

CHOREOGRAPHY

OF THE MASSES

IN SPORT.

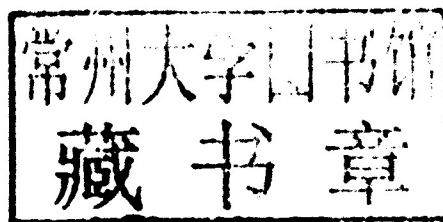
IN THE STADIUM.

IN A FRENZY.

jovis

Volkwin Marg (Ed.) for
Akademie der Künste, Berlin

**CHOREOGRAPHY
OF THE MASSES**
IN SPORT.
IN THE STADIUM.
IN A FRENZY.



jovis

Ausstellungseinrichtung

Act!worX, Berlin

Jörg Scheil (Akademie der Künste)

Andreas Northe Möbeltischlerei, Hamburg

Matzat Museumstechnik, Berlin

Gärtner Internationale Möbel GmbH, Hamburg

P.O.P. Werbetaem GmbH, Hamburg

Wiling Metallbau GmbH, Berlin

Produktion Ausstellungsgraphiken und -drucke

René Birkner

DZA Druckerei zu Altenburg GmbH,

Altenburg

Reproplan graphics GmbH,

Hamburg/Berlin

Architekturmodellbau Monath + Menzel

Architekturmodellbau, Berlin

Werner Modellbau, Braunschweig

Logistik Dieke Eiben (gmp)

Leihverkehr Catherine Amé

(Akademie der Künste)

Presse- und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit Akademie der Künste

Anette Schmitt, Marianne König,

Stephanie Eck

Presse- und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit gmp

Christian Fuldner

Begleitend zur Ausstellung ist eine

Microsite geschaltet

www.choreographie-der-massen.de

Inhaltlich verantwortlich Michael Kuhn (gmp)

Content management Nicole Schindler (gmp)

Umsetzung SHAKEN not STIRRED, Hamburg

Design ON Grafik, Hamburg

PUBLIKATION

© 2012, Akademie der Künste, Berlin,

gmp · Architekten von Gerkan, Marg

und Partner

jovis Verlag GmbH, Berlin, die Autoren

und Fotografen

Alle Rechte vorbehalten.

Herausgeber Volkwin Marg für die Akademie

der Künste, Berlin

Autor Gert Kähler

Koordination Bettina Ahrens (gmp),

Michael Kuhn (gmp)

Redaktion/Lektorat Bettina Ahrens (gmp),

Martin Hager (edition8)

Korrektur Claudius Präßer

Graphische Gestaltung und Satz

ON Grafik, Hamburg

Umschlaggestaltung

ON Grafik, Hamburg

Repro Organisation DZA Druckerei zu

Altenburg GmbH, Altenburg

Druck und Bindung DZA Druckerei zu

Altenburg GmbH, Altenburg

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen

Nationalbibliothek:

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese

Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie;

detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet

über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

jovis Verlag GmbH

Kurfürstenstraße 15/16

10785 Berlin

www.jovis.de

ISBN 978-3-86859-164-4

CONTENT

- 7 Introduction
8 The curators discuss the exhibition
- 16 **SPORT IN ANTIQUITY**
18 Greece
27 Rome
- 39 **PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT
IN THE 19TH CENTURY**
42 Gymnastics in Germany
61 The creation of sport in Great Britain
- 67 **“CITIUS, ALTIUS, FORTIUS”:
THE MODERN OLYMPIC GAMES**
69 Athens 1896
74 Berlin 1936
84 Munich 1972
- 93 **SPORT AND POLITICS**
94 Sport and war
99 Sports buildings and politics
103 Sport and national identification
112 Women and sport
- 118 **SPORT AND COMMERCE**
119 Sport and advertising
124 Let’s have a look – sport and television
130 “If you support me for Moscow,
I’ll support you for Qatar”
136 Sport moving away from sport
- 141 **BEING A WINNER TOO**
142 Ultras, fans and hooligans:
us against them
149 Mass fascination
154 Spectator ballet
158 Papal masses, pop concerts

QUOTATIONS	
164	Gustave le Bon
166	Étienne-Louis Boullée
168	Elias Canetti
174	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe
176	Peter Sloterdijk

IN THE STADIUM	
179	von Gerkan, Marg and Partners build for UEFA EURO 2012
196	Stadiums of the members of the Akademie der Künste, Berlin

IN A FRENZY	
214	Hannah Leonie Prinzler: <i>In a frenzy – a film montage</i>

APPENDIX	
226	Imprint
228	Picture credits
231	Bibliography

Choreography of the Masses

jovis

Volkwin Marg (Ed.) for
Akademie der Künste, Berlin

**CHOREOGRAPHY
OF THE MASSES**
IN SPORT.
IN THE STADIUM.
IN A FRENZY.

jovis

CONTENT

- 7 Introduction
8 The curators discuss the exhibition
- 16 **SPORT IN ANTIQUITY**
18 Greece
27 Rome
- 39 **PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT
IN THE 19TH CENTURY**
42 Gymnastics in Germany
61 The creation of sport in Great Britain
- 67 **“CITIUS, ALTIUS, FORTIUS”:
THE MODERN OLYMPIC GAMES**
69 Athens 1896
74 Berlin 1936
84 Munich 1972
- 93 **SPORT AND POLITICS**
94 Sport and war
99 Sports buildings and politics
103 Sport and national identification
112 Women and sport
- 118 **SPORT AND COMMERCE**
119 Sport and advertising
124 Let’s have a look – sport and television
130 “If you support me for Moscow,
I’ll support you for Qatar”
136 Sport moving away from sport
- 141 **BEING A WINNER TOO**
142 Ultras, fans and hooligans:
us against them
149 Mass fascination
154 Spectator ballet
158 Papal masses, pop concerts

QUOTATIONS

- 164 Gustave le Bon
166 Étienne-Louis Boullée
168 Elias Canetti
174 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe
176 Peter Sloterdijk

IN THE STADIUM

- 179 von Gerkan, Marg and Partners
build for UEFA EURO 2012
196 Stadiums of the members of the
Akademie der Künste, Berlin

IN A FRENZY

- 214 Hannah Leonie Prinzler:
In a frenzy – a film montage

APPENDIX

- 226 Imprint
228 Picture credits
231 Bibliography

INTRODUCTION

Klaus Staeck and Johannes Odenthal

It is one of the key tasks of the Akademie der Künste to design and defend public space as a fundamental prerequisite for a democratic development of society. As our places of social congregation are increasingly sold out to private investors and sponsors, we are less and less involved with designing and more and more with defending, which is an alarming state of affairs. Because as our society cast off the shackles of feudal and clerical overlords, it became an important task and challenge to keep the social sphere free and open to individual expression, and to uphold a symbolic gesture in support of the new social order in the urban setting as well as public images. The importance of buildings has shifted from cathedrals and palaces to parliament buildings, railway stations, shopping arcades and cafés, libraries and museums. And of course to stadiums. Unlike in any other place, tens of thousands of people congregate in stadiums for a joint demonstration of social order. And this is the point where the explosive political relevance of these large building projects of the 20th century becomes apparent, especially for the time we live in. Because the organisation of the masses in stadiums is celebrated by both, the dictators of this world and peaceful civil society. Whether it is used for sports competitions, concerts or parades: the stadium becomes the medium for collective self-expression and political propaganda in modern times. The importance of architecture and its influence on social processes becomes apparent when we compare the 1936 Olympic Stadium in Berlin with the stadium built for the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich. The self-portrayal of National Socialist power at the 1936 Games was broadcast to the world using film as the medium. The title of our exhibition *Choreography of the Masses* takes its cue from Leni Riefenstahl's

propagandistic screening of sport; this is counterpoised with the tent-roof architecture of the Olympic Stadium in Munich and the staging of the *cheerful Games* as a response by a democratic society.

When, on the occasion of the European football championship, our member Volkwin Marg suggested an exhibition of stadium buildings to the Architecture Section, we became immediately aware of the topicality and importance of this contemporary building project. In cooperation with the architectural historian Gert Kähler and the project developer Michael Kuhn we have created an interdisciplinary cultural history of the stadium, in which construction projects are presented in the context of sports and social theory: a critical appraisal that focuses on the increasingly powerful role of the media in sports and the fan culture from a historic and social perspective.

Our special thanks go to the curators for their considerable commitment, as well as Minister of State, Bernd Neumann, who has helped making this exhibition project a reality by providing financial support.

THE CURATORS DISCUSS THE EXHIBITION

MICHAEL KUHN Hans Scharoun, an important architect and member of the Akademie der Künste, who the Berliners have to thank for the Philharmonie, wrote this maxim on the sketch for a design while still at school, in 1910: “An independent architect should not be guided by the sensational, but by his reflections.” The Olympic Games, world and European championships of games such as football – which these days is very popular – and even the current Eurovision Song Contest, are affected by the choreography of the masses. This also has an effect on how architects design stadiums and arenas – it presents an opportunity to reflect on the issues involved.

VOLKWIN MARG In its deepest essence, mass choreography is politically motivated – it therefore follows that architecture is similarly motivated – because architecture is not the free art of an artist who can decide for himself, but is tied to the client-briefing for the creation of public spaces, for which the architect is responsible in all aspects both with regard to the client and to society at large. And, when an architect is asked to provide the stage for mass social activity he will have to ask what it is that drives people in this mass activity.

GERT KÄHLER Furthermore we are witnessing a breathtaking development in an age in which technology is providing new means of telecommunication in an almost explosive manner, which

will influence social behaviour in a way that cannot be foreseen, from telephones to printed mass media, broadcasting and television through to laptops, mobile phones, electronic customer files and biometric data recording. What used to be physical masses of people turns, in a parallel development, into virtual masses in our modern-day computer-world.

VOLKWIN MARG Modern communications technology only multiplies the efficiency of information exchange but it also affects the ancient roots of the psychological make-up of our society. It is said that man, both as an individual and as a social being, has long been psychically pre-programmed and the evolutionary biologists, brain physiologists and social psychologists more and more frequently talk about man as a pack animal.

Herd, horde, pack and swarm behaviour is the subject of current research which for example investigates mirror neurones and their imitation reflexes. Analogies with insects and other animal swarms cause scientists to suspect a *swarm intelligence* also in man, leading to *social* or *moral* swarm behaviour, although the latter requires an advanced acculturation process developing from an inherent psycho-social code. To me that sounds like wishful thinking which would like to point to some natural psychological pre-condition or make-up whereas in fact such values have

to be passed on from generation to generation as a cultural process.

MICHAEL KUHN However that may be, the choreography of masses has been practiced for thousands of years and mass behaviour has been accounted for either empirically or intuitively. Therefore this exhibition points to the socio-political background of stadium construction, of sporting competition and behaviour in games throughout the last 2,500 years in Europe, since the Olympic Games in ancient Greece.

GERT KÄHLER This retrospective is particularly interesting for a critical comparable appreciation of current mass events in which the original practices are continued as in former times, this may be the paramilitary fighting disciplines of ancient Greece during the Olympiads, or the appeasement of the masses with bread and games during the Roman Empire, which nowadays are adopted through television and mass sports events; it may also be the planned subordination of subjects to royal absolutism through national games (as before the French Revolution) or to an authoritarian state, national physical exercise or colonial leisure pursuit in nationalist and colonial competition of the 19th century; or it could be a completely new current strategy: that of changing citizens into even bigger consumers in a consumer society with its fixed focus on profitable growth in production.

VOLKWIN MARG These age-long practices illustrate the extent to which the architecture of stadiums for choreography of the masses is a mirror of the prevailing social conditions and an over-arching quasi-superstructure in the Marxist sense, while at the same time being subject to change as part of the change in production methods or political authority.

However, the psychological mode of behaviour of man as a pack animal seems to remain rather static compared to these changes in society. At least that is what some clever heads have perceived and pronounced before. These statements have lost nothing of their currency.

For this reason, we have included them in our citations for the exhibition, for example, Goethe's impression of mass behaviour in the Roman arena at Verona, cited from his Italian diary dated 1786, for example Étienne-Louis Boullée's tract, *Architecture. Essai sur l'art* on the project of his colosseum in Paris which was designed to subordinate the subjects to the absolutist monarchy of Louis XVI (Boullée is wrongly classified as an architect of the revolution because the text was not published until 1791, after the French Revolution), for example, Gustave Le Bon's summaries from his 1895 book *La Psychologie des Foules*, which make a concise incontrovertible argument as if they were the briefing of the propagandist Goebbels, or an up-to-date manual for the advertising industry.

GERT KÄHLER The private scholar Le Bon, who is the originator of the science of mass psychology, is not the only one; I am thinking here of brain researcher Hugo Karl Liepmann who, back in the 1920s, diagnosed unconscious processes which run in parallel with other processes in that part of our brain which supposedly is reserved for conscious thinking.

Or of Richard David Precht's book, *Die Kunst, kein Egoist zu sein* [The art of not being an egoist]. In his chapter "Warum Kopieren vor Kopieren kommt" [Why copying comes before understanding], he points out the three criteria of swarms, which were postulated by the IT expert Craig Reynolds in 1986: "Move towards the centre of those you see around you! Move away as soon as somebody comes too close! Move roughly in the same direction as your neighbours!"

VOLKWIN MARG That sounds as if he had read Elias Canetti's 1960 book, *Crowds and Power*. That opus magnum by the Nobel Prize winner was the result of his 20 years of study of the subject. It should be read again and again, in spite of its over 500 pages, because it really is still topical!

It is a pity that this exhibition only allows us to offer very few citations and we are only able to include a few pages (from the 32nd edition by

Fischer, the paperback publishers) as excerpts for inspirational reading. For a start, the first chapters of the book are brilliant essays, each in their own right: reversal of the fear of physical contact; open and closed crowds; the crowd as a ring (such as in an arena); the discharge; addiction to destruction; the eruption; panic; the characteristics of crowds ... and so on. ... As an architect especially, I started to reflect much more after reading this book, and was more aware of the ambivalence of my designs.

MICHAEL KUHN But that did not stop you from designing and building stadiums?

VOLKWIN MARG No, but it made me more thoughtful about it. I became aware that, as in music, there are architectural compositions which convey a sense of law and order and others that encourage a more liberal demeanour.

GERT KÄHLER For this reason we have selected the two demonstrative German Olympic schemes of mass choreography as an introduction to the exhibition, as stage backdrops so to speak for opposing social visions: the Olympic Stadium in the Berlin Reichssportfeld of 1936 and the Olympic Stadium at the Olympiapark in Munich of 1972.

MICHAEL KUHN These are symptomatic architectural reflections of opposing visions of society. While I am on this subject, may I ask you: when you converted the Berlin Stadium by the architects Walter and Werner March – the first stadium conversion by gmp for the 2006 World Cup – did you try to inform visitors about the National Socialist intentions behind the mass choreography by establishing a permanent exhibition, but at the same time try not to touch or even destroy the well-known historic monument from the Nazi era with its historic burden? Since then you have been building stadiums in a wide range of countries worldwide, the last one for the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, and now for UEFA EURO 2012 in Warsaw and Kiev. What scope do you and your partners have to influence the architectural backdrop for the mass choreography in very different social and political environments?

VOLKWIN MARG I have already said that of course, architecture is not apolitical. Let's take the last two examples. In Warsaw, we conceived the national stadium as a cradle for Polish pride in national survival in the face of foreign adversaries – both German and Russian. Poland's largest space for public assembly becomes a triumphant landmark opposite the inner city which was rebuilt from the rubble and which became a World Heritage Site. That is the message of the young Polish democracy. From the outside, the national stadium conveys an image of lightness and transparency rather than heaviness and closedness. Whatever will be displayed in a multi-purpose arena in front of massive crowds of spectators, the architectural ambiance will always convey a cheerful mood, on the inside as well.

In contrast, the project in Kiev was about providing a shell for a historic building monument from the Soviet era in the midst of the old city centre, which is surrounded by a chaotic assembly of old as well as new tower blocks – some illegally constructed without permission, something that went on even while we were converting the stadium, somewhat analogous to the State's constitution. The new glass envelope surrounding the old stadium does not close it off towards the city centre, but is completely transparent and presents the audience's life in the stadium in the midst of the city. We have covered the grandstands around the Olympic running tracks with a lightweight, translucent membrane that is reminiscent of a star-studded sky. The enormous size of the stadium – which can accommodate 78,000 spectators – does not necessarily call for the intimidating architectural heaviness of former times. An unwelcome element in these manifestations of public life is – in both Warsaw and Kiev – the currently obligatory double barrier both for the stadiums themselves as well as for the concourse in front, which is predestined for alternative urban uses, for fear of out-of-control crowds or possible terrorism.

GERT KÄHLER Both these projects are national stadiums which are supposed to represent their country on the occasion of large public mass events. A frequent criticism is that the architectural input into this kind of development helps to control the masses and thereby stabilises political regimes which exert their power without sufficient democratic legitimacy.

VOLKWIN MARG Such abuse can happen, but political conditions can also change: the pace of architecture and society follows different patterns over time – the former is built for 100 years, the latter is subject to constant change. For example, the original Polish national stadium was created under the influence of Russian Stalinism, but its most recent use was for the mass celebrated by the Polish pope with 100,000 faithful.

The conversion of Ukraine's national stadium, which dates back to the Soviet era, was designed by us as a direct result of the national emancipation from the Soviet Union, when Yulia Tymoshenko (who is now locked up) was head of the government, and it was opened by the current President, Viktor Yanukovich. So who is helped by this architectural input? What the future holds, I do not know. Future change through communication? Or change through isolation?

MICHAEL KUHN This issue arises in all those countries where illegitimate forms of government – illegitimate in the sense of our democratic constitution – are in opposition to the majority of the population; that could be in Asia, in Africa, in South America, or in the Gulf States; I am particularly thinking of the Eurovision Song Contest in Azerbaijan.

VOLKWIN MARG Again, the question arises: change through communication or change through isolation? What can help the population to overcome internal social problems and contradictions, what helps those in power suppress these contradictions? We Germans had a very vivid experience of this confrontation of opinions 20 years ago during the Cold War – and have finally come to terms with it in a pragmatic way.

Through communication or through isolation?

I see the more urgent problem elsewhere, i.e. in what Gert Kähler called the transformation of citizens into consumers. We are contributing to our own deformation of the citizen society, which we are busy exporting, and that is something that is conveniently overlooked. Even the term *consumer*, which has become commonplace, shows a revealing cynicism. Whether we are building filling stations, railway stations, airports or stadiums, we are exposed to the ruthless commercial dictate of reckless product advertising, which is not only an acoustic and optical imposition but also dictates our cultural life as well as the choreography of the masses.

GERT KÄHLER With reference to Canetti, [the German philosopher Peter] Sloterdijk has pointed out that the original crowd of congregations and gatherings has changed into a programme-related mass which undergoes an emancipation process by congregating in one place. The notion is that of becoming mass as an individual. This also refers to the millions of television viewers. But I would not express it quite so incontrovertibly as you say it. Because on the other side, the side of the citizens, we are also witnessing more and more commitment: through citizens' initiatives, as *Wutbürger* [enraged citizens], in voluntary positions, in clubs and social projects. The question is – a question I don't dare to answer – whether in fact these phenomena are a constant aspect of society, in other words not really a sign of change.

And then again, there is yet another aspect which was touched upon with the term *swarm intelligence*: it relates to the ambivalence of the masses and the question as to whether swarm intelligence is something that applies to human crowds: on the one hand there is the *dumb* mass which follows a leader and on the other there are social forms such as cities – which after all are also agglomerations of people – which through competition and the networks of their residents have led to man's most outstanding achievements.

VOLKWIN MARG In my view, the transformation of citizens into consumers is the most disastrous development of our take-what-you-can-get society which, without consideration for the desirable maturity of citizens – not to mention concern for our limited resources – exposes them to advertising and subconsciously programmes them for a superfluous and harmfully increasing material metabolism. Media dictated by viewing quotas, rapid changes in fashion and mass events are increasingly focused on just this one aim. By paying for the tickets and buying what has been advertised, citizens are even made to pay for their manipulation. In this perfidious manner it is a new phenomenon in history.

MICHAEL KUHN How is that evident in contemporary stadium design and the treatment of spectator crowds?

GERT KÄHLER Like the mass media, events – not just of a cultural nature, but also leisure and sports events – are no longer financed from the entrance fees alone, just like filling stations cannot be run from the sale of petrol and airports from the landing fees and passenger service; they need the profits from the sale of merchandise, product advertising and television viewing quotas to be commercially viable. The higher the number of consumers or the quota of viewers, the higher will be the profit of the respective businesses.

VOLKWIN MARG In stadium design this leads to a calculated separation of spectators into consumer classes:

- “VIP-VIP” class with separate entrance, lift and special viewing box;
- VIP class with separate car park, entrance, lobby and personal viewing box;
- Business class with separate entrance, shared viewing boxes, business restaurants and separate grandstand sectors with arm chairs;
- Press class with separate entrance, its own grandstand sector and lift to the so-called mixed zone, which is shared with the players;
- Normal standard class with kiosks for

refreshments in open grandstand corridors;

- Fan class with standing places behind the goals, with the home fans at one end and the away fans at the other end to diffuse potential conflict.

GERT KÄHLER Of course, this segregation of spectators is strongly reminiscent of the Roman Colosseum. The difference is that in ancient Rome the masses were divided by their social status (as well as gender), whereas nowadays it is money that separates the classes. In consequence, the newly-defined consumer classes differ in access arrangements, layout and fitting-out standard, down to the last detail. On the one hand, people seem to have an emotional need to merge with the mass as a whole, on the other hand they want their group to be segregated and separate from others.

In any case, the short-lived mass satisfaction does not last beyond the match as everybody goes their own way after the event, left with nothing but the hope of another shared excitement in the future. Canetti has described this very impressively in great detail.

VOLKWIN MARG The frequency of these events has increased. Olympic Games every four years (two years if you count the Summer and Winter Games), world and European football championships alternating every two years, the Eurovision song contest every year, European and Bundesliga games now sometimes several times a week.

MICHAEL KUHN Sport dominates the media, which need high viewing quotas for their advertising revenue, which in turn is financed from boosted mass consumption. In order to maximise advertising revenue, the advertising banners are made higher and moved ever closer to the pitch so that the organisers have to accept that the lower rows are no longer occupied because of the restricted view (players can only be seen down to their knees).

GERT KÄHLER What ultimately matters is not the number of spectators at the game but how