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Football clubs as symbols of regional identities

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Looking at the terraces, into the pubs and the TV programme demonstrates how important football is for its followers – it is hard to believe that it is only a sport for them. In fact, a lot more is behind football than just an athletic competition. The core of the popularity of a football club is its identity. One possible model for understanding club identity analyses a club as a carrier of a group identity, in this case a regional one. Looking at the model more closely, a football club is not only a sports club – it is also seen as a symbol for a group or for a geographic entity in which it is located. Regional identity gives a football club a deeper meaning. And it is a sustainable philosophy for a club to focus on regional identity, as we see on traditional clubs like VfB Stuttgart in Germany or FC Barcelona and Athletic Bilbao in Spain. These clubs benefit in different ways from their local philosophy and furthermore these ‘tradition keepers’ have a charismatic aura, in comparison to clubs that focus on financial power and act as an economic unit.

Introduction

Evidence of the high profile of football in society today is all around us – in the stadiums, the bars, the daily TV schedules and the newspapers. There are many factors that make football clubs so important for us, but one of the principal reasons for the popularity of this sport is the identity of the respective clubs. It creates a feeling of belonging and helps to set them apart from other clubs and groups. In this way, clubs pass on their own identity to their supporters. It is the club identity as an individualizing feature that gives the football club its public profile.

To guarantee its individuality, the club has to be distinct from its rivals in the symbolism of its club identity. Club supporters need this symbolism when it comes to focusing their emotions and their identification on the club. The most strongly marked and robust identity feature of a football club is its role as cultural representative of a community.¹ But when clubs are perceived as no more than economic units the community does not feel warmly towards them. If a club is purely identified as a business enterprise, it is held in low regard among football fans and is treated as an artificial, commercial product. A club of this nature cannot serve as an identity-creating object. The clubs that incorporate identity and community are the ones which have, in many cases, a historical affinity with a region, milieu or city and which acknowledge and cultivate their identity as a cultural good.

An example of a club that defines itself through a social milieu is FC St. Pauli, based in Hamburg, which, remarkably, is one of Germany’s 15 biggest sports clubs in terms of membership. The club is situated in a trendy district with a cosmopolitan

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air. The fan scene is openly political and strongly ‘left wing’. Their piratical skull and crossbones symbol is a further expression of the club supporters’ social nonconformity. Such is the authenticity of the club and its supporters that according to a study the club has around 11 million followers in Germany and has made a name for itself in other countries too. Another club that defines itself through its social milieu is Gelsenkirchen-based Schalke 04. Although the club has now developed into a commercially successful enterprise, its origins lie unmistakably within the ambit of the mining community. This is demonstrated, among other things, by the fact that even today the supporters describe themselves as *Knappen*.²

Alongside the social milieu a club’s region of origin can also form part of its identity. Popular football clubs, which act as symbols of a region, have strong cultural appeal. The more effective the club’s role as a symbol, the more the regional community is strengthened through it. The supporter feels part of a regional community that has a football club as a trademark of the region. The club represents its native region and that of its supporters, who are members and thus part of the club.³ The principle that a football club is not only a sporting institution but at the same time a symbol of its region of origin may be applied to a large number of clubs in the world. But, whereas at the lower level, the clubs are undoubtedly representative of their region or locality, this is less true of the higher leagues. Here, the media and commercial interests exercise a more powerful influence – except where clubs have made a deliberate effort to work at their club philosophy and cultivate their public image.

In what follows, we propose to show, with reference to the example of VfB Stuttgart, exactly how football clubs acquire (or are given) a regional and cultural identity, and how they can thereby become emblematic of a region. In the same way, we shall demonstrate that conflict in regional politics adds to the importance of a football club as a symbol of regional identity. Sporting successes give an indication of the importance a club can have as a regional representative. We shall also take a brief look at the Spanish clubs FC Barcelona and Athletic Bilbao. All three clubs declare their allegiance to their home region and benefit from this in both sporting and economic respects. And even if these examples show that VfB Stuttgart, FC Barcelona and Athletic Bilbao are different in their traditions and history, there is a connecting element through which their roles were formed as carriers of a regional identity. The regional patriotic identities of these clubs have their origins in their territorial political conditions. This text will show that in all three examples a large part of the population was not satisfied with the geographic organization of their native regions.

Acquiring and communicating regional identities

VfB Stuttgart’s coat of arms already points to the regional character of the club. The three black antlers on a gold field, which is the coat of arms of the House of Württemberg and is also a component of the coat of arms of VfB Stuttgart, are an indication of the club’s traditional links with the region of Württemberg. To demonstrate its authentic regional identity, however, a club must meet further conditions. A regional pool of players, a board of directors with a public commitment to the home region of the club, politicians and officials who confer regional identity on the club and a body of supporters who establish a regional identity within the club – these are all factors that strengthen the club’s regional identity.

A squad comprised of regional players is essential if a football club wishes to be seen by its supporters as representing a region. Conversely, where the majority of the players do not come from the region, the supporters of the club will feel alienated since in their view the players are no longer able to represent the region.⁴ An important criterion for the identification of supporters with their football club is therefore to have common roots in the local town, city or region. As a consequence, it is necessary for the club management to build upon the willingness of its supporters (who are club members in many cases) to identify with the club due to its local ties. The integration of players from the club's home city or region into the football team authenticates its local or regional identity.⁵ The squad of a club that is characterized by a strong regional identity, therefore, normally consists mainly of players who are known to have a connection with the region. In this way, not only the public but also the players themselves perceive the club to be a part of their home region. This has the effect of giving credibility to the city and regional identity.

The club leadership of VfB Stuttgart has explicitly emphasized that the club should assume the role of being a representative of the region of Württemberg. Eberhard Haaga, the match committee chairman of VfB Stuttgart, claimed that an important condition for fulfilling this role is that the main team is made up of Württemberg players. He attributed the VfB Stuttgart's success at the 1950 and 1952 championships to particular criteria which a team needed to fulfil. One criterion is 'Not too many foreign influences. The VfB-Team should represent the Swabian native region in the narrower sense'. This club leaders' understanding is that there is a direct connection between the playing success of team, the origins of the players and the regional identity of the club.⁶

In the 2013/2014 season, VfB Stuttgart has had a good half dozen players in the squad who have emerged from its own youth programme, and others who have come to be local crowd favourites, thanks to their long service to the club. This season the club has used a player, Timo Werner, who was born in Bad Cannstatt, the Stuttgart district which is home to the club itself. When only six years old, he was already playing in the club's youth team. He was the youngest player in the history of the Bundesliga to score two goals in one game and is accordingly something of a poster boy for the regional orientation of the club. A club that trains many players itself and then signs them up as professionals also gains prestige among everyone with an interest in football, provided always that the team enjoys success on the field. Although Timo Werner has not played as long for the club's professional team as many other players, and even though he has not shot as many goals for the team as his forward colleagues, it is his name that most VfB fans have had printed on their football shirts. Werner assumes that this is because he was born in Stuttgart and because he has played with VfB since his early youth.⁷

A further means of highlighting the regional affiliation of the club is for the club management to make public statements affirming their commitment to the local region.⁸ Thus, again and again in the media we hear club officials stressing the role of the club as representing the region and occasionally the players also remind us that they have come through from the club's youth section. These public declarations can enhance the reputation of the club in the eyes of the fans.

Public figures representing local and state politics always make an effort to associate themselves with a club when it has achieved success. Success for a club, which arouses emotions of regional patriotism in the local population, is at the same time taken by political office-holders to be success for the region itself. It is therefore

always important to politicians for a club to achieve success and to attract the attention of the public. Politicians then have the opportunity to express their closeness to the successful football club, the popular championship winners representing the city or region.

In order to highlight the connection between themselves and the successful club and to profit from its high media profile, they have to emphasize what it is that the politicians and the club have in common, which in the case of VfB Stuttgart is the Württemberg identity. To date, Stuttgart mayors have always hoped to increase their popularity by expressing their common identity with the club. Thus, politicians from city and state have used the club's influence, with its high media impact and its power to promote community and create identity, by making an appearance at major public events, such as victory celebrations or club matches. Thanks to the football club's regional links, political office-holders hoped that they would be associated with the club in the public mind and that this would be to their advantage. Through their professions of solidarity, politicians aimed to strengthen the club's regional identity while stressing their own closeness to the club in order to promote themselves alongside the club as symbols of regional identity. By associating themselves with VfB Stuttgart and publicly emphasizing their common regional identity, local and regional politicians have succeeded in reinforcing the significance of the club as an emblem of the region.

Once a club has achieved the status of representative of the region, the supporters give greater outward expression to this role. The huge crowds flocking to the stadium, the banners, the slogans, the singing and chanting of the supporters, the various noise-making instruments and the fireworks – all these are components of sporting events which should be seen against the background of affiliation and demarcation and which derive their sustenance, in part at least, from regional and cultural identification.⁹ The emotional attachment of the club supporters to their home region is projected in an extrovert fashion on to the relevant football club as its representative. Since a football club functions as the representative of a region, its sporting successes mean heightened prestige for the club's supporters. The results of the matches – however achieved – are therefore of critical importance. The successes of the club are consequently relevant to the status of the region, as they result in an increase in the esteem in which it is held.¹⁰

In order to feel themselves represented through sport, the supporters recognized VfB Stuttgart as a representative of the region, as the club could only represent the cultural community in sporting competition with other regions if it played a representative role on behalf of Württemberg. As the most successful club in the region, VfB Stuttgart is best suited to enter into sporting competition with other regions as the representative of Württemberg. By recognizing the club as the representative of Württemberg, the supporters infuse the club with regional symbolic force, which the club then gives back to its supporters. Thus, we see a reciprocal relationship between club and supporters in the creation of identity. The idea that the club's games offer the supporters the opportunity to affirm their own regional and cultural identity through their support for VfB Stuttgart is borne out by the fact that the supporters rated wins by their own team against teams from other regions as a sign of regional superiority.

With the rise of 'ultra' groups, the fanatical behaviour of supporters has taken a new form, for which, on account of the multifaceted nature of the members' intentions and behaviour, the term 'club fanaticism' is no longer adequate. The 'ultra'

groups relate this to their regional identity. These groups support their club vocally and visually during the games. As most of them are club members, they see themselves as an integral part of the club and regard themselves as defenders of tradition in football and not as mere consumers of the sport of football. With slogans that speak of friendship, loyalty, honesty and the like, they oppose club principles like profit maximization and efficiency and see themselves as opposed to the commodification of the football clubs.¹¹ These groups often complain about the commercial orientation of the sport of football and criticize the way in which the clubs' traditions are losing ground to the demands of marketing.

There are two contrasting views of the club. One sees the club as an ultramodern economic business, which is obliged to assert itself on the market and the other regards it as governed by sacrosanct traditions. The ultras favour the latter view.¹² The local and regional patriotic aspect is of particular significance for the 'ultra' groups. Their local and regional focus is implicit in their names, which, in the case of VfB Stuttgart, include 'Schwabensturm 02' and 'Commando Cannstatt'. The moderate supporters, members of the fan clubs, also show their allegiance through the names they choose, for example, 'Die Wilden Schwaben', 'Sieben Schwaben' or 'Neckarsturm – Württemberg'. These names imply the desire for the club to have a role as representative of the region, so as to ensure that their own regional identity is given prominence.

The desire for dominance as a catalyst for the regional identity of football clubs

The competition for dominance between two different regions has moved to the football pitch. The club supporters project their regional identity on to their football club – it has become the symbol of a region. Clubs from the same region fight it out between them to decide which of them will exercise sovereignty within that region. Local derbies therefore hold a particular attraction for spectators. Football matches are thus settings for symbolic clashes that express regional rivalries. Such animosities in the stadium between different clubs and supporters are, however, also related to contentious issues in society.¹³

With regard to VfB Stuttgart, the founding of the federal state of Baden-Württemberg is of particular relevance. There was sporting rivalry between the football clubs of the states of Baden and Württemberg, which arose from the historical, cultural and religious differences between the two regions. The states of Württemberg-Baden, Württemberg-Hohenzollern and Baden (known as South Baden until the end of 1946), which were created after the Second World War, were considering a reorganization. The states were to be united to form a south-western state, although Catholic-dominated (South) Baden resisted this proposal on account of their antipathy towards Protestant Württemberg, with its supposedly restless work ethic and a fear of falling under its control. In the referendum (South) Baden voted against the creation of the south-western federal state, but the overall result of the referendum was in favour.

The dispute over the creation of the south-western state of Baden-Württemberg was an expression of antipathies that arose from a clash of political cultures and differing traditions and mentalities. The people of Württemberg, or 'Swabians', as they are often called, had developed an aversion to the people from Baden who kept coming to the surface.¹⁴ This antipathy was very visible at the regional derby games between VfB Stuttgart and Karlsruher SC, which is a football club from Baden.

Accordingly, at every match between the two teams the political factor came into play. As a high proportion of the population of Baden had voted against the union of the states of Württemberg-Baden, Württemberg-Hohenzollern and Baden in the 1952 referendum, they were naturally unhappy at the outcome. The resentment caused by this issue in regional politics and the rivalry for leadership in the sporting arena in Baden-Württemberg was apparent in the behaviour of the crowd at the matches between VfB Stuttgart and Karlsruher SC (KSC).

Such football matches offer the opportunity to articulate latent aggression in the form of verbal abuse in a way that is not possible when conforming to social norms. Aggression and abuse reveal structures of thought that provide an insight into social attitudes.¹⁵ It is evident that the mutual disaffection between these clubs is related to the respective native regions, as can be seen in this football chant of the VfB-Ultras: 'Oh VfB Stuttgart/Oh VfB Stuttgart/You are our life/For our colours/we will give everything/We hate Baden/and the KSC/because we are the Reds/from VfB'.¹⁶

In the final season of the *OberligaSüd*, five clubs from Baden-Württemberg were represented. In 1963 the Bundesliga was created. For VfB Stuttgart, this meant they were no longer restricted to playing against clubs from Hesse, Bavaria, Baden and Württemberg, as was the case in the *OberligaSüd*, but would now come up against opponents from the remainder of the Federal Republic as well. Among the 16 teams in the newly created Bundesliga were five teams from the *OberligaSüd*. Apart from VfB Stuttgart, however, Karlsruher SC was the only other team based in Baden-Württemberg. There was no other Württemberg team to compete with it in the Bundesliga, so VfB Stuttgart was the sole representative of Württemberg in the nationwide competition for the highest sporting honour in football. The same thing was true of Karlsruher SC and the Baden region. The matches between the Württemberg club (VfB Stuttgart) and the Baden club (Karlsruher SC) were therefore particularly highly charged, as both clubs carried the weight of their regional identity on their shoulders. For these two founding members of the Bundesliga, who were also the sole representatives of the federal state of Baden-Württemberg, their meetings were the only chance to engage in the regional conflict for dominance in the state at the highest level of the game. Furthermore, the political element previously mentioned occasioned additional rivalry.

Two matches stand out as typical examples of the desire for regional dominance as a catalyst for the regional identity of the two football clubs. On the 15th match day of the 1967/1968 season, VfB Stuttgart beat Karlsruher SC in an away match by four goals to one. By half-time, some of the spectators were already burning KSC banners on the terraces.¹⁷ This was an evidence of the importance of these games, which was felt by supporters to be representative of regional conflicts.

The second example is the meeting of the two clubs at the Baden-Württemberg local derby on 21 September 2008. Shortly before kick-off, VfB Stuttgart's 'ultra' groups staged a tifo display that illustrated the supporters' regional patriotism. It was a clear declaration of commitment to Württemberg and expressed the rivalry between Baden and Württemberg. A 13-metre high image of a knight with three antlers on a gold field on his shield (the coat of arms of Württemberg) was displayed in the Stuttgart stadium, in the home fans' section of the terraces. Underneath, in Gothic script, was the motto of King William I of Württemberg: 'Furchtlos und treu' [Fearless and Loyal]. The old state flag of Württemberg appeared on the display panel. To the left and right of the knight, at the edge of the home supporters' section of the terraces, a lion and a stag were being held aloft – symbols of Württemberg.

The stadium was awash with black and red banners, the colours of the Kingdom of Württemberg. Banners bearing slogans in the Swabian dialect were raised up.

This sporting encounter made it plain that the supporters of VfB Stuttgart were trying to distance themselves as far as possible from their Baden rivals in the Bundesliga, Karlsruher SC and their supporters, by parading the Württemberg symbols to declare their commitment to their own region. It was also clear from the evidence of this local derby that the bond that so many supporters had with VfB Stuttgart was far more than simply a sense of belonging to their own club. Rather, in this particular encounter, it was about regional patriotism, represented by the team on the field of play. Furthermore, it was about the deeply ingrained rivalry between the two regions that make up Baden-Württemberg and about sporting supremacy in that state.

Sporting successes as indicators of regional identity

Championships won and victories in the cup are always successes for the region. This is demonstrated not only by the celebrations of the supporters but also by the presence of the political factor. In 1950, VfB Stuttgart won the German football championship for the first time, beating Kickers Offenbach in the final. The appeal of VfB Stuttgart as an object of identification for Württemberg was proved beyond doubt when 300,000 people turned out to greet the victorious team on their return, lining the streets to applaud the players and their manager. On 26 June, the champions returned to Stuttgart from Berlin, where the final had been played and celebrated with a victory parade through the city. Not only footballers, club supporters and followers of VfB Stuttgart, but also people who were not normally interested in football or even disliked it came out to welcome the club on their return.¹⁸

The winning of the German championship was undoubtedly a sporting success that brought joy to many. The extent of the celebrations was an expression of the importance for the city and the region of success in sporting contests, for winning the championship meant that the cultural area of Württemberg had achieved sporting supremacy in the Federal Republic. Consequently, the win not only filled VfB Stuttgart with pride, but also activated local and regional patriotic sentiments among the people of the city and the region who were normally indifferent to football or would even have said that they hated it. This was only possible because the club occupied an overriding role as a representative of the region – a role which, at the moment of winning the championship, was unconnected with sport.

Reporting on the final game of the German Championship in 1952, the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* wrote that the fans of VfB Stuttgart had travelled from the entire region of Württemberg in order to see the VfB play. One correspondent of this newspaper who was in the Black Forest at the time (which is also part of Baden-Württemberg) reported that even in the smallest villages the people crowded around speakers set up in windows in order to follow the game.¹⁹ After the championship victory, the team returned home to Stuttgart on the train. Fans were cheering for them at train stations along the way. The team made a stopover in Asperg, where they were greeted with music and ladies of honour.²⁰ The fact that the team took this trip home in a transparent passenger compartment covered with glass (the ‘train of glass’) so that it could be cheered on at train stations between Ludwigshafen and Asperg (in the middle of Baden-Württemberg), shows how far-reaching the fan-base of VfB

Stuttgart is. This fan-base is not only limited to the city limits or the city's outskirts, but stretches across large parts of Württemberg.

In the football club magazine *Sports*, the Württemberg regional sports association called the championship victory of the VfB Stuttgart a 'day of fame' which would be commemorated in the 'annals of Württemberg football.'²¹ Similar events unfolded in the club's later championship victories in the years 1984 and 1992. Judging by the celebrations accompanying their victory in the German championship in 2007, it is true to say that VfB Stuttgart continues to be regarded as an identity-creating factor for the region of Württemberg despite the increasing commercialization of the sport. The state flag was hoisted alongside the club flag in front of the *Neues Schloss* in Stuttgart, showing the importance of the club's success for the state of Baden-Württemberg. Baden-Württemberg's Premier Günther Oettinger stated that the German championship victory not only benefitted the club, but also the city and the entire state. At a public speech, the former Premier of Baden-Württemberg Lothar Späth, as well as the former politician Rezzo Schlauch attributed this championship victory to Swabian virtues.²² Additionally, Premier Günther Oettinger underlined the importance of the club for the entire region when he expressed his congratulations and stated that thanks to the club Baden-Württemberg 'was now the number one state in sport'.²³ Some 250,000 people celebrated the winning of the championship in Stuttgart.

Further examples of regional representation roles

FC Barcelona is another football club that is fiercely proud of its regional identity. Its role as a symbol of Catalonia is political in character, as the club is not only an object of identification but at the same time also the voice of a separatist tradition. Hans Gamper, the founder of FC Barcelona, was himself a supporter of Catalanism, which is a cultural and political movement that desires independence from the Kingdom of Spain for Catalonia and attempts to bring this about. Especially in the years of Franco's dictatorship between 1930 and 1975, the club was seen as a symbol of Catalan cultural identity and of Catalanism, as Franco suppressed any Catalan tendency in society. The intense rivalry between FC Barcelona and the capital city club Real Madrid, which favours the central state, is symbolic of the struggle between separatists and advocates of the central state.

An example of how the political conflict has found its way into the football stadiums is the encounter between the two teams on 2 October 2012. Precisely 17 min and 14 s into the game, the Barcelona supporters shouted out: 'Independencia! Independencia!' This action by the supporters harks back to the defeat of the Catalan troops by the army of the King of Spain in 1714. The defeat meant the end of Catalan autonomy and the integration of Catalonia into the Spanish Kingdom.

As in cases of VfB Stuttgart and FC Barcelona, the regional identity of the club Athletic Bilbao is catalyzed by the dissatisfaction among the population concerning their geopolitical situation. In the end, also this population is not satisfied that it is a part of Spain. And as already stated, regional identity is also engendered by the self-image of the club officials. When a team and the directors of the club are almost entirely recruited from the region, it is quite natural for the club to regard itself as an ambassador for this region. This is true not only of VfB Stuttgart and FC Barcelona, but also, to a particular degree, of Athletic Club Bilbao. Because of the value placed on regional patriotism, the team representing this Basque club consists

chiefly of Basques. The principle by which the club operates is to integrate into the team mainly players who come from Basque provinces or who were trained in the youth section of one of these provincial clubs. Bilbao's players are extremely loyal to the club – many of them play for the club throughout their footballing career. Similarly, almost all the club's supporters are from the Basque country. Yet, despite this, somewhat restrictive club philosophy with regard to the regional focus of the club, Bilbao has never yet been relegated from the top Spanish division. The club has 24 cup victories and eight championships to its name.

Conclusion

More than 50 years after the founding of the Bundesliga, VfB Stuttgart is a business enterprise run on modern lines. The perception of the club as a representative of the region, however, has remained constant. Today VfB Stuttgart's management, under their president Bernd Wähler, continues to regard the club as a focus of identity for Württemberg and as a regional representative with a real commitment to the region. Many members of both management and squad have a long-standing connection with the club. The regional orientation of the club also finds expression in the promotion of its own youth section, with the aim of bringing on some promising youngsters to later become part of VfB Stuttgart's senior team. To this end, for example, in the 2013/2014 season, experienced players from the club's A youth team were allowed to train alongside the professional team and even to travel with them to their training camp in the close season.

In the final analysis, it is its local and regional identity that gives a club its unique selling point – one that will attract supporters and give them the opportunity to identify with the club. Regional identity gives a football club a deeper significance. Something that all the three clubs under consideration have in common is that they preserve their traditions. And thanks to the role that they take on they have a charismatic attraction for their supporters. The clubs derive lasting profit from their role as representatives of their home region, something which both the clubs themselves and their supporters communicate to the wider world. One benefit is the greater media interest and the sales opportunities provided by merchandising. Even if Bundesliga football is totally commercialized these days, clubs still need to maintain their regional representative role, because the club recruits its supporters chiefly through its regional character. And it is its regional character that gives it a great deal of its commercial value. To ensure a sustainable future, the club must cultivate its regional identity and publicly declare a commitment to it, as this represents a large part of its marketing potential.

A further benefit is a loyal body of supporters, whose passion for the club is not dependent on sporting success. After all, through its symbolic significance for the region, the club is also a symbolic representative of the identity of its regional supporters. The clubs are also responsible for much outstanding youth work. On average, over the years, all three clubs have had more of their own former youth players in the squad than the majority of their competitors in La Liga. For example, in the year 2009/2010, Barcelona won the Spanish championship with 10 players from their youth section. Finally, the clubs have a superb communications basis from which to address their supporters, who accept club, team and management as their own representatives.

For the football clubs it therefore makes sense, through things like club museums and targeted publicity work, to promote their own regional identity and to make it clear that as long as the club has been in existence this has always been a fundamental, defining component of the life of the club and has remained so despite necessary commercialization. It is, however, vital that more than mere lip service is paid to the need for communication and that the regional identity of the club truly is an integral part of the club's philosophy. In conclusion, it is important to stress that national sides also benefit from clubs that are committed to their own regional identity, not least because these clubs select many of their team members from players that they themselves have trained. The youth area is correspondingly strong and as a result there is a correspondingly large pool from which players for the national team can be recruited.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes

1. Väh, *Profifußball: Zur Soziologie der Bundesliga*, 108.
2. *Knappe* is the term for someone who has successfully completed his apprenticeship as a miner.
3. Schütz, *Ausländische Spieler in der Fußball-Bundesliga: Die Auswirkungen des Bosman-Urteils auf die Identifikation mit den Vereinen*, 77.
4. *Ibid.*, 82.
5. Väh, *Profifußball: Zur Soziologie der Bundesliga*, 108.
6. Jordan and Becker, *VfB Stuttgart 1893 e.V. Tradition, Leistung, Erfolg*, 83.
7. Vielberg and Nagler, 'Werner hängt die Alten ab!', *Bild*, August 22, 2015.
8. Väh, *Profifußball: Zur Soziologie der Bundesliga*, 168.
9. Lindner, 'Die Sportbegeisterung', in *Volkskultur in der Moderne: Probleme und Perspektiven empirischer Kulturforschung*, ed. Jeggle, Korff, Scharfe, and Wameken.
10. Väh, *Profifußball: Zur Soziologie der Bundesliga*, 168.
11. Sommerey, *Die Jugendkultur der Ultras: Zur Entstehung einer neuen Generation von Fußball fans*, 62.
12. *Ibid.*, 75.
13. Schwenzer, 'Fußball als kulturelles Ereignis'.
14. Wehling, *Die deutschen Länder: Geschichte, Politik, Wirtschaft*, 20.
15. Schwenzer, 'Fußball als kulturelles Ereignis'.
16. Reustle, 'Oh VfB Stuttgart', *Stuttgarter Supporter*, October 7, 2014.
17. 'In Karlsruhe brennen wieder Fahnen', *Schwäbisches Tagblatt*, November 27, 1967.
18. 'Nachklänge zum triumphalen VfB-Empfang: Elf Spieler in 24 wandelnden Blumengärten', *Sportmagazin* 27 (1950): 14.
19. 'Württembergisch-badische Invasion in die Pfalz', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, June 23, 1952, Sports section, Main edition.
20. Krämer, 'Zum zweiten Mal tut sich der Himmel auf', in *100 Jahre VfB Stuttgart 1893 e.V.*, ed. Blickensdörfer.
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