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Explicating archival ethnography: Helmut Käser's business trip

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ABSTRACT

Archival ethnography using microhistorical approaches has considerable untapped potential as a research approach in management and business history. We use a scrapbook compiled by the mid-twentieth century football administrator Dr Helmut Käser on a business trip to Northern Ireland and London in 1967 to illustrate the ethnographic potential of the emic perspective for narrating microhistorical cases. The scrapbook demonstrates Käser's interaction with several contexts which have been understood very separately by historians on his journey and we illustrate how this rare window into business travel in the 1960s helps us to understand how they coexisted and were experienced by actors themselves embedded in global organizations. We can therefore ethnographically experience the world of the past through collections of documents and abstracts which at first might appear ephemeral. We conclude that archival ethnography based on microhistorical approaches has the potential to be a fruitful new avenue of research for management and business historians.

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Introduction

This study aims to demonstrate the potential for archival ethnography as a methodological approach in management, business and organizational history. We present a detailed microhistorical engagement with a scrapbook compiled by Dr Helmut Käser on a business trip to Northern Ireland and London between the 16th and 21st of June 1967 (Käser 1967). Käser served from April 1960 until June 1981 as the Secretary General of the Zurich-based world football organization, the *Federation Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA), best known for its role in organizing the quadrennial World Cup in the sport. Käser's compilation of a scrapbook charting his six-day visit to the United Kingdom offers us a rare opportunity to study business travelers, and within this, sports administrators – in the globalizing sport establishment in the twentieth century, and more broadly of the new era of globalization which was taking shape in capitalist countries in the years after 1945.

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The findings from our analysis make not only a novel historiographical contribution (Tennent 2020) but also a distinct methodological contribution thus demonstrating the potential of archival ethnography using ego documents (Decker and McKinlay 2020; Tinning and Lubinski 2022) as an approach for the achievement of dual integrity in historical organization studies (Maclean, Harvey, and Clegg 2016) when studying the interaction between the empirical traces left behind by business travelers and the institutional level. We posit that the concepts of archival ethnography approached with an historical interpretivist stance (Carr 1990), utilizing Collingwood's (1994) notion of the historical imagination to carefully interpolate potentialities between rigorously interrogated fixed points (Decker and McKinlay 2020), can be valuable in unlocking the potential of microhistorical investigation using small-scale sources for theory building. This can be located within and mobilize Hargadon and Wadhvani's (2022) emphasis on the investigation of shorter or 'micro-scale' time frames situated within understanding of continuity and change over much longer periods. Levi (2019), 39) and Ghobrial (2019), 12–13) have remarked on the conceptual links between microhistory and the *Annales* school, and the potential exists for archival ethnography using ego sources to explicate the cultural practices underpinning the emergent institutional structures that characterize Braudel (1982) decades or centuries.

Microhistory is already a well-known conceptual device. It can help us to explore the messy details inherent within macro-constructs in time by focusing on spatially and temporally small cases that do not quite seem to fit in the broader historical narrative, known as 'the exceptional normal' (Grendi 1977) explored by studies such as Ginzburg (1976/1992) and Levi (1988). Ginzburg's (1976/1992: xi) case used the interplay between the very specific life of a miller known as Menocchio and the institutional power of the Roman Catholic Church's inquisitors, starting from Ginzburg's serendipitous discovery of the case file in the archives of the Italian city of Udine. Ginzburg's curiosity started from Menocchio's assertion that the world originated in putrefaction which seemed an unusual form of heresy. Following the paper trail further and extrapolating out of the interrogation files, including for instance listings of the books read by Menocchio (21–27) Ginzburg demonstrated that Menocchio fit into a less documented popular cultural tradition not well explored by histories which focused on the institutional level of organized religion. Ginzburg claimed that these studies, even while trying to study aspects of popular culture had remained within the grasp of the culture produce by powerful elites (xvi). A microhistorical approach therefore allows us to focus not just on the interaction between an individual case and the broader institutional context, but also to the potential to go beyond the etic to the emic. The etic here is the examination of culture in a comparative perspective while the emic embodies the specific nature of culture that emerges from the evidence that can be extracted from a singular case (Ginzburg 2012, 107–109). This does not imply a purely linear relationship between the micro and the macro, but rather the heuristic capacity, sometimes surprising or challenging of abstraction, of being able to interpret production and consumption from the perspective of the individual (Hargadon and Wadhvani, 2023, 682). This synthesis can reveal more authentic historical phenomena that were previously unreachable through studies which focused on dominant narratives, challenging our understandings, and thus pose new challenges to the etic.

We suggest that archival ethnography (Coller, Helms Mills, and Mills 2016; Gracy 2004; Ritter 2012; Stoler 2009) offers an epistemically compatible approach to build on micro-historical investigation, toward a thick description which aids us in the interpretation of nuanced cultural practices (Geertz 1973). Thick description is embedded in the practice of ethnographers seeking to explicate the cultural routines and discourses of a society which may not be immediately transparent to outsiders who are uninitiated in its context. Evidence can be gathered from a very specific context by exploring the interaction of an individual with a multitude of concepts and phenomena, each of which possesses its own history and historiography. Popp (2014) has demonstrated how the use of a single microhistorical source which embeds traces of a broader set of interactions between people and organizations can lead historians to a discussion of a much wider range of contexts. Archival ethnography, taking its epistemological inspiration from exploratory and immersive approach of sociological ethnography can expand this further by placing the historian as an observer of events or phenomena which they find traces of through documents. Gracy (2004) contributes to the literature of archival ethnography by carrying out a fieldwork-based ethnography of live archiving to reveal the 'insider' or emic sub-culture of the archive as it is constructed. Decker and McKinlay (2020) discuss the potential of applying ethnographic methods to the process of archival research, where the research subject is unrecoverable in the past, but part of the significance of this is the role that the research subject plays in leaving recoverable traces of their cultural practices leading us to an engagement with the construction of the archive by the research object. Ritter (2012) argues that for historians ethnographic immersion can allow them to collect data on a another culture of which they are not part, allowing an insight into the ethical perspective of a past culture. This allows us to consider Schwartz and Cook's (2002) proposition that we should consider archival exclusion as much as inclusion. A deep engagement with the 'clues' preserved by a historical actor together with some knowledge of the broader context, or emic allows us to consider more carefully what is tacitly there enabling the mobilization of the 'historical imagination' (Collingwood 1994) through the reading of sources 'against the grain' (Decker and McKinlay 2020, 26–27) or perhaps more perceptively 'beyond the edge of the page' (Ginzburg 1992, 1979). Ritter (2012, 466–467) highlights that ethnographic perspectives allow historians to engage particularly closely with 'gaps or misdeeds', or evidence which does not quite seem to fit in a smooth narrative, challenging our perceptions of order imposed from above.

The focus of this paper is to use historical sources to do ethnography, rather than carrying out a live ethnography of the archive, to demonstrate how the historical imagination can be harnessed to do fieldwork on people we never met or could never meet to understand how they experienced and interacted with cultural artifacts. Documents may appear mundane or even insignificant on their own (Collingwood 1994, 244), but often hint at background events or happenings that led to or were inspired by or consequences of their creation (Farge 2013; Stoler 2009).; With an assembled collection of texts from different contexts such as a scrapbook or other collection of ephemera the practical task of visiting an array of archival repositories to attain triangulation of sources is reduced. Rather, in a similar process to that used by Stoler (2009), 35–36) in using the standard forms of the Dutch Colonial Service to trace the cultural history of mixed race and poor white occupants of pre-independence Indonesia, the scrapbook allows for the potential for the observation of the 'non-participant' through a series of related ephemeral

documents or even artifacts which provide a trail of clues as to the agenda followed by the non-participant. If we accept the hypothetical this allows us to read beyond the sources by considering how the sources might be linked through the activities of the non-participant which led them to collect representative traces of their activity, whether the document was collected before or after the activity, or in some cases simply gives clues to potentiality. Scrapbooks by their nature are curated by the non-participant who takes decisions as to what materials and objects are worthy of inclusion, allowing them to be characterized as ego-documents which reveal something of the self and its performance of interactions with the world (Tinning and Lubinski 2022, 177; Heller 2023, 996–998). If we are comfortable with the notion of historical imagination in the explication of past cultural discourse we can appropriate historical context in the process of thick description, reflecting the emic into the etic and vice versa, exploring the cultural norms that arise around a group of actors through the lens of its interaction with wider institutions. This allows us to consider specific evidences which appear to contradict metanarratives more carefully while in some ways resolving the ethical dilemmas around how we represent past phenomena in a present of very different practices and values (Ritter 2012, 461; White 1980). Archival ethnography's detective-like process thus allows us to interpret and access otherwise unknowable connections from the past, the colligation of which allows for the potential of theory building at field level as alternative perspectives on ubiquitously narrated phenomena are revealed.

Materials and methods

Evocative of the serendipitous character of archival research discussed by S. Decker (2013) and Decker and McKinlay (2020) this material was an unintentional discovery within a preplanned research project. We initially set out to write a management history covering the organization of the 1966 FIFA World Cup, held in England. Following Tennent and Gillett's (2023) 'CLUMOP' typology of archival repositories, we identified FIFA's own corporate archive as appropriate to assist us in answering our research question. We built a rapport with the archivists who were extremely helpful and found many useful documents from which we could reconstruct FIFA's role in the organization of the tournament as well as understanding their relationship with the English Football Association (FA). Serendipity plays a major role in the research process in corporate archives such as this one where the researchers have no access to the catalog but rely on the accommodating nature and cultural awareness of the archivists to identify which of their holdings may be relevant.

By happenstance, beyond the materials that we were expecting to see, the archivists gave us an additional manilla folder, which contained only a hessian-bound scrapbook of about 30 pages with the handwritten title 'F.A. Board 67 Newcastle Co. Down London 15.–21.6'. The contents of the scrapbook seemed to be a miscellaneous collection of ephemera pasted into and onto the pages, but one of the items embedded within was the programme for the weekend's proceedings built around the 1967 International Football Association Board (IFAB) meeting, held that year in Newcastle, County Down, Northern Ireland (IFAB 1967a). We worked through the ephemera which was composed of documents such as travel tickets, hotel bills and leaflets and by following the trail of dates and names on some of the items as well as contextual knowledge of football politics and the

business history of the 1960s from other research projects it we interpreted that this was the collection of FIFA Secretary General Dr. Helmut Käser. Specifically, it was Käser's personal record of his trip to the meeting as well as a brief stay in London on the way back, mostly chronologically arranged, and apparently directly compiled by him, in an act of self-archiving. Our immediate realization was that he was recording the things that were interesting to him and reflected the joy of discovery that he experienced. Unlike Gooley (2013) who relates the joy of discovery to the natural world, Käser was experiencing the urban landscape and society. We were uncertain of the scrapbook's relevance to our primary research project, but as we were interested in the broader history and context of the FIFA organization as well as in the working lives of football officials, we recorded it using digital photography as it might contain relevant contextual information. We did not, however, use the digital photographs of the scrapbook in our subsequent work on the topic, returning to them only recently.

We have now reconsidered this scrapbook from the position of archival ethnography, carefully considering relationships between the emic hinted at by the documents and artifacts within to Käser's trip placing them within the etic context of the broader social, economic, and cultural world, and the overall pattern of activity that they evidence. We use these documents to reconstruct the specifics of Käser's journey, bringing out the broad themes which allow us to reflect on his experiences on the trip, and the diverse range of phenomena that he came into potential contact with. These specifics allow us to engage the historical imagination, immersing ourselves as ethnographers in the excitement, glamour and transgression of business travel in the 1960s. While the interpretation of the archive remains our own, by considering the scrapbook in totality as well as isolation in terms of primary source selection, we introduce a further level of serendipity by ceding research object selection to Käser himself allowing his curation of the book to guide us into his milieu. Unlike Ginzburg's (1992/1976) sources the scrapbook does not capture much of Käser in his own spoken voice, but like Stoler (2009) the arrangement and form of the documents, some on mundane standard formats, allow us to access the essence of his being and existence, and also prescriptive visions of what others thought this ought to be. Thence the scrapbook can be considered an ego-source allowing us a view of the 'self' of the compiler, an element often missing in more formal organizational documents (Tinning and Lubinski 2022, 168).

Tinning and Lubinski (2022, 176–181) typologise ego-documents into four 'approaches' – the remembering, experiencing, positioning and coping ego which can be inter-twined depending on the relation of agency to structure and memory. Some documents directly evidence consumption by Käser, and thus his eating, sleeping and breathing existence, while others hint at the activities that he undertook, or prominent individuals from the worlds of football or politics that he had contact with; others evidence only things that he might have done or had contact with. Thus elements of experience and agency in structure emerge – Käser made active choices around his consumption activity, but in other cases was more performative in his role as a business traveler and football administrator and could be considered to be actively dealing with and revealing the nature of the social structures around him. It is also uncertain, from inconsistencies in the scrapbook where occasionally two tickets or boarding passes appear, whether he was accompanied by his wife on the trip, or at times traveled with or undertook activities with other companions, perhaps from the football world. We did

not assume that he did or partook of everything that was available to him or that he collected traces of, but consider that as their potentialities were open to him, that they might be relevant to broader, hidden experiences of business travel in the 1960s while shedding light on the presentation of broader political, economic, social or cultural phenomena in the time period. Superficially, these documents belong to the etic, but we can learn much about how the needs and wants of business travelers such as Käser were perceived in them which allows us two potentially emic perspectives as observers. Firstly, we can appreciate how the world of football administration operated as a social entity in this period, a dimension less covered by historians of football governance, and secondly we can gain an insight into how the activities and products of enterprises such as airlines, banks, food and entertainment firms might have been viewed and experienced from the perspective of their target customers.

Despite the senior management position of our 'non-participant' we can gain a 'history from below' perspective of the structure of his relationship with these different actors and organizations bypassing the Chandlerian conceit that history should be written from the perspective of corporate headquarters and therefore the implicit hierarchical organization of archives that such headquarters leave behind (Decker and McKinlay 2020). In a similar nature to the coping antics of McKinlay's (2013) bank clerks the source allows us an opportunity to view the proximate activities to the creation of structures and routines constituting power and authority in world football by showing the playful nature of this formal diplomatic world, an apparent 'break' in such formality, but formative in maintaining its ritualistic nature. At a surface level Käser seems to be experiencing the IFAB meeting and the broader joys of his trip, but more deeply his consumption is revealing of a coping mechanism as he works through the diplomatic pressures of dealing with the maintenance of football's structures and its prestige in the broader political environment. The only structure imposed upon this archive seems to be the roughly chronological organization of it by its creator, which became evident by following the linkages between the various objects contained within. We therefore next consider Käser's purpose in keeping a record of his travels.

Keeping a record

The use of scrapbooks as a source in management and business history appears to be rare, but social and cultural historians and historians of material culture have considered their utility more broadly. While scholars have provided competing definitions of what a scrapbook is or might be, whether a montage (Bennett 2003), a themed compilation of objects mounted into a book (DeCandido 1993) or even an intermediate media form between books and magazines (Garvey 2003a), Kuipers (2004) considers that they mix several media forms. They can have elements of a diary, a photograph album, and a collection of ephemera – and Buckler and Leeper (1991) suggest that this multilayered combination of elements can provide an autobiographical insight into a person's perception of their personal and cultural identity. The purposes of scrapbook creation can be diverse and rely on the specific experience which the author or compiler aims to record or communicate.

Scrapbooks have a long history. Their earliest form was the 'commonplace books' of the 1700s which people used to record things that they wished to remember, while by the

1800s they were being used to preserve artifacts and mementos (Fram 2005, 216). Preserving memories has long been an important element of Good (2013) considers it a form of personal media assemblage leading to archiving, and analogizes it to the twenty-first century obsession with posting our experiences on social media. Scrapbooks allowed people to document their friendships, a response to the abundance of media sources allowing people to save things that they might not otherwise be able to find again later (such as newspaper cuttings) and, linking to materiality, to express tastes and build social capital, allowing the exchange of scrapbooks with others. While scrapbooks could be private Garvey (2003b) points to the potential for their compilers, in her case girls and young women, to compare to see what unique patterns each had made of the same or similar material, clipped from mass produced media and artifacts. This included 'trade cards' created by advertisers with the specific aim of creating a branded collectible which was then re-arranged or re-interpreted into new or subversive patterns by scrapbooking enthusiasts who sought to create something new and representative of themselves out of the assorted media (Garvey 1996, 16–23; Rosenberg 2022, 68–70). In more recent times, Fram (2005) discusses the revival of scrapbooking as a hobby leading to the growth of a commercial industry in early 2000s, with specialist stores and magazines emerging to support a hobby that was particularly popular among women aged 30–49. By this time, the specialist industry had created blank scrapbooks to fill as well as supplying artistic materials and the possibility of combining the interest with other crafts. Many of these scrapbookers were well educated and compiled scrapbooks to preserve their family's history, while also taking a creative interest in the process of compiling something unique. Scrapbooks can, therefore, do two things for the ethnographically minded historian – they can first help us to understand the culture of a period (and sub-cultures within it), but second can further understand how individuals interacted with culture as they sought to personalize it and perhaps what resonated with them or which they considered valuable or memorable. The archiving of a process of consumption by the compiler, who invites the viewer to share in their memory of consumption highlights the conceptual compatibility with the concept of ethnographic observation, in that the historical actor allows us the opportunity to observe their activities and interactions with artifacts, often produced by organizations.

Dr Helmut Käser was a Swiss lawyer and football administrator. He was born in 1912, lived until 1994 and served as the Secretary General of the Swiss FA from 1942 to 1946, before serving as the FIFA Secretary General from 1960 to 1981 (transfermarkt.co.uk n.d.). He is perhaps best known for his procedural association with the controversial policies on South African sport and decolonization of the FIFA President Sir Stanley Rous, who served from 1961 to 1974 (Novak 2021). Käser survived the replacement of Rous as President in 1974 by the Brazilian João Havelange who had built his platform on representing disenfranchised African and Asian nations but found himself replaced by Havelange's ally Joseph 'Sepp' Blatter in 1981. Blatter notoriously married Käser's daughter Barbara around the same time that he replaced him as Secretary General (Campbell 2015), but at the time of our study this humiliation lay in the future. The 1960s were a period when FIFA had cemented its role as the central institution of football globally, through its control of the quadrennial men's FIFA World Cup tournament, on which it relied to fund the organization (Homburg 2008; Tennent and Gillett 2022). The organization was relatively modest in scale and its future commercial development through television rights and

merchandising largely lay in the future, with much of its authority being more structural, though the 1966 tournament in England had been enough of a commercial success to ensure the secure funding of the organization in Zurich as well as its outreach schemes to spread football around world (Tennent and Gillett 2017, 142–146). In cultural terms less is known about the organization in the pre-Havelange era; sociological investigations have tended to focus on its commercialization and financial expansion from the 1970s to present while attempts at ethnographic investigation have faced some resistance from FIFA (Sugden and Tomlinson 1998, 2003; Tomlinson 2014).

Käser's motivations for compiling the scrapbook of his 1967 trip to the IFAB are less clear to us. As a middle-aged man, he falls outside of the female scrapbooking demographics of different eras described by Garvey (1996, 2003b), Rosenberg (2022) and Fram (2005), 216), who found only three male respondents in a sample of 596. While Käser himself was not marginalized in the sense of the more conventional subjects of micro-historical investigation the source he leaves behind has been marginalized in prevailing narratives on scrapbooking. In his global role business travel would have been routine – he would have come to England in 1966 for the World Cup, and he also traveled to the country in July 1965 to inspect progress on the stadiums for the tournament (Tennent and Gillett 2017, 100). The role of the IFAB is to oversee and make changes to the Laws of the Game (or the rules of the sport). In 1967, it was (and still is) made up of representatives from the English, Welsh, Scottish and Northern Irish FAs as well as from FIFA, with the four British associations and FIFA sharing equal votes. The reason for this arrangement is itself historical and recognizes the legacy role of the British – IFAB was formed in 1886 before football had spread much beyond the British Isles, and FIFA was added in 1913 to represent the rest of the world (IFAB 2023). Hosting the meeting, which was usually held in June in a 'grand hotel' was rotated between the five participants and Newcastle (which had also hosted in 1962) took its place after a sequence involving Venice, St. Helier (Jersey), Edinburgh and Llandudno. Käser would have been no stranger to these events and this makes his keeping of a record as a seasoned executive aged 54 all the more fascinating. One possible motive would be the keeping of expenses for reimbursement – Käser's bill from the Slieve Donard Hotel in Newcastle is included, as is a handwritten list of expenditures, but no other financial records appear apart from a bill from the Windsor Hotel in London from an earlier stay in February 1967.

The keeping of some form of a reminder of the trip, however routine, seems to have been a more likely reason for the scrapbook's compilation, suggesting that it could have had some role in the 'remembering ego', in retrospectively constructing Käser's involvement in the IFAB meeting and the leadership mythology he could derive from this (Tinning and Lubinski 2022, 178). Scrapbooking may have been a common practice among men involved in football at this time who wished to keep a memory of their career – the authors found a similar collection of articles, career and travel mementos compiled by the referee Ken Dagnall and submitted by his family to the local authority archive in Bolton (Dagnall 1950–1990), where he lived, but more mysterious in the case of Käser was the depositing of the scrapbook in the archives of his employer. In terms of Black's (2023) suggested approach to material culture this was an assemblage of materials that Käser collected incidentally rather than deliberately, and the raw material of a scrapbook and glue were easy to procure from stationers. In terms of audience it is not clear if he intended to share the contents of the scrapbook with any of his

contemporaries, or indeed if he did do so, and we are privileged to look over his shoulder at documents that he read and assembled when we did not know him nor will we be able to know him. The scrapbook was an accessible way for him to memorialize and communicate, though unlike Garvey and Rosenberg's collectors there was no artistic re-arrangement as such – the materials, though often branded, were pasted in in a more functional way with less concern for creating a new arrangement out of them. We do not know either if Käser kept scrapbooks of other travels or topics, but for certain the preservation of the scrapbook allowed for us to gain a rare glimpse of the everyday life of a 1960s executive in his 50s.

We now proceed to join Käser in Zurich as he sets out on his initial journey to Northern Ireland, interpreting his sources through their wider cultural context to reflect the nature of business travel with specific reference to football administration.

Business travel

Käser's trip took place at a time when the technology underpinning business travel had recently undergone significant change, with the emerging availability of jet-based air travel reducing air travel times and risks. These technological advancements shrank Europe considerably, allowing Käser to easily undertake a journey that would previously have involved lengthy rail or road journeys and two sea crossings. Thus, travel experiences were improved, helping to create and change the experiential 'baggage' that travelers accumulated (Fava and Krátká 2021). The sources in the scrapbook from Käser's air journeys generate a sense of excitement, but at the same time there was a sense of very real risk – those involved in football would have been especially aware of the Munich Air disaster of 1958 which killed 23 people including eight Manchester United players and three support staff (Manchester Evening News 2023). This sense of real risk may have encouraged travelers to make the most of their business trips, to some extent blurring business and pleasure, and the sources in the scrapbook, considered as an assemblage, suggest that football administrators were given to doing so. Fava and Krátká (2021) demonstrate that business travelers, even sticking purely within their professional roles still encountered cultural and social differences, leading them to contrast the destination environment with their home environment, meaning that business travel might still have a personal impact on a traveler.

Käser pasted his boarding passes into the scrapbook (Käser 1967). From this we know that on June 15 he flew by SwissAir flight SR804 from Zurich to London Heathrow, before connecting on to British European Airways flight BE6550 to Belfast. From a stamp on his Swissair ticket, it appears that he was able to deposit his luggage at Zurich Hauptbahnhof, or main railway station, at 1215, before a transfer to Zurich airport. He did not record any further details of the first flight but did save a Flight Bulletin and brochure from the second flight, along with a wrapper for a Cadbury's Butter Madeira snack and the empty wrapping for an inflight knife and fork, suggesting that some form of complimentary meal was offered on the flight. The Flight Bulletin was a multilingual form filled in and circulated around the passengers by the aircrew detailing the type of aircraft (a Vickers Vanguard propellor aircraft built in 1961, and now preserved at Brooklands Museum, Weybridge, England (planelogger.com 2022)), the identity of the captain

and cabin attendants, the altitude and speed of the aircraft, the arrival time at Belfast (6.40 pm) and even places that the aircraft would pass, including Liverpool and the Isle of Man. Mills (2002) has discussed the gendered identity of airline staff, and while two stewardesses, a Miss Harris and a Miss Painter were working on the flight, a Mr Gilder and Mr Harris were also present, demonstrating that while BAE had introduced women stewardesses from 1946 this had not ended the employment of men. We do not know if Mr and Miss Harris were related in any way! The document is clearly marked for passing around the cabin, but Käser appropriated it at the end of the flight for his collection; he visited England often on FIFA business, but the onward journey to Northern Ireland was less routine, perhaps bringing the need to keep a reminder to the front of his mind.

There was no such issue of appropriation with the colorful 'Your Flight' brochure which Käser also included in the scrapbook (BEA 1967). This was written in English, French and German, marked 'For you to keep' and was intended to inform the traveler about the practicalities of their flight as well as incorporating souvenir value. Included was a range of safety information including expectations of passenger behavior and details of the cabin service onboard, as well as upselling in the form of details of the support services offered to travelers by BEA agents, including self or chauffeur driven car hire, and some flight network maps. In this brochure we are reminded of the social normalcy around smoking at this time (though if Käser was a smoker he chose not to record it) 'smoking is not allowed during take-off and landing, or in the event of an emergency landing' (p. 1), while a series of photographs showed a young woman putting the life-jacket on (p. 3). There was also detail for passengers unfamiliar with flying about what the flight would be like, including the benefits of a pressurized cabin for avoiding excessive ear discomfort caused by changes in cabin pressure, and a lengthy section on landing, telling passengers to expect to hear 'a change in the note of the engines, the sound of the undercarriage going down, and the landing flaps being extended (p. 5).'

The sense of reassurance but with a touch of luxury created by the editorial parts of the brochure was carried further by the advertisements in it. These blended corporate image and consumer purposes as well as supporting novelty by allowing passengers a glimpse behind the scenes. In a series of joint adverts with Castrol Oil, BEA demonstrated that they used the same lubricant in aircraft that drivers used in their cars, boosting the perceived quality of the product. There was also an advert for the Decca Navigator, a navigation device used by BEA made by a British company probably better known to consumers as a record label (Tennent 2013, 329). Financial firms aiming at a business audience also advertised, as well as the British car maker the Rootes Group, advertising the five marques it produced, and there were consumer-oriented adverts for seven different brands of cigarettes. There were alcohol adverts too – Worthington Pale Ale was available on the flight, while Martini and Asti Gancia provided a more aspirational feel. There was also a single perfume advert. All the adverts suggest an attempt to target the affluent consumer and, in some cases, for instance, the Rootes Group advert which gave the address of its 'London Showrooms and Export Division', boost both corporate image and the possibility of exports with trade clients visiting Britain. Rootes was struggling to compete with a small capital base; the launch of the Hillman Imp in 1963, built at the Linwood factory near Glasgow, had not gone well, and the company was gradually taken over by Chrysler (Owen 1999, 224–225). The demographic positioning of these adverts

gives us a clear sense of the business focused target audience of air travel and the attempts of British companies, many of whom were under pressure to generate exports to support sterling as a currency, to use it as a new way to foster interests in their products abroad (Feinstein 1994).

Place marketing

The IFAB's purpose was to review, update and clarify the on-field laws of football, and at the meeting held at the prestigious Slieve Donard Hotel in Newcastle several decisions were made by the board. These generally included the simplification of language around the rules or the clarification of them, but one important change made was to allow the discretionary use of up to two substitutes in a match rather than using them only to replace injured players (IFAB 1967b). This would in time change the tactics of football teams, who could respond to situations in a match by bringing on more attacking or defending players. Käser did not keep any record of the business side of the meeting in his scrapbook but did retain the 'Programme of Arrangements' for the weekend (IFAB 1967a), which demonstrates the social and diplomatic dimension of international football in this period. Presently there were 21 delegates, and in an era when men's football did not recognize women's football, all were men – six delegates from the English FA, five from the Scottish FA, three from the FA of Wales, four from the (Northern) Irish FA, and five from FIFA (though the FIFA President at the time, Sir Stanley Rous, was English). As was customary at the time, great care was taken in the reproduction of the full names of the delegates, especially their titles, honors, and degrees, which gives an insight into their elevated social status together with the amateur nature of football administration at the time – among the delegates five had honors from the British crown, four were Justices of the Peace (or magistrates), one was a medical doctor, and two from FIFA, including Käser, had PhDs. The meeting was as much a high-status networking event and an opportunity for Northern Ireland to promote itself as it was important in the football calendar.

The 'Programme of Arrangements' demonstrates that a blend of very formal and informal social activities aimed at selling Northern Ireland to the delegates took place. It also shows that at least some of the 21 delegates had brought their wives or perhaps girlfriends, as there was also provision for 'the ladies' (it is not clear if Käser brought a female companion). The 'Committee of Study', which set up the agenda, met during the day on Friday 16th June, while in the evening the whole party was to be entertained by the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland (until 1972 Northern Ireland enjoyed a very high degree of devolution), Terence O' Neill, and the Government at the Parliament Buildings at Stormont. The Saturday saw the IFAB meeting itself take place, starting at 10 am, while the ladies were treated to a 'short motor coach drive'. How much time the meeting took up we do not know, but the evening's entertainment was to be an official dinner for the delegates and ladies laid on by the Irish FA. Sunday 18th was a day for leisure – the whole party would take a motor coach drive to the nearby cathedral city of Newry to enjoy lunch at the Ardmore Hotel, giving a chance to see the scenery of the Mourne Mountains. The three-day programme seems to have allowed sufficient time for the delegates to see Newcastle, a pleasant resort town surrounded by the mountains, at their own leisure. Käser kept a promotional leaflet for visitors printed by the local council – this shows that as well as having access to the mountains the town offered several seaside attractions including an

outdoor swimming pool with diving boards, pony rides along the beach, picnicking in the dunes, rowing on a lake, band and concert performances, and a championship golf course. The leaflet, which featured a modernist design of abstracted mountains on the cover, marketed the town as providing 'a welcome from warm Irish hearts' but with the advantage for British visitors of requiring no customs checks. Käser pasted in the box from a roll of Kodachrome 8 mm color movie film, suggesting that his interest in personal archiving extended into making short movies of sights while traveling and he did so in Northern Ireland. There are also some intriguing signs of the consumption of food and drink that Käser partook in – including foil wrappers from Kerrygold butter, the lid label of a small jar of Robertson's Golden Shred marmalade as well as of a small tub of German Zentis jam made in Aachen, and the label from a bottle of rose wine (perhaps costing 5 shillings), as well as a packet of Alka-Seltzer tablets which were perhaps useful in the recovery!

The event saw the delegates visit Northern Ireland in a moment of relative peace before the tensions of the troubles escalated after 1968, and it appears that both the Stormont government and the local government in Newcastle wished to promote it as a benign and accessible place for business and recreation. The Unionist Prime Minister, Terence O' Neill had come to power in 1963 based on his landed connections (Wichert 1999). O' Neill pursued a relatively liberal agenda, attempting to modernize the Northern Irish economy by attracting inward investment from a range of firms including Michelin, Goodyear, Du Pont, Enkalon, ICI and Courtaulds, constructing new motorways, and building the new city of Craigavon in County Armagh. There was a broad pivot toward economic and social planning with an attempt to include the Catholic minority in policies and a thawing of relations with the Republic of Ireland, while a new ministerial code prevented Unionist politicians from favoring firms that they had connections with, resulting in an improvement in economic performance (Brownlow 2007). Despite this policy success O' Neill found himself unpopular with more extreme Unionists and Loyalists, including the Reverend Ian Paisley who feared the erosion of their political and economic position, while Catholics started to campaign more assertively for improved civil rights, forming the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association in 1967 (Wichert 1999, 92–107). The hospitality extended to this IFAB visit can be situated within this attempt to expand Northern Ireland's horizons. Käser kept the official menu and programme for the six-course dinner, and his place card with the Northern Irish coat of arms on it. One of the starters was smoked salmon, while the main course consisted of peach glazed roast ham, and luxurious deserts included sherry trifle and a cheese tray. This was followed by toasts to The Queen, the IFAB, and the Government. Käser also scribbled down the names of the people he was seated beside on the back of the booklet, perhaps as an aide memoire in case he needed to contact them later to draw on connections. A small Union Jack and Swiss flag were probably used to decorate the table, as they made their way into the scrapbook, suggesting an attempt to give the event some diplomatic significance. Käser himself, perhaps inspired by the hospitality of the Northern Irish, decided to buy some of the products of local industry – some initialed handkerchiefs, and a packet of napkins made of Irish linen, and kept the promotional sticker from one of these. The IFAB visit provides an unusual window into the everyday practice of soft power in the 1960s and demonstrates that football was very much a politically significant sport at this time with the smaller British nations very much keen to exploit their over-representation at the heart of it.

Swinging London

On Monday 19 June Käser took BEA flight 6523 back to London Heathrow, where he stayed the nights of 19th and 20 June. On this flight, he did not get his hands on the flight brief, but it appears that food was served – he kept the knives and forks and a napkin, as well as the wrappers of some complimentary Paterson’s Shortbread Fingers, made at the Royal Burgh Bakery in Rutherglen, Scotland, as well as the wrapper from a peppermint toffee sweet made by J. Dobson (Huddersfield) Ltd. In another example of the remarkable completeness of his collecting, we know that Käser probably took sugar in his tea or coffee, because he saved a BEA cube sugar wrapper, refined by the British firm Tate & Lyle Refineries Ltd. On this occasion, he also saved details of his airport transfer – two tickets – one for him and one for an unknown companion, for the BEA Airport Coach from the Airport to the West London Air Terminal, costing 6 shillings adult – BEA, like Swissair clearly aimed to maintain for travelers the image that they could provide door to door travel. There is also a letter from Denis Follows, the Secretary (then a sort of Chief Executive) of the English FA confirming that accommodation had been booked at the Windsor Hotel, near the FA headquarters in Lancaster Gate at a price of £5 10 shillings per night including breakfast, and quite luxuriously for the time, a double room with private bathroom. This suggests that the FA as the local football body were expected to host Käser for his time in London – although they did not pay for his accommodation, his proximity to the FA offices presumably served a diplomatic role for both the FA and FIFA, and would allow Käser access to the FA’s facilities should he need to catch up on any work.

The London of 1967 was in the midst, or perhaps toward the end (Gilbert 2006), of the popular culture revolution known as ‘Swinging London’ following the *Time* (1966) magazine feature of April 1966. The *Time* article was clearly designed to ‘sell’ the new youth-oriented movements emerging in London to the American market, but certainly the city’s attractions had been such that football fans from around the world had preferred to stay in London during the previous year’s World Cup, to the disappointment of businesses and local authorities in other English cities (Gillett and Tennent 2021; Tennent and Gillett 2017, 120–1). There was a broad sense that the city had started to change in character from about the period of the 1956 Suez Crisis onwards, as incomes had risen, a new cultural economy based around the entertainment industry and property development had arisen (New Statesman 1960; Booker 1972). Although Gilbert (2006) argues that the fashion revolution inspired by the migration to the city of young people with wages to spend centered around Carnaby Street and the King’s Road had already started to decline, Käser’s scrapbook evidences that the city continued to enjoy a remarkable nightlife in this period. Käser pasted in a whole London entertainment guide – *This is London: What to do and where to go* for the week of June 16–22 1967 (Anon 1967).

The guidebook demonstrates the diversity of entertainment opportunities and experiences available to the visitor at this time was remarkable, with large corporations including the record and electronics company EMI and the Rank Organisation increasingly investing in the West End industry. Such was the intensity of live performances of different genres that it would have been possible to watch two or perhaps three live performances in a day at the weekend, though the forms of entertainment available also reflected the social attitudes of the time. There were at least 20 active theaters in the West End showing

a broad range of plays, including the more high-brow Shakespeare's *As You Like it*, opera and ballet performances at Covent Garden and a whole range of comedy and musical performances available including Spike Milligan in *The Bed Sitting Room*, the musicals *Fiddler on the Roof* and *Charlie Girl* and the now infamous but then well-known from television *The Black & White Minstrel Show*. The minstrel show was so popular that it was now in its 6th year at the Victoria Palace Theater, was being performed twice nightly, and would continue to run until at least January 1968. Intriguingly there were also adverts for more less commercial but perhaps more experimental plays in smaller venues, including a play called *Happy Deathday* by Peter Howard at the Westminster Theatre, and the Mermaid Theater in Blackfriars, which presented a twice nightly performance of *The Trojan Wars* by Euripides. Variety shows, though decreasing in popularity at this time, were still around – the comedian Ken Dodd topped the bill at the London Palladium in a twice nightly programme of performers organized by the impresario Bernard Delfont, who would become a director of EMI in 1967. Delfont was also in charge of entertainment at the 'Talk of the Town' theater restaurant including a Wild West themed revue show at 9.30 pm and a performance by the American jazz musician Mel Tormé. As many as 34 establishments offered 'Dining & Dancing with Cabaret'. For gamblers, there were a range of casinos, and even greyhound racing at Wimbledon. Several cinemas, at this time single screen, were also advertised including ten venues owned by The Rank Organisation; the most prestigious venue in Leicester Square was showing the James Bond film *You Only Live Twice*.

Adult entertainment was also integrated into the *What to do and where to go* guide, suggesting that it was aimed very heavily at a male audience, perhaps looking for the 'dolly birds' of the new permissive society (Gilbert 2006). The Raymond Revuebar took up a half page advert with its 'Festival of Striptease '67', advertising entertainment spread over three different rooms, available from 7 pm to 3 am. This club also accepted Diners club and American Express cards, a sign of the spreading acceptance of credit cards. Other striptease revues, many of them also offering dining facilities and even valet parking were also advertised, and a near full page advertisement was taken up by Omar Rhayyam, an 'Oriental Cabaret' featuring 'Middle Eastern Belly Dancers'. The 'Academy of Visual Art', run by Jean Paul Straker, offered exhibitions and demonstrations of life studies and models. In the cinema section, Cameo, a chain of four adult cinemas, advertised branches in Oxford Circus, Charing Cross Road, Great Windmill Street and Victoria. Showgirls and dancers were also advertised in a lot of the more 'mainstream' entertainment venues, including the Pigalle theater restaurant, which advertised on the front cover.¹

The publishers, William Stevens Publications Ltd., clearly did not feel the need to turn down such advertising and rather encouraged it, perhaps suggesting that it was the sort of entertainment the target audience expected to see in London. Cornelius and Pezet (2023) have theorized that the City of London forms a heterotopia, a distinct district of the capital city which has been given free reign outside of the normative governance structures of the rest of London or England because of its relative diplomatic power founded on its control over the nation's finances. It is possible to suggest that the West End, and particularly Soho, had evolved into a heterotopic district of the city in which anomic social conventions had taken hold at least temporarily (Lefebvre 1974) built on a longer heritage of bohemian and exceptionalist culture that had given the area an exotic image. Adult industry entrepreneurs such as Paul Raymond, owner of Raymond's

Revue Bar, sought to circumvent the censorship enforced in theaters by making their venues private clubs (Mort 2007, 46). The local authority and residents later sought to cleanse the reputation of the area through redevelopment, but Raymond would reinvest his earnings into property in Soho and beyond, becoming Britain's richest man by 1992 (Barker 2008). Certainly, from the materials collected by Käser the heterotopic and hedonistic nature of the tourist experience available in London contrasted sharply with that promoted in Northern Ireland, which had promoted its modernity to visitors in a contrasting fashion focusing on the adventures to be had outdoors.

We have a less clear idea of which of London's diverse evening entertainments Käser did partake in as he did not save any theater or cinema tickets, though he may have over-indulged again in some form as another alka-seltzer wrapper is pasted into the scrapbook. This suggests that he could have socialized with colleagues, perhaps from the world of English football, in pubs or late-night clubs. He may have gone to an establishment with a dress code as he scrapbooked the wrapper for a complimentary shoe polisher cloth from his hotel. We do know that he pursued his interest in antiques while in London as he attended, with a companion, 'the Antique Dealer's Fair and Exhibition 1967', held at Grosvenor House in Park Lane. He traveled to and from this exhibition by London Transport bus, rather than taking a taxi, in a period when London buses were struggling to come up with new strategies to counter the rise of the car (Fowler 2021, 24–25). There is also the business card for an antique furniture dealer with the address of 34 Portobello Road, which he may have visited or simply attended the stand of at the exhibition. There is no record that Käser bought any antiques in London although the costs of transport back to Zurich may have prevented him from doing so. After his two-night stay in London Käser headed back to Switzerland on Wednesday 21st June, buying a bottle of Teacher's scotch whiskey for £1 from the Forte's Duty Free Liquor Shop at Heathrow Airport. This final souvenir marks the end of the trip and apart from a last scribbled and largely illegible sheet detailing some of Käser's spending, the end of the scrapbook.

Discussion

Käser's scrapbook initially fascinated us when we discovered it as every turn of the page brought some new compelling revelation about his trip. It unsettled and challenged us as business historians in that it was rare to find archives which brought us into contact with the everyday experience of executives and the moral context of their existence. This caused us to think more reflexively about the data we were collecting (Tennent, Gillett, and Foster 2020). The emic suggests a few tropes emerge from Käser's interaction with and contribution to the worlds of business travel and football administration. Through these tropes we can apprehend the blended nature, somewhere between professionalization and amateurism, of football's practices at this time. Firstly, the air travel experience suggests that a substantial community of frequent flyers were emerging, generally men of sufficient economic power that companies such as Rootes marketed their image as well as products to. They marked their status through the materialism of car ownership and the purchase of other luxury goods, while Käser personally enjoyed the consumption opportunities that the flight gave him. Opportunities to consume food and drink throughout the trip were legion, and this perhaps reflects the reinforcement of status as well as an indulgence away from

home, while helping to cope with the intensity of the experience. This leads us to the blending of work at the highest level with pleasure and social activity; Käser may never have visited Newcastle without the IFAB taking place there, and the location had clearly been chosen because it had more leisure amenities than industrial Belfast. There was no expectation that the trip would revolve entirely around football administration, and we can imagine the delegates playing golf, enjoying their coach tours, shopping for souvenirs, and strolling along the promenade before dressing for dinner with the Prime Minister. The mask of professionalism – perhaps important on these formal occasions might be allowed to slip as delegates relaxed into these social activities. This also seems to have been the case in London, where Käser's activities seem to have been mostly social, and an opportunity to pursue his hobbies as well as to perhaps catch up with contacts in English football. This blending of work and pleasure, formality, and hedonism, suggests a culture in which sport at the hybrid level of professionalism and amateurism at which it then sat was a gateway to broader experiences and companionship for the people who organized it. The scrapbook captures the off-stage work for the performance and maintenance of these structures; at first apparently through the experiencing ego, but then progressing to the coping and remembering (Tinning and Lubinski 2022, 177–178).

What is less clear is to what extent the identity of the business traveler was shaped in reflection or response to the media forms found in the scrapbook or whether it had emerged from within the community itself, as the roles of structure and agency flip and blend throughout. To us, ourselves on a business trip to an archive, the scrapbook seemed to throw up ethical dimensions, some of them transgressive; Käser seemed to be enjoying himself too much. Ritter (2012, 461) highlights that an ethnographic approach reduces the ethical burden on historians as it shifts the emphasis from narration to the reporting of a cultural milieu on the part of the researcher; this mind-set is particularly valuable for research on scrapbooks where the triangulation of sources usually done by historian is done by the research object who assembled a series of 'social documents' (Ziemann and Dobson 2009) produced through everyday transactions. This scrapbook is tantalizing in that its emic lays at once in the assemblage of materials, but also in the many potentialities not realized on the page; some materials collected might have been too embarrassing to include. Perhaps this is an indication of the anxieties that must have existed off the page. Stoler (2009, 185) highlights that such disparities are themselves captivating yet will tend to be left out of historical narratives because they do not fit the pattern neatly. In our case, the ambiguity is beguiling because it speaks to the liminal nature of the scrapbook's compilation by a senior executive in a semiprofessional industry for whom work blended into pleasure and vice versa. Käser's travels were not grand strategy, but the furniture around it. By assembling a scrapbook constituting a performative documentary source (Heller 2023, 999) out of marketing content (performative narrative sources) Käser moved the materials from enacting organizations to enacting cultural practices. This demonstrates how the narratives of individual organizations combined to perform Käser's sense of self through the fluctuating interplay of agency, structure, experience and ultimately memorializing, and more broadly business travel as a community. We contribute that ethnographic microhistory can be a valuable tool for studying the inconsistencies around the powerful, such as senior executives, as well as the oppressed and marginalized, because it allows us a rare view of the person making the decisions themselves away from the performative stage of the boardroom.

Conclusion

The Braudel (1982) concept of the *longue duree* sheds light on constructs which may endure over many centuries yet interact with and impact upon events which happen in much smaller spaces and timescales. This study, which documents happenings at a personal level over a few days, represents one such opportunity to play with levels of analysis and timescales, and to analyze much bigger constructs in the focus of a micro-source which appears to be an outlier in terms of the existing scholarship on the genre (De Vries 2019). Käser's trip saw him collect and keep documents and artifacts which related to his interactions with a number of very particular institutional contexts, all with their own particular histories, but which were also going through particular phases of continuity and change in the 1960s. This may have been a common practice at the time, but has to some extent defied survival as scrapbooks, like McKinlay's (2013) banker's cartoons, tend to end up in the 'miscellaneous' sections of archive catalogs as they were hidden from formal authority. We gained an insight into the world of football administration in the 1960s, when the sport had just become a big global television event, but before the extensive commercial possibilities of this had been fully realized. Now, more than anything, football administration was a sort of gentlemanly hybrid – part business, part amateur, part political and social, and this was epitomized by the surrounding of decision-making meetings with recreational activities, but the more formal minutes and other procedural records kept by FIFA and other bodies give little insight into this. But it is likely that given the extra social time around formal meetings, decision makers in football chatted informally in the bar or at the golf course, perhaps building strategems and alliances. This time was no doubt also important to the building of social capital in football politics. The hybrid nature of football administration may also have had consequences for the future professionalization of these structures in the 1970s and after, as the expectation that social relationships were as important as the formal may not have faded even as power came to be oriented around access to funding.

We also have been able to sample the excitement and novelty surrounding air travel in the 1960s, which, although becoming more reliable and safer due to the introduction of jet aircraft, still had to go far to reassure passengers of the mode's technological superiority. Airlines tried to do this by creating a professional atmosphere which endeavored to make their customers as comfortable as possible by providing a luxury service while reinforcing their futuristic credentials with details of the aircraft and flight navigation.

There were also attempts to integrate with other forms of transport by providing city center check-ins, or feeder bus services. Of the destinations visited by Käser we get a view into two different but related narratives of Britain in the 1960s. Being a 'football politician' brought with it the opportunity to meet 'real politicians', among them Prime Minister O' Neil of Northern Ireland, who was trying to modernize his jurisdiction through economic and technological modernization, as well as the increasing recognition of the Catholic minority. Even as O' Neil and his cabinet hosted the football administrators at Stormont this agenda was starting to slip out of his grasp, but Northern Ireland tried to present itself to its visitors as open for business and, perhaps, even as the air industry opened the possibilities of holidays in warmer climes, market itself as a tourist destination based upon its natural beauty and the potential for outdoor pursuits. London as a big city inevitably

offered a very different catalog of attractions to visitors, but it was also at the center of considerable economic and social change which were felt in the city's cultural scene, with increasing affluence evidenced by the range of entertainment opportunities available to visitors.

All these changes opened possibilities for interaction between Käser and the people and places he visited, reminding us of the potential for management and business history of archival ethnography based on a heuristic take on a micro level to give us insights into contexts where the institutional history is well investigated but the specifics of how people experienced and interacted with it are less well known. This might include considering how consumers interacted with specific industries or how business to business transactions operated. This has the further potential contribution to help us understand how contexts with very different histories interacted in a connected world – in our case, Käser touched upon a variety of contexts the histories of which are typically narrated very separately, but which existed contemporaneously and were experienced as such by the same actors. These same actors were then, perhaps inspired by the experiences that they had had, and the knowledge gained from these experiences contributing to the making of decisions in the institutional contexts through which historians were typically studying them. A caveat to this is that the impact of all individual actors could not be considered equal, but rather more proportionate to the relative power of those studied, making the (relatively) powerful a valuable topic of study for microhistory.

A potential limitation is that we remain as archival researchers second-hand users of the documents and artifacts, some of which hint at the possibility of an interaction rather than offering us concrete evidence of it. We further cannot know precisely what the collector or compiler's intentions were or their reaction to specific experiences, but scrapbooks such as this allow us to piece together the movements of an individual such that we can interpret their likely significance, as we have attempted to do here. That the experiences documented in a scrapbook were impactful on travelers such as Käser is perhaps evidenced by the need or wish to keep a reminder of it. Thus, archival ethnography may offer us as historians a potential use for the more unusual personal effects or artifacts kept in archives that do not superficially help us to tell the story of management or business practice in a more abstract sense. We therefore encourage management and business historians not to discount the possibilities of scrapbooks, documents or ephemera that appear personal in context or seem to fall outside of the usual range of documentation expected to be generated by the different forms of managerial work.

Note

1. Interestingly, The Pigalle was named after the famous red light district of Paris, France, and this London club hosted many famous performers, including in 1963 English pop band The Beatles, who had recently returned from Germany where they had played as a resident band in the red light district of Hamburg between 1960 and 1962 (Miles and Badman 2001). In 1962 The Beatles had arrived at the four-piece lineup that would become their best known (NME.com 2018) and in 1963, the year that they appeared at the Pigalle, at a Jewish charity event (The Paul McCartney Project, n.d.) they enjoyed a run of hits in the UK charts, which included three number 1 singles, and two number 1 albums, resulting in the term and social phenomenon 'beatlemania' (Mulchrone 1963). In 1964, they had performed in the U.S.A. launching

a ‘British Invasion’ of popular music which also included the Rolling Stones and The Yardbirds, all of which would have considerable legacy on global popular culture, and which was directly formative to the ‘Swinging London’ article in *Time* two years later. In 1966 when Käser visited the English capital, The Beatles charted their 10th and 11th UK number one singles and seventh consecutive UK number one album (officialcharts.com 2023). The band had transcended their red-light area and strip-club beginnings, become figureheads of the popular mainstream, and helped to shape the cultural landscape that Käser may have experienced in England.

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