIC, AND
SOCIAL CONCERNS MANIFESTED IN SOCCER HISTORY

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Prologue

History is an interesting beast, a beast that as it grows older and its professionals evolve so do the methods used by them to study the discipline. It is with the belief that the study of history is ever evolving in mind that I began to see a new future for the study of history: the use of sports. Around the world there is a common bond that nearly every human being shares, and that bond is the love for sports. With that idea in mind, it became clear to me that I could use sports as a means to study the histories among nations, regions, and people's, and there is no sport better to do that with than soccer, or football as it is known around the world. The reason that soccer is the best sport to use when studying history is that it is one of the oldest sports in the world (first played in 1863). Besides the fact that it is one of the oldest sports in the world, no sport has the passion, emotions, and tribalism that soccer has incorporated into it. Many places around the world actually only have one team to represent their city or town, explaining why soccer has such a different emotional vibe than any North American sport. By attaching their emotions to, for the most part, one representative entity soccer fans around the world create incredible atmospheres and rivalries as well. The word to describe that is tribalism, and it is the best example of why the use of soccer as a catalyst for studying history in Europe is arguably the best example of this new line of studying history.

If history is an interesting beast, then it must be said that the history of Europe is a longstanding, ill-tempered monster that continues to rear its head today with past concerns and atrocities committed throughout its history. North American sports simply

cannot hold a candle to the passion and tension that is seen in the European soccer leagues. The reason for North American sports being unable to compare to European soccer leagues is simply because they are not as old (besides baseball) and also because many cities in North America have multiple sports league franchises. Their multiple franchises are important because it allows people to spread their passions and emotions around to different teams instead of putting all of their feelings onto one franchise. For instance, imagine every major North American city having only NFL franchises. Then imagine how much more volatile the games would be between fan bases. It would become extremely intense and at times even violent, as American fan bases tend to already act towards one another.

Before beginning the piece, I would also like to thank Doctor's Heaphy, Seelye, Starkey, and Post for agreeing to be on my defense panel as well as helping me along the way during the difficult but highly interesting journey of writing this thesis. I wanted this thesis to be both an academic work as well as something that soccer fans or budding soccer fans can read and hopefully learn from, and they all helped me to articulate that extremely well. With that said, soccer is the fastest growing sport in the United States and as every year goes by more people flock to the beautiful game and are hungry for information about foreign clubs and their histories. I also fully expect that some members of academia will write this work off as fake history or lazy history due to their negative views on sports as an academic pathway, but I would challenge those who say that to find a better means to study political, economic, religious, and social histories in a more suitable manner than the use of sports. The use of sports as a catalyst for studying history

is a fairly new pathway to understanding, that is what makes many in the historical community tend to look upon it as an illegitimate study. *A Matter of Life and Death* is not meant for jaded members of the academy, it is primarily for public entertainment and consumption. *A Matter of Life and Death* is for those who want to change things, to evolve and to entertain and to educate at the same time. That is who this work is for, and that is whom I am writing for, enjoy.

Introduction

A Matter of Life and Death was created as a result of witnessing and reading about violence and volatility in world football. All one has to do to learn of the rampant violence and problems among football supporters is to search “violence in world football” and one will see the many instances of conflict. The goal of *A Matter of Life and Death* is to hone in on a select group of European soccer’s greatest rivalries and to dissect them in a manner that shows readers how the histories between the cities and regions in question manifest themselves in their soccer club rivalries. For this approach to work four of the biggest rivalries in soccer (American word for football) were chosen. Those rivalries are Real Madrid CF versus FC Barcelona in Spain, Celtic FC versus Rangers FC in Scotland, Liverpool FC versus Manchester United FC in England, and the overall rivalry between northern and southern Italian peoples and their clubs.

In terms of the historiography of the four rivalries’ histories, there is little that is attached to the rivalries as they pertain to their overall histories. What that means is the connections between iconography, events, and results in each rivalry have not been extensively written about as they pertain to each places’ history. With regard to the historiography of each places’ historical events, each one has many great sources to draw upon. What that means is, basically, that while there are many solid works about the history of each of the four soccer rivalries and their locations’ respective histories, the two kinds of sources have not been connected by historians to this point. That is what makes this undertaking so interesting and, at times, difficult. With few historians

connecting the dots between the rivalries and their regions history, it becomes the job of this paper to begin to do that. It is an exciting undertaking, but one that is difficult because of the lack of historians using soccer as a means to studying historical rivalries in these regions.

It is also important to understand why the use of each clubs' iconography is so important as well as why the rivalries chosen for this piece were selected. The four rivalries, Real Madrid CF versus FC Barcelona in Spain, Celtic FC versus Rangers FC in Scotland, Liverpool FC versus Manchester United FC in England, and the overall rivalry between northern and southern Italian peoples and their clubs were chosen for this piece because of the obvious importance of each clubs set of ethos and the clear imagery that symbolizes all of their histories. Each club and rivalry being studied has clear imagery in their club crests (logos, in American terminology) that makes it much clearer for readers to discern what exactly their impact on history has been. There are a large amount of rivalries that could have been chosen to signify political, religious, economic, and regional histories throughout Europe. However, the aforementioned rivalries, in many peoples' opinions, are probably the four best rivalries for the goal of *A Matter of Life and Death*. As readers move through this piece, that idea will become much clearer.

What the research of the aforementioned rivalries will show to readers is that there are clear historical concerns that have manifested themselves in these four massive rivalries. One will see the political, economic, religious, and social rivalries that each rivalry in this study contains. These four rivalries show one of these concerns perfectly and are why each was chosen. Real Madrid CF versus FC Barcelona is

the embodiment of political strife. Celtic FC versus Rangers FC is the example of religious concerns manifested through sports. Then Liverpool FC versus Manchester United FC and northern versus southern Italian clubs are the embodiments of economic and social strife respectively.

So, with that said, many will probably be interested in the historiography of these four sets of rivalries and their corresponding histories. With regard to the historical aspects embodied by the rivalries, there is no shortage of information on each one. Obviously, the massive problems between mainland Spain and Catalonia was the topic with the most sources due to the long history of contact between the two regions. The other three examples, Liverpool versus Manchester, sectarian disputes in Glasgow, Scotland, and Northern versus Southern Italy, also have many sources available in terms of their respective history's. From Simon Harris' *Catalonia is not Spain* and Kev Kharas' *Football's Most Dangerous Rivalry* to Francis E. Hyde's *Liverpool and the Mersey: An Economic History of a Port, 1700-1970* and John Foot's *Winning At All Costs* the caliber of the sources used in this are solid and well-done. With that said, the research that follows in this work adds to the historiography by creating a new and original component to the study of history: using sport as a means to understand history.

Soccer is also at an age that there are many good sources available for it as well, coinciding with each example's corresponding soccer rivalries. Alongside golf, soccer is the oldest major sport in the world and, conversely, has a longstanding history among regions, peoples, and clubs. The problem with this though, is that there are few academic sources for the rivalries themselves. Members of the academic community may find fault

in this; however I hope that they will focus on the fact that it is a new outlet for studying history and to forgive the lack of true academic sources for the rivalries here. With that said, those who have contributed to writing and studying the history of soccer are impressive sports journalists and writers alike, men and women who have great knowledge of the peoples and regions in question as well as the local clubs for each as well.

In all, the aim of this paper is to not only prove that the study of history has and can continue to evolve, but to also explain to readers the connections between peoples and their sports. The long history that soccer has is a beautiful yet untapped manner with which to study these regions histories. What *A Matter of Life and Death* hopes to accomplish is to show that the study of sports and history together is a portion of the future of the field of history. This thesis will not only be for members of the academic world, but more so for the casual reader or soccer fan. The goal for this paper is to be both educating and entertaining, and focusing on the biggest rivalries in European soccer and history's impact on them will engulf readers in a fast-paced and hopefully interesting journey through history as manifested in European football.

Football and Politics: El Clasico as The Embodiment of Spanish-Catalan Relations

A Matter of Life and Death was going to begin with a struggle to decide with which rivalry the piece should start. That is because one could look at each aspect being used, politics, religion, economics, and regional bigotry for all four of these rivalries instead of focusing on just one concern for each rivalry as is the goal of this work. Legitimately, books could be written and in a few cases, have been written, on the topic of soccer in relation to the study of history. With that said, all four of the chosen rivalries act as a different embodiment of strife and all are superb case studies because of that. However, the consensus choice by soccer fans and pundits alike for the biggest rivalry in world soccer is without question the annual meetings between Barcelona Club de Futbol and Real Madrid Club de Futbol. Their rivalry is the biggest and second most highly viewed rivalry, and that is only because English speaking peoples enjoy the English rivalry of Liverpool FC versus Manchester United FC (according to the BBC, ESPN, and CNN) for reasons that go far beyond the game of football.

In order to understand the complex relationship between mainland Spain and Real Madrid against the region of Catalonia and FC Barcelona in the East of the nation bordering the Mediterranean Sea, one must first understand the groundwork of the disdain itself: The fight between the consolidated kingdoms of Castile and Aragon to keep Spain as one solid entity with the Habsburgs along with their goal to add Spain to their collection of regions under their control. These struggles are the consensus among

for the beginning of the unfair acts and atrocities committed by the Castilian monarchy and mainland Spain upon the Catalans throughout the past 600 years.¹

For centuries, the Castilian monarchs of Central Spain, not the entire nation as we know it today, have conquered and kept the region of Catalonia under their thumbs. Over the past 600 years the nation of Spain has seen multiple rebellions conducted by their Catalan neighbors to the east, and these rebellions have led to the ever-growing animosity seen between the nation and the region. Historian or not, many know that the landscape in European politics has been tumultuous and, in some aspects, still is today. For example, concerns such as Greece leaving the European Union while disconcerting to the modern world, is a highly intense event that was seen at a constant rate during the fifteenth through twentieth centuries. What that means is that there were examples of economic recessions and debt questions, wars being fought over newfound territories and wealth around the world, and social and religious disputes throughout the kingdoms of Europe. So, it was during the fifteenth-century that readers and researchers see the struggles for territory, wealth, and power through many different means of consolidation. All of these aspects of a struggle for power were rampant during this period in Spain and are essential in laying the groundwork for learning of the reasons for Castilian-Catalonian aggression.

What makes this topic so interesting is that many people throughout the world do not know of the concerns between Catalonia and Spain, let alone that they have existed for centuries. They see the rivalry between Real Madrid and FC Barcelona as simply a rivalry that stems from their sporting successes and not necessarily from politics. Beginning with the marriage between the famed patrons of Christopher Columbus, King

Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile in 1469, readers begin to understand the obvious concerns created by the wedding of the powerful couple and their respective regions. As King of Aragon, Ferdinand ruled Catalonia which, as a region, was perfectly content with this arrangement. When their son, Charles the Great, became King of Spain the autonomy of the two regions ceased and the state of Spain was created.² They lived in harmony for nearly 100 years, even flourishing as a kingdom during the time period. However, the Thirty-Years War saw to the beginning of the concerns that would plague the two regions to the present-day, with the stripping away of privileges from Catalonia during the war being the primary reason for the beginning of the concerns.

The first large-scale concern that occurred as a result of the stripping away of Catalan privilege during the Thirty-years War was called the Catalan Revolt (1640-1652) and the subsequent War of Spanish Succession (1700-1714). The Catalan Revolt was primarily due to, in the opinions of many, being neglected by the government and the loss of their privileges under the Spanish crown during the Thirty-Years War. So, after twelve years of relatively small-scale fighting, Catalonia and the Habsburgs eventually came to an understanding, with the help of France, that saw Catalonia's reconnection to the Habsburgs and their privileges once again respected.³

The War of Spanish Succession though, was a much bigger and more important conflict in the history of Catalonia and Spain. As the diseased and sickly King Charles II passed away, childless, in 1700 there was no clear heir to the Spanish throne. While Charles II chose Philip V of Spain as his heir the Habsburgs, looking to expand their dying power under Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI, went for the proverbial power-grab in the region.⁴ So, while the struggle may sound pointless to the overall narrative, the

crux of the concern was that Catalonia supported the Habsburgs in the fourteen-year war. The legitimate heir, Philip V, was able to achieve victory over the Habsburgs and force Catalonia back into the Spanish empire against their will.⁵ The fourteen year war was the first instance where Catalan rights and beliefs were crushed under the foot of the Spanish monarchy, an outcome that would be repeated for the next 250 years. The lack of Catalonian privileges was due to many concerns, the clearest of which was due to the Spanish government needing to support the nation but having to tax the public in order to do so. However, since the Spanish government did not want to tax their mainland constituents, they instead made Catalonia and the Basque country to the north foot the bill. Unfair taxation is what ultimately brings us to the year 1914 and the dawn of the modern and most vociferous reasons for the hatred of mainland Spain by Catalonia, their multiple grabs for autonomy and their achievement of their latest and most notable instance of autonomy in 1931, and the rise of Francisco Franco.

In order to truly fathom the hatred of Spain by Catalans one must first understand that Catalonia was granted absolute autonomy in 1931, five years before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.⁶ The Catalans were finally granted their independence primarily due to the difficult circumstances throughout the nation. There was a high-rate of unemployment and the nation was in the midst of a global depression, leading to the Spanish government wanting to lighten the load and allow Catalonia to deal with their own problems in their region.⁷ It was the importance of that moment and the events that occurred thereafter which are synonymous with the FC Barcelona and Real Madrid CF rivalry. So, for five years Catalonia was at peace and learning the ins-and-outs of being an independent nation. They held elections, and in 1933 elected Lluís Companys as their

first ever president, an absolutely landmark occasion for the fledgling nation.⁸ However, their happiness was short lived, for the rise of the famed and loathed former dictator of Spain, Francisco Franco, began his ignominious rise to the top of the Spanish government.

Due to the revocation of Catalonia's rights as a nation during the reign of Francisco Franco (1938-1973), the feeling of hatred towards mainland Spain by those of Catalan descent was at its absolute height. During his rise to power the greatest disaster in Spain's history, their Civil War, lasted from 1936 to 1939 and saw some 500,000 people die, many of whom were from the region of Catalonia.⁹ Since that time, the people of Catalonia have suffered atrocities even during the least strenuous of periods during the last eighty years, leading them to be on the receiving end of unfair legislation and the favoring of mainland Spain by the government when it came to jobs, wages, education, and equality between the different peoples around the nation of Spain.¹⁰

The vast record of unfairness that lasts even to the present, as Catalonia continues to push for a vote on the question of secession from the government of Spain, has led to the poisonous atmosphere that oftentimes accompanies games between the two regions most popular and dominant soccer clubs. The amount of examples of the regional and political hatreds between these peoples and regions is so clearly seen in the logos, supporters, and stadiums of each club that it practically slaps you in the face when the *Clasico* is viewed. The average, or even first time viewer, would not notice many of these symbols unless they had a background of both the history of the nation and the clubs as well. From the royal seal atop the club crest of Real Madrid to the Catalan flag that is a part of the crest of FC Barcelona, these are just two of the many examples of regional

pageantry that one witnesses every time they see news concerning the clubs or when they play a match, regardless whether it is against one another or not.¹¹

Let us first begin with each clubs' crests and what they stand for in terms of each city, region, and their respective and intertwined histories. Real Madrid, in English, translates to Royal Madrid as the word "Real" means royal in Spanish. It is with this definition in mind that the clubs crest begins to make much more sense to the casual soccer observer. After noticing such a blatant political symbol viewers observe the area above the initials RMCF and the white background and immediately notice the giant crown above the club's seal. The crown was an honor bestowed upon the club by King Alfonso XIII in the year 1920, as a token of his "patronage" as the club describes it.¹² It is that aspect of the club that so infuriates Catalans and, to a point, Real Madrid's crosstown rivals Atletico Madrid as they both claim that Madrid has received unfair support by the government of Spain. Examples of large-scale tax breaks toward Real Madrid and not being forced to repay government and royal loans are the two most major examples of unfair treatment that they have been subject to throughout their history. It is this apparent aura of superiority over all of Spain on the part of Real Madrid, especially toward Catalonia, that sees FC Barcelona supporters loathe them so much on a sporting level. All of that is clear in the image below this paragraph.



(“Real Madrid lose Christian cross from club crest to appease Abu Dhabi bank.”)¹³

With regard to FC Barcelona they also do themselves no favors when it comes to the perception of mainland Spain toward them and their region. The club’s crest is without any doubt an affront to the nation of Spain. From the color scheme to the “Senyera de Catalunya (Catalan Flag)” being used, the logo is clearly a reason to anger the establishment of the nation as a whole. Since their inception as a club in 1899 FC Barcelona has used a Catalan flag and King George’s Cross pattern in their official crests and have kept the Catalan color scheme prominent throughout the entirety of their history as can be seen in the following image.



(“The Crest.” FC Barcelona. 2015.)¹⁴

The evolution of their club crest, or lack thereof, is one of the most recognizable logos of any sports team in the world. The logo was despised by Francisco Franco, for he had banned the Catalan flag and also the language early on in his dictatorship and so anytime he was forced to see FC Barcelona's crest during sporting events it oftentimes made him furious, as was explained in chapters one and two of Simon Harris' book.¹⁵ Many may ask why he allowed the Catalan flag in the Camp Nou, that is because there are times when a leader can not impact an institution due to the massiveness of it. FC Barcelona is the sporting embodiment of Catalonia and everything that comes with it. Their club motto, *Mes Que un Club* meaning "More than a club," explains what they mean to Catalonia as a whole. When a people's culture is censored they cling to those beliefs all the harder and that is exactly what the people of Catalonia did. They could not show their Catalan spirit anywhere except in the famed Camp Nou, FC Barcelona's soccer stadium, for fear of being prosecuted for the transgression. Oftentimes, matches in their beloved stadium would turn into, basically, Catalan pride rallies with the banned *Senyera de Catalunya* being shown with pride around the entire stadium. It is something that still happens even to the present, which has led to clubs being fined by UEFA (European soccer's governing body) for using political symbology in their stadium. Political imagery is banned by UEFA because even they understand just how inflammatory politics and soccer can be throughout continental Europe.

The inflammatory nature of politics in soccer, is oftentimes the catalyst for the most vociferous of soccer rivalries. The beliefs, values, and political ideologies of supporters are oftentimes seen in their soccer teams ethos or how they act towards other clubs in general. The impact of a club's ethos on fan interactions is clearly noticeable

when it comes to the supporters of Real Madrid and FC Barcelona as well. These supporters grow up being taught by the generations before them the history not just of their favorite soccer clubs, but of the history that is embodied in them, respectively. Both clubs' histories are easily discernable throughout the interactions between the clubs fans during their competitive histories. From examples of fights, muggings, stabbings, and even killings the politics behind the rivalry have become manifested in the supporters of each club.¹⁶ The most famous of these incidents, though it did not involve actual violence, is arguably the epitome of the rivalry between FC Barcelona and Real Madrid. The incident was the transfer (soccer-speak for buying a player from another team) of legendary Portuguese midfielder Luis Figo from FC Barcelona directly to Real Madrid, being lured away by a vast pay-raise and promises of more fame, two core tenets of Real Madrid that led his move being called the "ultimate betrayal." The transfer of Luis Figo shocked the footballing world and helped to fan the flames of the already anger-filled rivalry.

There is nothing worse, at least in the opinions of a soccer club supporter, than a player transferring from your club to the club's archrival. Such a transfer rarely happens, as it is often inconceivable and leads to fans of clubs wanting the heads of their clubs directors on spikes. However, in the case of Luis Figo who was the 2000 World Player of the Year, his leaving was a betrayal of epic proportions.¹⁷ To have your absolute best player leave for your hated rival, especially with the political background of the rivalry adding fuel to the fire, is in the eyes of FC Barcelona supporters similar to the levels of hatred that Benedict Arnold saw during the American Revolutionary War. While that

may sound like empty rhetoric know that it is the truth as the betrayal pertains to their supporters. It was and still is seen as that big of a deal.¹⁸

So, as is tradition in the frenzied and over-the-top world of soccer rivalries, the reaction of the FC Barcelona supporters when Luis Figo made his Camp Nou debut for Real Madrid was less than welcoming. FC Barcelona's supporters used a tradition in Spain that involves delivering a pig's head to a person of ill repute. Such an act is reserved for the most epic of traitors throughout Spain. So, during a corner kick (a free kick that was preceded by the ball being forced out of play by the defense behind their own goal), an FC Barcelona fan threw a pigs head at the feet of corner kick taker Luis Figo. Though throwing the pigs head may seem as though it is just a strange action taken by an angry fan, any fan of FC Barcelona and historian of the politics of the nation and rivalry can assure you, the action is much more than that. The act was seen as the true embodiment of what Real Madrid, and the government as a whole, does to the country and especially to Barcelona and Catalonia.¹⁹ The Catalan people see the Spanish government, and Real Madrid as well, as entities that take what they want from the rest of the nation and give little back in return. So, intentionally or not, the throwing of the pigs head became a massive talking point that is even discussed to the present. Figo's departure is seen as one of the biggest betrayals not only in the history of FC Barcelona, but in the history of sports. His transfer was that big of a deal not just for the sporting aspect of the transfer, but because of the politically charged nature of the rivalry as a whole. It was and still is a truly incredible event.

Understand, Figo's betrayal is just the best example of *El Clasico* as an outlet for much bigger concerns. There are many more fantastical instances of each club's

supporters acting out against one another; the Figo transfer is simply the one that embodies the rivalry in the best manner. There are many political and cultural undertones in the Luis Figo incident, undertones that had been seen for centuries but had arisen in the arena of sport. In the transfer, on-lookers saw traces of mainland Spain once again getting its way as well as taking from Barcelona whatever it wanted, reflecting the large role that the supporters play not only in *El Clasico*, but in every major sports rivalry in the world. We, the supporters, are the lifeblood of sports as well as the cause for many of the concerns seen in the games. We project our beliefs, happiness, anger, and moods onto our favorite teams and the result can either be beautiful, or ugly.¹⁹ The emotional projections of supporters is why the Luis Figo controversy must be discussed because the act is, in the opinions of many who are emotionally invested in Spain's grandest rivalry, the best way to show the levels to which people will go to convey their emotions on a large scale. The emotional aspect of fans is truly amazing and something that should not be forgotten when discussing the world of sports and history, especially when soccer in Europe is involved. Emotion and the history of Europe are the key concerns in not just this rivalry, but nearly all of the major soccer rivalries across the continent. Past slights and political, religious, or regional turmoil have led to the electric and, at times, dangerous atmospheres across Europe. The Luis Figo incident is just one example of the embodiments of one of these types of questions.

So, as many people know, Europe has been and still is a politically volatile continent. Its people have seen hundreds, even thousands of wars in modern history leading to a present-day Europe that still has scars to show for past conflicts. With that in mind, as well as the instability that wracks the region today, politics has never been more

important to the people of Europe. Couple that with the fact that oftentimes they only have a soccer team to support and to pour their emotions and beliefs into, as opposed to a nation like the United States who has multiple sporting leagues as outlets for emotions, and it is no wonder we read about violence in football almost every week. Let us be clear, there are many other examples of politics in sporting rivalries, however it is believed by many that FC Barcelona versus Real Madrid CF is the most grandiose example of politics playing out on the soccer pitch. One can legitimately look at a history through the study and understanding of each club's ethos, colors, symbols, and beliefs. Consider the fact that for each of the rivalries that are being written about in this piece, the focus is on one aspect of societal history for each one.

With all that said, it is important to close the first section of the thesis with some closing thoughts on the enormity of *El Clasico*. Quite a lot is known about the history of the rivalry as it pertained to the sporting side and small pieces of the political side of the rivalry. It was not until studying the topic extensively, the relationship between history and soccer rivalries, that one can truly begin to understand why Spain's grandest rivalry is so important and interesting to viewers around the world. When one tunes in to *El Clasico* they are seeing a miniature Spanish Civil War being played out in front of their eyes for ninety minutes. While some may read that sentence and think that it is exaggeration for exaggeration's sake well, they should be urged to view one of the matches and see for themselves. Notice the symbols around both stadiums, listen to and translate the songs and chants, observe the sounds, speed, and ferocity of the game and then attempt to convince yourself that the statement is not the truth. If you watch one of these matches, then all who hold the aforementioned opinion will have changed their

minds. You will have been the one kidding yourself about the magnitude and political scope of Spain's magnificent footballing rivalry.

Religion in Football: The Old Firm Derby and Its Impact on Catholic-Protestant and Scottish Relations

The age-old adage that one should never discuss politics or religion is something that many famous football rivalries do not adhere to. As previously mentioned, these two topics are synonymous with the history of Europe and are just as entwined in their nation's sporting cultures. One can see politics and religion in soccer rivalries, however the arguably the best example is the *Old Firm Derby*, the rivalry between Celtic FC and Rangers FC in Glasgow, Scotland. Celtic FC and Rangers FC, founded in 1888 & 1872, respectively, have been hated rivals since the inception of Celtic FC. Both clubs could not be more different from one another, a fact that will become clear as the differences in the clubs' ethos are presented. So, beginning with the first contrast of these two incredibly successful Scottish soccer clubs and their respective establishments, we begin to see the stark religious differences in each club early on in their histories.

Rangers FC was founded in 1872 by Moses and Peter McNeil, Peter Campbell, and William McBeath as an outlet to play football. There were no religious connotations to their club, a fact that astounds people who are familiar with the rivalry as it is known today, a religious battle embodied on the soccer pitch.²¹ It was not until a large emigration of Northern Irish citizens into Scotland looking for better opportunities for their families that the sectarian (religious differences) aspect came to the forefront of the

rivalry. So, before the inception of Celtic FC in 1888, Rangers FC was just a club for Glaswegians to play the game that they loved. They were a key club in creating what is now known as the Scottish Premier League and are even the first club to ever win the League Title in 1890-1891.²² Rangers has a long and proud history and only when the previously noted emigration of the Irish became a problem and Celtic FC was founded did we see the inherent religious concerns in the rivalry that we see today. Focusing on these incidents bring us to the early 1880's and the year 1888, the period of time when the Irish migration and creation of Celtic FC would change not only Glasgow, but also Scotland even to this day.

Celtic FC, founded in 1888 by Andrew Kerins, better known by his Parish name, Brother Walfrid, is the embodiment of Catholicism in Scotland. Walfrid was a Northern Irish immigrant and founded the club in order to use the team to raise money for charities in the east end of Glasgow, a poor and impoverished area in the city.²³ The creation of Celtic FC as a religious sporting institution was the beginning of the rivalry as an embodiment of religious and social strife between the clubs and their respective fans. While Rangers FC had no original religious ties, Celtic FC immediately aligned itself with Catholicism and Irish pride from their inception. Their religious ideals immediately led to Rangers becoming the catalyst for Protestantism, conservatism, and anti-Irish sentiments in the city and nation as a whole.²⁴ Mainly due to the feeling that the Northern Irish immigrants were taking "good, hardworking Scotsman's jobs," the Scottish conservatives came out in droves in support of Rangers FC against this foreign plight. Their reaction to the influx of Irish immigrants was along the same lines as the reaction when the Irish immigrated to the United States during the same era and even the Latin

American peoples in the modern day United States. The immigrants have been portrayed as a huge problem and threat, which then has led to bigotry and hatred; what happened in Glasgow between the rivals during that period and throughout each clubs sporting histories is still seen to the present day.

With all of that said, to understand why Rangers and Celtic fans dislike and, oftentimes, hate one another one must have a firm understanding of Catholic-Protestant relations and their core differences in beliefs. To do this, readers must look back to the year 1517, the year that the famed founder of Protestantism, Martin Luther, nailed his 95 Theses to the wall of the Wittenberg Church in Germany. By nailing his 95 Theses to the church, Luther was putting the Catholic establishment on notice, letting them know that a large portion of the public was tired of being taken advantage of by them. Those who agreed with Martin Luther's Protestant movement were tired of the Church telling them how to pray, believe in God, and also the fact that they took advantage of their congregation financially for centuries during the Church's history.²⁵ It is for this reason, Christendom separating into two entities, that the religion split and is the unequivocal moment when many modern day Christian sects began to take shape. Martin Luther helped to lay the groundwork for the many concerns regarding differences in Christianity, differences that are clearly seen even to this day.

There are many examples of differing reasoning that led to the disagreements between Catholics and Protestants. However, the most notable concerns tend to be on the topics of baptisms, how communion is taken, and how to pray coupled with the belief in the Pope as an infallible entity. Though these concerns may not sound like they would cause large-scale disagreement, the fact remains that they do because they are incredibly

important to the core tenets of each half of Christianity. As the saying goes, the Devil is in the details. So, beginning with baptism, it is well known that Catholics believe that a baby must be baptized at birth so as to avoid, in the case of an unexpected death of an infant, their soul going to hell.²⁶ On the other hand, some Protestants believe that baptism should be a researched, conscientious choice of the person when they are of age to make the decision for his or her self. The difference in baptism may sound like a small matter, however in Christianity it is an important moment in one's faith and how one begins their religious journey.

Then, in terms of communion, prayer, and the Pope, these two differing sects of Christianity hold vastly different beliefs in each department. Catholicism teaches their congregations that one must not touch the bread or the wine during communion as it is, after sacred divining by the clergyman, the "literal body and blood of Jesus Christ."²⁷ That belief varies from the Protestant belief that the bread and wine are simply representations of Jesus' body and blood, a way of symbolizing the last supper and his ultimate sacrifice for mankind. Which brings us to the last of the facets of Christianity that both versions of the faith disagree with and that oftentimes causes the most fracturing between the two groups: The topic of prayer and the "sinlessness" of the Pope as the embodiment of God on Earth.

The topic of the Pope's legitimacy and the way in which each sect prays has long been a heated talking point between each religious group. When it comes to prayer, Catholics believe that one may pray to ancestors, saints, the Virgin Mary, and the Pope for divine help, not just God and his son Jesus Christ.²⁸ Praying to the aforementioned people is hugely controversial in the eyes of Protestants as they believe that one can pray

to God and Jesus and only them, for other “saints” and ancestors were but human and did not have the same power. The belief on the part of Protestants that one is only allowed to pray to the Holy Trinity (God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit) is what makes them feel disdain towards the Pope, the elected official who leads the Catholic Church and is the infallible representative of God on Earth. The premise of the Pope’s infallibility is a topic that strongly angers Protestants and, because of their disdain for the idea of the Pope, causes Catholic’s to be offended and angered by the questioning of their faith. The idea that the Pope is infallible upsets Protestant-based versions of Christianity because he is simply an ordained man. He is human, and no human being should be infallible, that is why they dislike the idea of the Pope. It is all of these disagreements in tenets that leads to these concerns, disagreements, and anger and is the primary reason for the hatred between Celtic FC and Rangers FC. Both clubs are the embodiments of their supporter’s respective faiths, ideologies, and beliefs in not only Glasgow, but in much of Scotland.

A fact that must also be made clear to readers is that sectarian questions have also been coupled with Irish Republican Army (IRA) and Pro-Scottish sentiments that have emerged in the *Old Firm Derby*. In Scotland, even back to the middle ages, researchers of Scottish history have seen support for an independent Scotland from England that has been rehashed time and time again.²⁹ The conflict between these two entities has raged for centuries, and up until the founding of Celtic FC in 1888, had in fact quieted down much more than it had in times past. However Celtic FC, as has been said, includes pro-Irish sentiments in its club ethos and is something that the club and its fans are extremely proud. Violent actions including stabbings and the IRA’s specialty, bombings, became much more prevalent during the early parts of the twentieth-century due to Ireland’s fight

for independence. The rise in violence and pro-Irish beliefs led to an insertion of IRA principles into the clubs ideology. Principles such as the belief that the English government is inherently corrupt and unfair, that the subjugation of Ireland and Scotland is unethical and with no basis, and that at times violence is needed to send one's message to their enemies and to the world.³⁰ So, though they are facets of their club that they are working to be rid of, it is nevertheless a set of facets that are still seen today.

Meanwhile, Rangers FC has become the standard bearer for pro-English sentiments in Scotland to rebuke the Celtic FC fans separatist beliefs. The heaping of sectarian and political ideas onto Rangers FC is a rather interesting phenomenon in Glasgow, especially since these sentiments were not a part of their original club ethos.³¹ Even their original jersey colors evolved from light blue and white to a blue, red, and white design reminiscent of the "Union Jack," the national flag of England.³² The inclusion of English colors was a clear sign of the times as their fanbase moved further from the Irish-Catholic beliefs held by Celtic supporters. These aspects, sectarianism and separatism, are what makes the *Old Firm Derby* one of the most fascinating rivalries in all of world football and even the sporting world as a whole.

Which brings us to the rivalry as we know it, now that the base has been established for the "why and how" questions about the way that the rivalry was created. Interestingly, the *Old Firm Derby* evolved until the decades of 1920's and 1930's and has stayed relatively similar until the present day. The Irish Civil War of the 1920's the subsequent Irish immigration to Scotland were the massive reasons for the escalation of the rivalry during this period before, as said, settling into the tenets of the rivalry that readers see today. As a result of the Irish immigration and the Irish Civil War, beliefs and

ideals were solidly shaped and were not going to change after Irish independence was gained, thus why the tenets of the rivalry have remained unchanged for ninety years. The ideas from the Rangers FC supporters that outright autonomy from England is a terrible idea, that Protestantism is the correct form of Christianity, and that the influx of immigrants to the country continues to cripple them are all tenets of the inception of the *Old Firm* rivalry.³³ Inversely, the idea that Celtic FC supporters are in favor of Irish pride, Catholicism as the true Christian faith, and a hatred for the English government due to their poor treatment of Ireland in the past are just as important to their club ethos as the beliefs of the Rangers supporters are to theirs. The six main tenets of the two clubs are the easiest aspects to use when looking at this rivalry and its effects on the populace and city as a whole. They are the clearest ways of discerning the clubs histories as well as the clear leanings that are present in their respective crests. The crests and their histories as the two most successful clubs in Scotland are what makes them the bastions of each sides religious and political leanings, for in Scotland politics and religion are completely intertwined, more so than other nations in Western Europe.

Beginning with the sectarianism in the rivalry, readers will see a clear pattern in each clubs ethos as well as their supporters' beliefs. In the case of Celtic FC the sectarian facet of their beliefs is not actually seen in their present-day logo. However, observing their centenary year-logo shows readers the clear Catholic leanings in the clubs' system of beliefs. As is seen below, the 100-year anniversary of the club corresponded with a special logo showing a Catholic-Irish version of a tombstone as well as a large, four-leaf clover at the bottom of the crest. These aspects are clear for all to see when it comes to this magnificent football club and allows viewers to understand just how important these

tenets are to the Celtic FC supporters as well. Also, while the obvious Catholic leanings of the club cannot be seen in their logo today as they are trying to campaign for a distancing of sectarianism in the rivalry, the obvious love for their Irish heritage is shown quite clearly as is also seen below. One may ask why they are distancing themselves from sectarian conflicts as it pertains to their club, and the answer to that question would be because of the wide scale examples of violence throughout the 1980's and 1990's during the rivalry. Many in Glasgow have asked for both clubs to try to distance themselves from the religious facet of Glasgow and, to each club's credit, they have taken great strides in doing that.



*(Celtic FC Centenary Logo. Celtic FC.)*³⁴



*(Celtic FC Logo. Celtic FC.)*³⁵

Then, in terms of Rangers FC, readers and viewers alike see little in terms of sectarian concerns and beliefs in their club crest. The political leanings of the clubs supporters are the facets that are actually better seen in the crest itself. With that said though, there is no doubt that the Rangers FC fans are primarily Protestant in nature and have allowed the questions based on religion to permeate their club as a whole. As a result of their frustration with Celtic FC's success, the overrunning of Glasgow by their

Irish-Catholic supporters, and their separatist sentiments the Rangers FC fans have attached their beliefs to their club as well. As can be seen in VICE's documentary by Kharas on the rivalry, the Protestant-Scots of Glasgow like their sports, religion, and politics tied together. The combination of these three facets of society is seen in only a handful of places around the world. The rarity of church, state, and sport being put together is a key to understanding this rivalry as a whole. The combustible elements tied together as one have led to many instances of violence between the supporters of each club and have also led to the police cracking down on supporters and escalating tensions between the two groups as well.³⁶ It is a fascinating relationship that they have with their religion and club and though the club itself is trying to marginalize sectarian concerns, they have not been entirely successful in their campaign. That then brings readers to the questions of separatist-loyalist beliefs as well as Irish versus Scottish and English sentiments, the aspect that each club's imagery shows best to the outside world.

As has been discerned from the Celtic FC crests from the previous page, theirs is a club that holds a strong belief in Irish-pride. Their green and white four-leaf clover crest proudly shows the world that they are Irish in heritage and that they love their ancestors and their beliefs. With that said, their club crest also points to a message of disdain toward pro-English crown sentiments, especially when viewed alongside the Rangers FC logo that conveys clear conservative ideals. Seen at the bottom of this paragraph, the Rangers FC crest contains a color scheme of blue, white and red; the same colors as the national flag of England.³⁷ The incorporation of the red lion in their crest, an event that occurred in the early twentieth-century, was an important moment in the political alignment of the club. The 1920's was a period of time where Rangers FC began to be

looked upon as the clear alternative to the pro-Catholic, Irish, and separatist club that Celtic FC had begun to market itself as due to the influx of Irish and Catholic supporters to the club.³⁸ The beliefs and ideals of the Protestant-Conservative peoples of Glasgow, and even around Scotland, were pushed upon Rangers FC as their bastion of defiance towards the influx of Irish immigrants that occurred in the nation for the duration of the previous two centuries beforehand. The influx of Protestant support during that time is clear for all to see in these two famed clubs beautiful and well designed crests, two works that convey their supporters' identities extremely well.



*(Rangers FC Logo. Rangers FC.)*³⁹

What many often forget about sports, especially soccer, is that the clubs do not shape the supporters and their values, but that the supporters instead directly affect the clubs' ethos. What that means is, for example, Rangers FC did not begin as a Protestant and pro-England supporting club, the influx of fans with those beliefs did. That is why it is important to focus upon, to some extent, the supporters of both Rangers FC and Celtic FC, respectively. The people of Scotland are an interesting case study when it comes to the topics of religion and politics because they tend to resemble a Middle Eastern nation

rather than a European nation when it comes to these intense topics of discussion.⁴⁰ The public has bared witness to countless examples of violence and murders along the periphery of the rivalry. One can find countless examples of these acts of violence surrounding this massive rivalry in almost any research forum. They are both plentiful and sad in nature, for the loss of lives due to the differences in opinions tied to this rivalry is among the worst in world football. In terms of actual numbers of deaths related directly to the rivalry itself, it is difficult to give a firm number as it is hard to discern deaths throughout Glasgow to either religious tension or football tension. Football has rivalries of near-equal measure, such as River Plate versus Boca Juniors in Argentina, Olympiacos versus Panathinaikos in Greece, and Liverpool FC versus Manchester United FC. However, their rivalries lack the levels of anger that can only be viewed when religion and politics become rampant in the context of a rivalry. The facets of politics and religion are without doubt two massive powder kegs to be included in an already intense and successful sporting rivalry.⁴¹ These two aspects are what make the *Old Firm Derby* so intense and violent and, without the supporters and history between these two groups, clubs, and entities, the world would be without one of the most fascinating rivalries in all of world sport.

Religion and politics have been two intensely controversial and potentially disastrous facets of society in mankind's history. However, in the case of the *Old Firm Derby*, it is one of the few examples in world sports that embody these two concerns at their extremes. The combination of sport, religion, and politics is an event that, in theory, should not take place as the mixing together of emotions from these topics and events is almost always disastrous. Though there is no firm number of deaths attributed to the

anger and resentment stemming from this rivalry, the total is well above fifty deaths since the inception of the rivalry (according to many different sources in world media). These deaths are no doubt terrible and sad, but they are without a doubt the prominent reason that this rivalry is looked upon with such interest around the world. The fact that people will fight and kill one another for the beliefs of their fellow supporters and clubs is fascinating to the outside world and is without doubt the most interesting facet of the *Old Firm Derby*.⁴² Strangely though, the topic has not been written about extensively as it pertains to the history and wider social concerns in Glasgow and Scotland. There is potential to use this rivalry, one of the oldest derbies in world football, as a catalyst for studying the sectarian and political strife that is fairly rampant in Scotland even to this day. The goal for this case study was to interest people in this line of thinking, using sports as a means to study history and peoples ideals, and hopefully that is something that many will become interested in doing as soccer becomes older and its peoples' histories clearer and more intriguing to all (Image below).



(Coffey, Steve. Page 3.)⁴³

Economics in Football: Liverpool F.C., Manchester United F.C., and the Ramifications of the Manchester Shipping Canal

In history the causes of concerns and hatred between peoples are religion, politics, regional disputes, and arguably the biggest issue of all, economics. Many believe economics is the largest concern because it is not just an ideological dispute, but a dispute concerning the livelihoods of those involved. The natural feeling of worrying about one's ability to live is basically ingrained in us as a species, so it is no wonder that economics plays such a large role in our lives. Economic questions are what sparked the massive rivalry between the cities and people of Liverpool and Manchester in the northwest of England and, conversely, led to the rivalry that embodies these cities and their disdain for one another as well, the rivalry between Liverpool Football Club and Manchester United Football Club, respectively. When researching the rivalry as it pertains to the English working class, great credit must be given to E.P. Thompson's *Making of the English Working Class*, a highly insightful work that is important for understanding the relationship between the working class and soccer. Thompson's work is considered important to this topic because of how insightful it is to understanding the plights of the working class, and thus why they tend to put their emotions into sport. With that said, the

main cause of this massive footballing rivalry stems from the completion of the Manchester Shipping Canal in 1894, an engineering undertaking that made Manchester into a shipping and manufacturing powerhouse and stoked the hatred between the cities and their respective footballing super powers.

In 1894, Queen Victoria officially opened the Manchester Shipping Canal for business that launched a rivalry between the two cities that seems to have no end in sight. In order to understand why the canal was such a massive deal to these two cities, one must first understand the landscape of the cities during that period in time. Liverpool was and basically had been a prominent shipping and manufacturing city right on the Atlantic Ocean. It was arguably the most important shipping city in England and, up until 1894, was crucial to both the economy of the northwest of England and also to the nation as a whole.⁴⁴ Liverpool supplied jobs to the many surrounding areas of the region; yet, their reach did not come to Manchester who instead suffered from a lack of jobs and economic hardships throughout its history.

Then, Manchester's future changed dramatically. The town council of Manchester was able to convince the English Parliament to give them funding for the Manchester Shipping Canal and, in 1887, construction was begun on one of the most economy-impacting engineering feats in modern world history. What the canal did for the city of Manchester cannot be understated, the canal changed their trajectory as a city even to this day. The project created tens of thousands of jobs, brought in a large influx of consumer goods and ships, and made the city into a cultural destination.⁴⁵ This was accomplished by connecting the Atlantic Ocean to the city of Manchester via a man made water way, the Manchester Shipping Canal. So, as a result of the growth in jobs in Manchester, the

city of Liverpool suffered from the newfound wealth and growth of their eastern neighbors as an economic power. The jobs that were created in Manchester were taken from Liverpool; taking these jobs led to the all-important shipping industry that once came to Liverpool to disappear and instead saw Manchester become a shipping destination in the northwest of England. So, while Liverpool was still able to hang onto its cultural power as a city, Manchester took the part of their city that mattered the most to them, their jobs and livelihoods.⁴⁶ The movement of jobs and wealth from Liverpool to Manchester are the undertones for the animosity between the two cities and both of their soccer clubs. The hatred between these cities created by the canal is clear for historians and viewers of the matches alike to see and it makes for both great research and excellent viewing and intrigue (This is clear in MUFC's logo, see the ship above the "Red Devil," seen below).



("Club Crest," Manchester United.)⁴⁷

In the best of times, these two great rivals have sparingly helped one another, however those instances took place fifty-plus years ago. Examples such as each club

loaning one another players or Liverpool FC allowing Manchester United to use their stadium after theirs was bombed during World War II are two examples of their past helpfulness. The rivalry now is one that is much, much more poisonous in its nature and, as was seen in the March tenth, 2016 meeting between the two clubs when Manchester United fans sang a vile song about the Hillsborough Tragedy of 1989, it is clear that the hatred will not be dissipating anytime soon. Which then brings readers to the obvious aspects of the rivalry between these historic clubs that are more widely known: The two clubs as the most successful in England, the Hillsborough Disaster and Munich Air Disaster, and the vociferous nature of the relationship between both sets of supporters.

Besides the underlying history between the cities concerning the Manchester Shipping Canal, Liverpool FC and Manchester United dislike one another because they are each the kings of English football. They are the two most successful soccer clubs in the nation, with Manchester United owning twenty league titles and three Champions League's to their name while Liverpool FC has won eighteen league titles and five Champions League crowns. Their respective successes mean that Manchester United are the kings of the English League and Liverpool FC are the English kings of Europe, respectively. Then, when coupling the aspect of success as it pertains to sport with the long and troubled history between the two cities, viewers and researchers notice the heightened levels of anger and hatred when compared to the rivalries in North American sports. The successes that they both have enjoyed in their long and storied histories is an aspect of their rivalry that simply cannot be overlooked. The viewership ratings numbers for the rivalry are only rivaled by *El Clasico*, which still trails the Liverpool FC versus Manchester United rivalry by more than 100 million viewers on a regular basis. Success

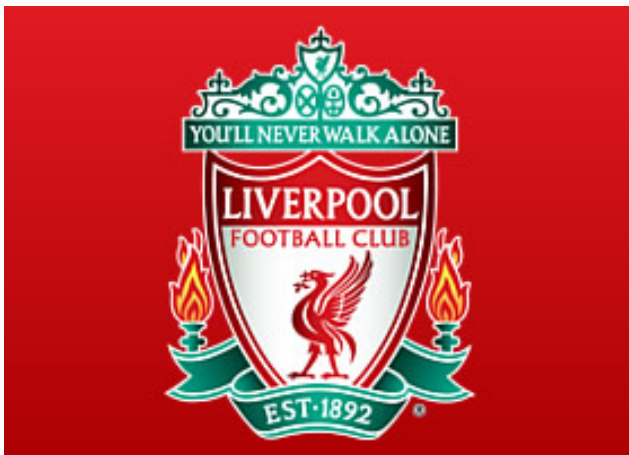
is always a facet of sports that makes fans excited about rivalries and even makes them fans and that is exactly what has happened between these two massive footballing institutions. Each clubs' success has created even more tension between the clubs' respective supporters and, because of that and the mocking of each clubs' famed tragedies by each set of supporters, has led to a polarizing rivalry that is seen even to the present.

Which brings about the discussion of the impacts of Manchester United's 1958 Munich Air Disaster and Liverpool F.C.'s Hillsborough Disaster, two events that have defined each club and shook them to their cores. First, the Munich Air Disaster was the crashing of a plane that led to the deaths of twenty-one people, including seven of the famed "Busby Babes," a group of young, talented players that made up the core of Sir Matt Busby's successful United teams of the 1950's.⁴⁸ The Munich Air Disaster crippled Manchester United's club and badly hurt the greatness that manager Matt Busby had built up until the point. His team was the pride of English football and was widely revered as one of the greatest teams to grace a football pitch in not only England, but also European football. The team that was built, with youth as the primary pillar of the club, became the primary tenet of the club itself. Bringing players up through the Manchester United Youth Academy and then peppering in star signings has been the strategy used by the football club, that all stemmed from the Busby Babes. It was in the aftermath of the disaster that one of the remaining tokens of good will between the clubs took place, as Liverpool FC loaned United some players so that they were able to play some of their games, something that is entirely preposterous by today's standards.⁴⁹

What also came out of this disaster though, and despite the good will that was shown by Liverpool FC, was the mocking of the disaster by Liverpool's fans, albeit by small minorities. These people would make airplane gestures as well as sing songs mocking the deaths of the Busby Babes, thus making the rivalry much more toxic than it ever had been up until that point. The mocking of the tragedy was done more widely in the late 1960's, nearly ten years after the tragedy, and led to the rise of the hooliganism era in English football that was rampant in the 1970's until the late 1980's.⁵⁰ Many believe, as it pertains to their rivalry, that these acts led to the terrible relations between the clubs and their respective fan bases. The poisonous treatment of one another is a facet of the rivalry that is synonymous with each clubs' supporter base and, when the Hillsborough Disaster occurred in 1989, the aftermath of it was detrimental to the club and also led to the mocking of the disaster by Manchester United fans as had been done to them for the previous twenty-plus years.

The Hillsborough Disaster shook not only Liverpool FC to its core, but also all of English soccer. So greatly did the disaster affect Liverpool FC, that the club added a memorial at its stadium with the eternal flames, a hallmark of the club's crest (See the image at the end of the paragraph). The scene was the 1989 FA Cup Semi-Final match between Liverpool FC and Nottingham Forest that occurred at the stadium of Sheffield Wednesday FC, April 15, 1989. Before the beginning of the match the Liverpool FC fans were put into what were called standing room "pens," basically fenced off sections of the stands. However, the issue was that the police in charge were not telling the fans the correct areas to go to, for they were worried about overcrowding outside of the stadium and decided to open the exit gates and let the fans in that way. It was because of the

police action that many people who did not have tickets for those sections went in by that approach and, because of the polices' actions, the overcrowding instead occurred in the stands.⁵¹ As a result of these poor decisions, there was massive amounts of crushing going on and, because of the hooliganism rampant in English football during the time, there were fences all around the supporters. Basically, there was no escape once one was in these sections. The combination of terrible policing, fenced in enclosures, and overcrowding led to the greatest tragedy in the history of English football. Ninety-six men, women, and children died on that day of suffocation and being stepped on, an unimaginably horrific event. One should not have to die at a football match; it is preposterous and nearly inconceivable in today's world.



(“LFC Crest Fridge Magnet,” Liverpool FC).⁵¹

The aftermath of the Hillsborough Disaster was horrific in nature. What occurred was a wide scale, government and police cover-up of the disaster. The blame was shifted onto the Liverpool supporters, for in 1985 at the European Cup Final there were fights between them and the Juventus supporters, resulting in the deaths of 39 Juventus fans. Liverpool fans were the easily framed “culprits,” and in *The Sun*, a famous English newspaper, the writers and editors perpetrated the slanderous story and spread it across

the nation. As the facts came to light though, the fact of the matter was that it was all a lie and the police had covered up the wrongdoing on their part and for twenty-five years. Finally, on April twenty-sixth, the people of Liverpool were finally given justice for the gross negligence and slander that they had faced on that fateful day in 1989. The jury found the East Yorkshire Police guilty of the killings of the ninety-six men, women, and children, finally beginning to close the book on this ridiculously drawn out case. The results of the case though will change nothing as it pertains to Liverpudlians' view of the government cover-up and lies from *The Sun*, leading to the people of Liverpool still refusing to buy that newspaper even to the present.⁵² Sadly, the facet of *The Sun*'s involvement has become synonymous with Manchester United fans mocking the disaster, with chants of, "*The Sun* was right, you're murderers" being the favorite song as it pertains to the mocking of the event itself.⁵³ Both clubs are trying to get horrible songs and pantomime actions removed from the rivalry but so far, they have both been unsuccessful. The saddest part of the singing of these songs by each set of supporters is that it is not a small faction of fans as many claim, but the fact of the matter is that a large group of supporters take part in the songs and actions.⁵⁴

The mocking of the tragedies by each set of supporters toward the other is, arguably, what has made the rivalry such a poisonous affair in the past twenty-five years. The two tragedies crippled each club in their histories and have done nothing to help with the already existing hatred for not only each club, but also each city. Mocking the dead, while basically unfathomable for sports fans in the United States, is actually a fairly common occurrence between rival soccer clubs and fans. It is that aspect that makes soccer all the more interesting to many Americans and is also a major reason for soccer

becoming the fastest growing sport in the world according to multiple studies done in the United States. It is the tribalism that exists in the foreign version of the game, more so than in major American sports, that helps to draw the American people to it. So, when men and women make these airplane gestures or sing “*The Sun* was right, you’re murderers,” it not only adds to the hatred between the locals, but it also forms even stronger bonds between the foreign fan and their chosen soccer clubs as it pertains to the Liverpool FC versus Manchester United FC rivalry.⁵⁵

There are many footballing rivalries that one could study as they pertain to questions of economics in their supporters, regions, and nations histories. However, the rivalry between the cities of Liverpool and Manchester and their powerhouse clubs of Liverpool FC and Manchester United FC is considered by many to be the best example of economic hatred embodied in a footballing rivalry. The people of Europe have extremely long memories, they tend not to never forget history and past transgressions committed against one another and that aspect of the studied rivalry is no different. The effects of the Manchester Shipping Canal on both cities for better and, in Liverpool’s case for worse, cannot be understated as it pertains to the bedrock of the rivalry between both of these magnificent clubs. It is obvious to viewers of the matches that these two clubs’ supporters tend to despise one another. We see that in the fervor with which the players play and in the songs that the supporters sing to one another as though they are launching grenades and mortars back and forth across the stands.

So, when discussing the hatred between the clubs and their supporters, it must be clear that the most obvious way of discerning their feelings toward one another is through the songs. The hatred and vitriol included in these songs is apparent for all to hear and

helps to show the disdain between the two cities. It must also be said that the success the two clubs' have had as the two most highly decorated clubs in the England adds to the proverbial fire as well, but the economic and at times political nature of the rivalry as seen through the tragedies and incidents that took place with each club and the mocking of them are the clearest instances of the rivalry at its most feverish levels. One cannot view or read and research the history of these cities without running into the ever-present rivalry between these two soccer clubs. From the ship on Manchester United FC's club crest to the mythic Liverbird that adorns both Liverpool's town hall and Liverpool FC's club crest, it is clear for all to see that history between the two cities and their clubs is paramount to understanding the complexities and relationships between the people of each city, and also the clubs themselves. Using sporting rivalries to study history can without a doubt become a major way in which the study of history is undertaken. There are simply no other mediums to study that combine social strife, political history, and sporting aspects together like sporting rivalries do. They are three of the most passionate areas that humans share and by adding them together historians are able to see three of the most volatile and emotional aspects of mankind. It is what makes them so exciting to viewers and even more exciting to researchers and writers all around the world.

Italian Football and Territorial Hatred: Of Economics, Politics, and the Cult of Diego Maradona

Since the fall of the Roman Empire in 476 C.E. the Italian Peninsula and the islands of Sicily and Cagliari have been extremely turbulent places. The three bodies of land, before being consolidated as one nation in 1861, endured roughly 1,385 years of political, social, and economic turbulence. Besides foreign powers such as France and Spain attempting to claim the region as their own the city-states of Italy were at a near constant state of war. That is not to say that they were all at war at once, but at all times there were city-states at odds with one another. The constant strife and foreign threats helped to fuel a tradition of regional hatreds that, fueled by the founding of the major automobile producer *Fiat* by the Turin-based Agnelli family and influx of Southern Italians to the North, has created modern-day tensions throughout the nation that are embodied in their soccer league. Their soccer league, *Serie A*, has become the stage where grievances between fan bases are aired out for the world to see. There are many regional rivalries throughout Italy, however the most obvious for modern-day viewers is the one between Turin-based and Agnelli family owned Juventus F.C. and the Naples-based club S.S.C. Napoli. Both clubs are seen as the embodiments of the Northern versus Southern stigma that exists throughout the nation. By drawing a line from Rome straight across Italy there is a discernable gulf in overall economic richness and power between

the regions. The North is the manufacturing and fashion part of Italy that has been much more modernized than their southern brethren who have been left behind by the government and the overall dog-eat-dog nature of the post-fascist capitalist nation of Italy.⁵⁶ This, the final section of this thesis, will dissect the relationship between the two regions as embodied by the Juventus-Neapolitan rivalry in *Serie A* and what it conveys to Italy and the foreign viewing world.

In order to understand the animosity that exists between the north and south of Italy, one must have a basic knowledge of the political, social, and most importantly, economic aspects of the country. From the year 1850 to the present day, Italy has been in the process of becoming one true nation. There is a turbulent history of consolidating the many individual city-states across the Italian peninsula and its surrounding islands, which is no easy feat. The city-states had been mostly autonomous entities for most of the time since their respective creations, so when asked to give up their autonomy to create one nation they did it, but more out of necessity than want. So, when one observes the apparent hatred between rival fans in the Italian soccer leagues and divisions, the concerns that existed between regions and cities did not disappear with the founding of the nation of Italy. In fact, due to the social and economic questions that have permeated the peninsula throughout its history, the disdain between peoples and regions in Italy has only intensified.

From the political questions come the social problems that plague Italy as well. As stated previously, when researching the topic of regional hatred in Italy one must draw a line from Rome straight across the middle of the peninsula to the eastern coast of Italy. With this line, readers will see a marked difference in social standing in Italy. The

common idea held by not only many in Italy, but also around the world, is that while the northern Italians are held in more favorable regard, the Italians of the south are believed to be lesser beings in nature. To better understand this a family friend named John Scalia, who actually hails from northern Italy, explained that the people of southern Italy, for better or worse, are seen as poor, stupid, and dangerous. The term “*terroni*,” meaning southerners in Italian, has been regarded as a derogatory name for many centuries in Italy. Specifically, especially as it pertains to their soccer league, Naples and conversely SSC Napoli, are regarded as mafia members, poor people, and thieves by their northern countrymen.⁵⁷ Now, while the amount of crime may be higher in Southern Italy, it must also be said that their economic concerns and rise in crime are attributable to one primary issue: Economic opportunity. The fact of the matter is that there are far more jobs to be had in a variety of professions in the north of Italy, specifically in the cities of Turin, Milan, and Genoa, the biggest of the Italian economic cities.⁵⁸ Turin, Milan, and Genoa have been known throughout history as the power brokers of Italy but, how did they come to possess this power? The answer to this question is discernable by looking into the role of the Agnelli family of Turin, Italy and their powerful car brand, *Fiat*.

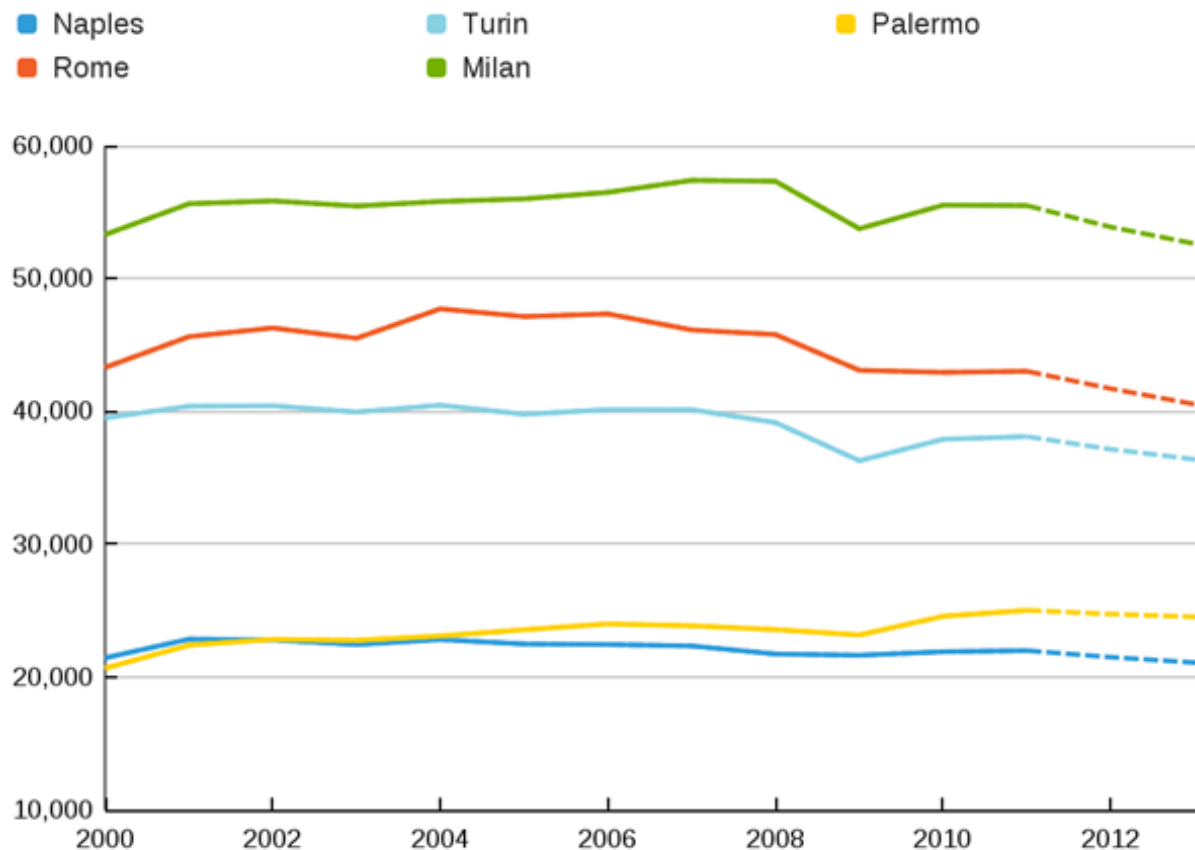
Founded in 1899 by Giovanni Agnelli, *Fiat* became to Italy what *Ford* was for the United States. They were one of the primary cornerstones of the Italian economy and provided most of the cars that were driven on the peninsula even to this day.⁵⁹ More than being the primary car brand of Italy, *Fiat* became one of the top employers on the peninsula throughout the first half of the twentieth-century. Many families began migrating from the south of the country to the northern cities in search of work and many found it with the Agnelli family. So, because of the lack of factory jobs in the southern

half of Italy, the migration of southerners from places as far as Palermo, Sicily became the norm. However, the migration north also caused them to be hated by the northerners of the nation. They were seen as “job stealers” and dirty people who took from the northern Italians and gave basically nothing of value back to the communities. That stigma has stuck. However, the jobs that were acquired by southerners are something that has not been forgotten by them. It is the reason that Juventus FC, owned by the Agnelli family, is the most popular and also the most loathed team in the country. It is a highly interesting dynamic that has come about due to their success, creation of jobs, and the disdain felt by many northern Italians for most of the southern parts of the nation.

The fact that there are much fewer jobs in Southern Italy as it is compared to the northern half of the nation is a highly interesting dynamic that is key to understanding the concerns between Italian regions. In order to understand the lack of jobs in the south, it is important to understand how the northern cities of Turin, Milan, Genoa, and Venice became the economic superpowers that they were and in some ways, still are. The aforementioned cities are examples of places that rose to power in Europe as a result of continental trade via land and sea. The longevity of the Italian economic powers that are Turin, Milan, Genoa, and Venice are testaments to the idea of not losing success once it is established.⁶⁰

The idea that the northern cities hold an economic monopoly is supported by many facts. According to many sources that have studied the job, wealth, and power disparities in Italy the same problems have long been an issue on the Italian peninsula. The study compiled by *City Metric*, an entity that studies differences between regions and peoples throughout the world, explained the GDP disparity extremely well. They explain

that the manufacturing jobs in the north and even in Rome are the primary means for the heightened GDP in the cities. As seen in the chart below, this is also the most accurate way to describe the job, wealth, and power disparity between each half of the country.⁶¹



What the chart tells us is that there is a clear gulf in wealth between the northern and southern halves of Italy. The fact of the matter is that jobs that are available in the south of Italy are clearly not well paying in nature. To have a roughly 20,000 GDP in two fairly major cities says how badly the Neapolitans and southern Italians have been left behind by their government's policies, they have let businesses run relatively unregulated.

Interestingly, the relationship between the north and south of Italy when it comes to political, social and most importantly, economic questions, are clearly discerned through their soccer teams. For instance, the northern Italian giants of Juventus, AC

Milan, and Internazionale Milan are the three most successful and most highly supported teams in Italy. Their success is directly related to their ownership groups and each of their holdings and wealth. The previously mentioned Agnelli family and their *Fiat* fortune made Juventus into the most decorated Serie A team with 31 league titles (also known as Scudettos). Then there is AC Milan, owned by media magnate and former Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi. They gained five Champions League titles under his reign and seven overall in their illustrious history. Then, lastly, is Inter Milan who have been owned by the oil barons of the Moratti family since the late 1950's and have a plethora of different championships to their name.⁶² Under the success of these three massive northern Italian families Juventus, AC Milan, and Inter have had success and wealth that can only be dreamed of by the rest of the Italian clubs throughout the nation. Their wealth and success have made them the proverbial poster-children for the disdain shown by southerners toward the government and wealthy northern Italy.

Meanwhile, SSC Napoli and US Citta di Palermo have an even lesser decorated history than their Italians to the north. Having never won a league title or a Coppa Italia, Palermo has never been a truly important team in Italy's soccer history. They are a club that has been, like their people and region, basically forgotten by the rest of the nation. If anything, when they do actually unearth a fantastic player, the northern clubs end up offering a sum of money that can not be refused and basically force Palermo to sell. The most recent example of this is Argentine International Paulo Dybala, who was sold to Juventus for thirty five million euros in the summer of 2015. Palermo has operated in this manner since 1948, and though their fans obviously dislike the methods of their club, they still support them ardently, as any good European soccer supporter does.⁶³ There are

many Sicilians though who argue that by selling their star players the club is being helped. However, at the end of the day sports are about winning, not merely surviving and gaining a profit. That is why the legitimate fans of US Citta di Palermo, not those who cheer for Palermo and another club, dislike these methods but understand them at the same time. So, as a result of selling their best players each season, Palermo have seen themselves moving back and forth from Serie A to the league beneath it, Serie B for the nearly the entirety of the last decade. The constant transfers of their best players to larger clubs mirror the problems that they have had throughout their history with to their people leaving for jobs in the north. Watching their people leave as they have no other means to get better pay and support their families is a direct correlation between their star soccer players as well. It is a highly interesting dynamic and one that has been visible throughout their history in Serie A.

Then, regarding the plight of SSC Napoli, viewers and readers alike will see a club with, besides their run from 1986 to 1991, basically no history as it pertains to soccer. Naples is seen as a hardworking city that has a tendency to apply cult status to some of their greatest soccer heroes. The grandest and most obvious example of their cult-creating tendencies is none other than arguably the greatest soccer player in world history: Diego Armando Maradona. Transferring from FC Barcelona to Napoli in 1984, Maradona quickly became a cult hero in Naples for his unbelievable technical ability with a soccer ball. He was clearly a genius, and in 1986 he led Napoli to their breakthrough as they won their first ever Serie A title. What followed was a period of success that is unheard of in Napoli's footballing history. In total, the club led by the now Neapolitan God Diego Maradona, won two Serie A titles, a Coppa Italia, and the UEFA

Cup, their only victory in European competition.⁶⁴ One may ask why Diego Maradona is important to this section of a *Matter of Life and Death*, the answer to that legitimate question is because understanding his role in Naples is paramount to understanding their plight in economics and politics as well. The understanding of his role in Naples allows readers to see just how starved of sporting and economic success the city of Naples really is. The problem of a lack of positivity in the city has long been a concern, but for a time Maradona changed that for all of Naples and SSC Napoli.

Naples has had a brutal history dating back to the ninth-century. They have been seen as a lesser city and the Neapolitans as a race fit for subjugation by other city-states, France, and Spain.⁶⁵ Naples has been fought over by other Italian city-states as well as by the Papacy, most notably Pope Alexander II, and by Spanish and French monarchies. Their safety from outside threats was only achieved when Italy was consolidated as one nation that was acknowledged by other nations in Europe.⁶⁶ However, during the twentieth-century, Naples entered into a new era of suffering that included a lack of jobs, lack of true representation in Italian politics, and became a city with a large mafia population that even Maradona kept company with.⁶⁷ It is this, the beauty and genius of Maradona as well as his dangerous side, that made him the perfect idol for Neapolitans and the perfect villain for the rest of the Naples-hating north of the country. That is why it is important to understand the love affair that Naples had and still has for Diego Maradona. He is seen as the embodiment of Neapolitan pride, as the antithesis of the northern Italian hegemony in economics and politics. Naples dreams of a world of equality and more possibilities and, because of Maradona's greatness from 1986 to 1991, he made the people believe in themselves by believing in soccer. The emotions and

beliefs that people put upon their soccer teams and heroes stem from their real world questions and problems and, in order to truly understand the mindset of Neapolitans, one can use SSC Napoli and Diego Maradona as the perfect means for achieving that goal. He was not just a legend. He was an outlet for Neapolitans to tell other fans and ultra groups that they are proud of their history and their team and that they will not be subdued by territorial racism and discrimination.⁶⁸ They are a proud people with their own ideals, dreams, and beliefs which also brings readers to the root cause of the territorial discrimination, the ultra groups and the roles they play in Italian soccer fandom and Italian politics as a whole.

Ultra groups, better known as the hardcore fans with political ties, are seen as both the lifeblood and the problems with Italian football. They portray their political beliefs and, at times, racist feelings in their chants and tifos (massive banners portraying images and phrases). There are many examples of these ultra fan groups clashing with each other both ideally and literally, however the best example of ultra concerns between clubs and regions stems from the rivalry between Juventus and Napoli. The Juve-Napoli rivalry is one that was derived from the discriminatory feelings that Turinese citizens felt for the south of Italy and most notably, for Naples. Until 1986, the year that Napoli won its first ever Scudetto, the rivalry between the fans had not been nearly as volatile as when the Neapolitans became a force in Italian football. Their success led to the exposing of old wounds, with the horrible insults chanted across their stadiums terraces being the clearest examples of their rivalry.

There are many examples of the fractious nature of the Juventus-Napoli rivalry, but the primary insults can be narrowed down to three main beliefs held by each group.

The first are the many instances when the Neapolitan supporters have thanked the Liverpool FC supporters who caused the deaths of 39 Juventus supporters during the 1985 European Cup Final (now known as the Champions League) due to a crowd fight and the collapse of a wall known as the Heysel Stadium Disaster. The second example is the Juventus supporters calling Neapolitans' territorial insults such as the previously mentioned *terrioni* as well as pigs, thieves, and members of the mafia.⁶⁹ Lastly, the Juventus fans usually sing about the eruption of Mount Vesuvius that buried the ancient Roman city of Pompeii, as well as begging for Vesuvius to "do it again to Naples." Imagine the longstanding hatreds that the Turinese and Neapolitans have for one another that they say such insensitive and terrible things to one another like the previously aforementioned examples. The disdain and loathing that those two groups of people feel for one another is not only real, but is also made abundantly apparent to viewing audiences around the world. They despise one another, and that fact is made abundantly clear whether or not they are playing one another. If one is well-versed in Italian they can at times hear territorial discriminatory chanting about one another during random game that Juventus or Napoli are playing.⁷⁰ The clear hatred shown between the two clubs, and their ultras and regular supporters alike, show a clear regional rivalry that has existed for over a thousand years. Juventus and Napoli are the teams that have the territorial rivalry heaped upon one another and it is what makes for fantastic historical research and viewing for researches or common fans alike.

Territorial and inter-city dislike has long been a staple of Italian economics and politics. The disdain came about largely due to the infighting between city-states in Italy, and though they eventually formed one nation the questions are still alive today. It is only

normal that when one half of a nation flourishes that the other feels misrepresented and left behind in all facets of life, that feeling is no different with regard to the relationship between northern and southern Italy. By looking at their soccer rivalries, particularly the rivalry between Juventus FC and Turin with SSC Napoli and Naples, one will see the clear signs of hatred that have been developed over centuries between the two cities and regions. That is why soccer is an important piece to study as it pertains to European history as a lot can be discerned in soccer rivalries coupled with the long history between European peoples. Using Juve and Napoli as examples was simply the tip of the iceberg as it concerns soccer and Italian history. Anyone looking to replicate this type of study needs only to look at rivalries such as AS Roma and SS Lazio in Rome, Genoa and Sampdoria in Genoa, Inter Milan and AC Milan in Milan, and Verona and Venice in the northeast of the nation. Using soccer as a means to look at history is a highly fascinating exercise, one that will hopefully help any who have an interest in this path of study in their presents and futures.

Conclusion

Political, religious, economic, and social concerns have always been a part of mankind's societies. They are the four most important parts of humans which have caused constant fighting and problems throughout the world. There are many examples of political, religious, economic, and social concerns around the world, however for this work it made more sense to focus on one region or continent, that is why four rivalries from European nations were used. The massive rivalries between Real Madrid CF and FC Barcelona, Celtic FC and Rangers FC, Liverpool FC and Manchester United FC, and Juventus FC versus SSC Napoli served as some of the most obvious examples of each of the four major causes of concerns not only on the continent, but also around the world.

What each soccer rivalry brings to this work is a clear example of each type of issue. What the supporters, players, and club hierarchies bring to each rivalry allows historians to view the history of the region or city in question through clear and concise relationships and differences that are apparent in each one. In *El Clasico*, Real Madrid CF and FC Barcelona are the absolute embodiment of the political concerns rampant not only in present-day Spain, but also throughout the history between Spain and Catalonia. Then, the *Old Firm Derby* between Celtic FC and Rangers FC represent everything that is wrong with Scotland, with the deep questions of sectarianism and immigration being the catalyst for this massive rivalry. Then, as it pertains to economic and social concerns, Liverpool FC versus Manchester United FC and Juventus FC versus SSC Napoli are two of the greatest examples in the world of each one, respectively. The clear embodiments of

each set of problems in each rivalry made for not only highly interesting research, but hopefully made for highly interesting reading as well.

The goal of this work was to help readers see the clear divides between clubs and supporters and the clear showing of disdain for one another that has come about from centuries of events that each group enacted upon one another. For the academic community, hopefully this helped to prove that not only can history become an interesting and popular field; but that new methods of studying history can be created as years go by. My hope is that *A Matter of Life and Death* can become one such example of a new way of thinking and a cutting edge outlet for historians and researchers to conduct their studies. That viewpoint is becoming more abundant as sports and society are now intertwined with no end to the marriage in sight. This is why as historians we not only have a duty to create fantastic work and conduct solid research, but also to help promote the importance of the field of history and to show the world that ours is a field that will always be needed in society. Hopefully this piece can be of some help to those two goals.

Epilogue

As *A Matter of Life and Death* comes to a close, the manner in which this work took shape was brilliant and great to experience. Hopefully what it will do is to spread and show people the value that soccer and sports in general can have on the study of history. Somehow, the field of history has been advertised to some as a boring, methodical, and non-changing entity, and that idea is simply untrue. What *A Matter of Life and Death* will hopefully do is to change this manner of thinking, proving that there is a place for evolution and fun in the profession of history. Many will probably believe that writing fifty-plus pages is a brutal undertaking but, unsurprisingly, it has been extremely interesting and fun.

Overall, the goal of this work is to have a massive impact on a new direction in history. There are already a number of superb sports historians that, sadly, tend to not get the credit that they deserve for the brilliance of their works. In order to reinvent the field of history and help to gain the credit that they deserve, historians must attempt to incorporate entertainment where possible. Ours is the most interesting field, yet sadly many high school curriculums oftentimes sabotage that notion before a student even has the chance to become interested in history. Fixing the lack of passion for history is the first step in the full rebirth of the profession of history, hopefully *A Matter of Life and Death* will have helped in this quest in some manner.

In closing, it must once again be said that the passion seen in football is second to none and helps to show the tensions and concerns across nations, regions, and even continents. The late, great former manager of Liverpool Football Club, Bill Shankly,

explained this notion and inspired the title for this work by once saying, “Some people believe football is a matter of life and death, I am very disappointed with that attitude. I can assure you it is much, much more important than that.”⁷¹ That quote by Shankly is one of the most famous football quotes of all times and encompasses the feelings of supporters around the world.

History and football in Europe are ever changing and at times dangerous entities. That is why *A Matter of Life and Death* was created and why it and other works similar to it can potentially have a great impact on a new era of studying history throughout the world. Sports and history are incredibly intertwined, many just have not thought about it or been proven that it is the case. *A Matter of Life and Death* attempts to show that the relationship between sports and history is absolutely massive and that the relationship continues to have a lasting impact on world politics, economics, religious tensions, and social concerns. Hopefully *A Matter of Life and Death* does so in a manner that both informs and entertains those who have an opportunity to read it.

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