The Destitution of Fandom

‘Let’s face it we all know it’s sad.’ The opening line from Liverpool FC fan Alan Edge’s ruminations on the essential nature of late-modern football fandom. His is a neo-theological text, reflecting on an act of cultural devotion. And this is unquestionably a bad start. It immediately raises the unpleasant but undeniable possibility (routinely repeated) that a central outcome of much obsessive football watching is the righteous self-loathing it both promotes and rewards.  

Edge goes on, ‘The thing is, though, none of us have any say in it. It controls us and we can’t do the slightest thing about it.’ This is an overstatement, surely, a denial of free will itself. But here comes the killer line: ‘The worst of it is none of us really want to anyway.’

In short, being a committed football fan is – for Edge at least – to inherit the equivalent of a socio-cultural gene or be engulfed by a neo-religious tribal fervour: to be inducted into an addictive, blissful form of ecstatic torture, based on the exclusion of the ‘other’. We all recognise this state, of course, one in which the object of obsessive fandom in the late-modern world has come to function, perhaps unhealthily, as a narcissistic extension of the self. It also provides meaning for the apparently irrational insistence of a Boca Juniors fan in Buenos Aires that he be laid on his deathbed in the shirt of the rival River Plate club he had hated all his life. That way, he explained, he could celebrate with his final breath the death of ‘one of them’.

This may be a rather clichéd take on football support today – that it is only fully realised in relation to one’s enemy and it feels so bad it must be good – but is certainly no unique view. A more recent fan’s biography about football support in England, for example, argues that the inadequacy of one’s chosen football club, allied to the collective emotional fan investment involved in its relative failure, can actually be more therapeutic and more rewarding than following any winning outfit. According to this view, adopting a losing club works best to stave off depression and other forms of...
mental illness. ‘The football fan is not just a watcher,’ the perceptive Arthur Hopcraft observed. ‘His [sic] sweat and his nerves work on football, and his spirit can be made rich or destitute by it.’ But mostly destitute.

Indeed, the Uruguayan football writer Eduardo Galeano has recently observed of the football fanatic that he is invariably hopelessly at sea: ‘a fan in a madhouse. His mania for denying all evidence finally upended whatever once passed for his mind, and the remains of the shipwreck spin about aimlessly in waters whipped up by a fury that gives no quarter.’ This is a poetic way of outlining our collective inadequacy as sports fans. Edge goes on to relate the story of a foreign summer holiday which is entirely – irrationally – ruined when a single piece of news leaks out that a preferred transfer target has inexplicably refused to join his club, Liverpool, in the close season. Misery follows. How else are football supporters to know that they are truly alive, if not through contrasting the depthless misery of failure with the occasional unexpected flicker of real achievement? How else, indeed …

Another Liverpool fan, ‘Nico’, a continental Elvis Costello lookalike and a guy very well known to the club’s most committed supporters, routinely travels from his home in the Low Countries to watch Reds matches. He follows Liverpool around the globe to improbable locations and ‘meanless’ (but not for him) pre-season matches in the Far East and Asia. There are thousands of football supporters around the world like Nico. Who can make sense of their long-distance love? For such fans, the sheer scale of their spending of time and money on football signals an effective withdrawal from the formal logic of capitalist exchange in which use value has spiralled out of relation to exchange value. Supporters like these will spend 10 times – or more – the face value of tickets to attend key matches. Who could blame them?

Locally based football fans often consider themselves to be ‘superior’ or more ‘loyal’ than distant travellers, asking why these intruders do not support their own domestic clubs? But, perhaps counterintuitively, it is actually these committed foreign interlopers who also most often prize the importance of place, tradition and the ‘local’ in their adopted football clubs. They snarl at the mention of intrusive sponsorships and ‘inappropriate’ fan styles; they typically reject the alleged ‘prostitution’ of the club brand, and the sale of stadium naming rights. They are also usually among the first onto the barricades to fight hostile buy-outs, or proposals from dubious owners to relocate a stadium from a cherished historic site. In short, they ‘get’ the significance of place and tradition in football, even if occasionally they are the schematic versions marketed at them by clubs.

All these global fan developments are part of the alleged recent ‘Disneyisation’ and ‘McDonaldisation’ of the elite levels of the sport in
England and elsewhere. The fervour with which non-locals defend the local in this context implies that they may be darkly aware of suggestions that they might actually be ersatz ‘day trippers’ after all. That it is their own presence which most threatens what it is they claim to love so deeply. It is also a reminder – as if one were needed – that even the elite, the so-called super football clubs from the European game, continue to derive much of their meaning and especially their ‘authenticity’ – a key concept in recent debates about football fandom – from the fact that, in the end and even in an increasingly de-centred world, football clubs do, and must, always come from somewhere.

When Is a Fan not a Fan?

In the earlier history of the professional game, when television coverage of football was either non-existent or severely curtailed almost everywhere, when club owners were usually local businessmen, major employers or minor public figures and were overwhelmingly frugal in their football affairs, and when club merchandising and corporate markets remained imaginary or little developed, expressing one’s football fandom outside of match attendance and local connections was deeply problematic: there was simply no substitute for ‘being there’. Active local supporters, additionally, often raised cash to help clubs build new stands and improve basic facilities. Today, they are rather more likely to raise money for celebration and nostalgia; for the erection of commemorative football monuments and statues. But this arrangement, in which being a fan meant being local and physically present at matches, also worked culturally, in terms of providing opportunities for working people to generate a sense of meaningful collective place identity, and to engage directly with the sport and its stars – most of whom were still within touching range of their followers. Things have changed.

It is easy of course to make the mistake that everything in the game is different for football fans today; to focus only on the elite, the global and the ‘new’, and to miss the crucial continuities of the local role of football in ‘everyday life’. But the term ‘fan’ or ‘supporter’ is a label which is palpably no longer easily confined these days to those who live locally and/or who turn up to watch football directly inside the stadium. Since the late-1980s what academics have called the ‘hyper-commodification’ of elite-level football has been fuelled by huge and different volumes of new capital from oligarchs, TV companies and an array of sponsors. It has also produced a distinctive new set of social and cultural relations around the sport and new forms of cultural encoding of football, mainly orchestrated via the impact of new media technologies.
Fans: Consumers, Hooligans and Activists

As a result, message boards, fan blogs and fanzine forums, game updates and, most importantly of all, consumption-powered club websites, real time and match highlight Internet coverage (both official and illicit), and also the extensive selling of football TV rights abroad have all extended the global reach of the larger European clubs. They have ‘fans’ around the world today. All this has occurred in an era characterised by the growing importance and volume of de-territorialised communication flows and the decline of the regulatory impact of more traditional national cultural and economic institutions. According to some theorists, the major football clubs in Europe are becoming the nodes of a new European ‘network society’, one based much more on a constant flux of interactions between these powerful global actors than the much more static ‘state-centred’ worldview implies. 16

As a result of these changes, signs of familiar football affinities can now crop up in strange and disarming locations: witness the recent armed anti-Gaddafi rebels in Libya advancing on Tripoli wearing – you guessed it – English Premier League and Italian La Liga replica football shirts. To give another, more benign, example, in January 2007 around 75,000 people watched ‘live’ a Manchester United v Arsenal Premier League match at Old Trafford. Up to 6 million more watched the match on BSkyB TV in the United Kingdom, with an estimated 2 million more tuned in via the 40,000 pubs and clubs taking the live coverage. But the match was also televised ‘live’ in another 201 countries, a reported global reach into 613 million homes worldwide. 17 In this sense, the cultural meaning of football – and of fandom – has been rapidly transforming.

New Dimensions of Football Fandom

These sorts of statistics and relationships, of course, are often dismissed by traditionalists and domestic live football attenders as being essentially consumer-based and therefore peripheral to their own much deeper engagement with their respective local football clubs. Family ties and connections of place are still most strongly prized here. But such developments are actually implicated in producing a much more complex range of different, new fan types which now demand our urgent attention.

Amir Ben Porat, for example, argues that local fandom as a source of identity formation in the Israeli Primer League is indeed assailed by the impact of globalisation and the seductive appeal of the stronger European football clubs – but even in this new competitive context it manages somehow to survive. It is formed out of three interconnected domains of experience which produce a ‘bounded’ or indestructible ‘cradle to the grave’ form of local football fandom, one which is in near-constant tension with other
identity struts involving relations with work, family members and friends. Expressing true support of this kind means a fandom with no real exit: a real fan cannot shop for another, superior model.\textsuperscript{18}

These domains collectively constitute a practice of identity around football that is also familiar elsewhere. They are the emotional-affective domain, in which football acts as a mechanism that moulds individual fans into a satisfying and secure collective; the cognitive domain, which divides fans in terms of their levels of commitment to clubs between passive and involved, between the ‘we’ and the ‘they’; and the symbolic experience in which fandom might embody locally specific social categories or relations – for example, the way in which support for Glasgow Rangers in Scotland might embody Protestantism, or that following BneiSachnin (an Israeli Arab club) is likely to embody locally important ethnicity/nationalist sentiments and attachments.\textsuperscript{19}

The American cultural studies theorist John Fiske (1992) takes a rather different route in delineating the meaning of late-modern fandom. He contends we must analyse different types of fan productivity to understand what it means to be a fan and to make sense of how fans act upon – and thus also help to ‘create’ – the object of their fandom. Firstly, he identifies semiotic fandom: the creation of meaning involved in the fan’s individual relationship with and consumption of the text (in this case, the club, match or home stadium). No matter how standardized the match experience or the home stadium might seem to non-fans, it is its supporters who occupy and transform stadia into places and events of particular emotional significance.\textsuperscript{20}

Secondly, enunciative fandom has its roots in the creative appropriation and use by fans of club merchandise and also in the social interaction and fan talk which occurs around the game, in bars, pubs and the homes of fans and on the slew of supporter phone-in shows on radio and television.\textsuperscript{21}

Finally, textual fandom involves the materials or texts (songs, fanzines, websites, blogs and other materials) which are now routinely produced by football fans. Even in the digital age, the capacity to craft a chorus of original songs is still regarded in supporter circles as an important signifier of cultural distinction.\textsuperscript{22} In some instances, football songs can renegotiate collective identities and also be wielded as tools of domination, both culturally and physically, for example in hooligan conflicts or to intimidate rival spectators.\textsuperscript{23}

These three dimensions of fandom combine to make a sort of crucible in which the mass culture of football consumption is turned into the popular culture of socially meaningful football club support.\textsuperscript{24}

The sociologist Richard Giulianotti has also usefully begun to explore these new possibilities for fandom in the global era, firstly by examining the
ways in which globally displaced communities of fans work creatively in unfamiliar cultures to maintain their original club ties, and then by producing a useful fan typology drawn across ‘traditional/consumer’ horizontal and ‘hot/cool’ vertical axes. He highlights, for example, contrasts between the ‘hot’/traditional match attender, and the ‘cool’ consumer football flaneur of today: someone who has a casual and rather distant relationship to the game, and an identity established ‘through a depersonalized set of market relations, particularly interactions with the cool media of television and the Internet’.

Despite their obvious sophistication, these new fandom accounts still seem somewhat fixed. They lack the required flexibility and specificities to be able to accommodate the wide range of fandoms and variations in existing attachment to clubs. As Tom Clarke puts it, in relation to an English football minnow: ‘What it means to be “Scunthorpe ’til I die” will vary from person to person: the re-located student, industrial worker, the out-of-towner, will all have different experiences of being Scunthorpe, despite the town’s shared identity.’ Such accounts also often seem to be talking only or largely about male fans, when we know that today’s growing band of female football supporters express their own subjectivity as fans in ways that make it clear that they do not fit comfortably into either the traditional/authentic supporter couplet, or its opposite, the new consumer/inauthentic arriviste.

Cornell Sandvoss identifies the peculiarly self-reflective quality of football fandom which accounts for some of the ‘cognitive’ distinctions identified earlier by Ben Porat and the fact that following a particular football club may mean very different things to different fans. Supporter loyalties in the era of global television sport and increased social and geographical mobility are rather more complex than is suggested by the conventional wisdom that all fans will ‘support you ever-more’. Much football support today is selective, contingent and insecure; the game is a product to be marketed and sold and although most supporters reject the type of marketing rhetoric that seeks to reduce their status to ‘customer’, they also exhibit a pragmatic accommodation to football’s hyper-commercialization.

But Sandvoss has also argued, convincingly, that in a period of increasingly ‘mobile privatization’ characterized by the impact of globalisation and by the profound restructuring of everyday (post-) industrial life in developed societies, football fandom has, necessarily, also had to perform much more important identity work than in the past, evoking emotionally significant notions of ‘home’. As Chris Stone and others have similarly argued, the recent loss in developed societies of the social anchors that once made identity seem ‘natural’ and ‘non-negotiable’ has meant a desperate search for a ‘we’ experience through football club support.
Recent empirical research on football fans in England would seem to confirm the importance for fans of seeing and experiencing the local football stadium as an emotionally ‘special place’ and one which is indeed evocative of these deep and intensive feelings of ‘home’. Hooligan fans also often enhance their reputation for ‘hardness’ and local loyalty of course by stoutly defending the ‘home’ patch from outsiders. A recent, different, example of the intensity of such ‘home’ affiliations is the case of supporters of SV Hamburg in Germany who successfully established a supporters’ cemetery a mere 50 metres from the club stadium. ‘If you think about people supporting a club for 30, 40, 50 years, it’s part of their life,’ commented stonemason Uli Beppler, ‘so why shouldn’t it be part of their death?’

The Age of the Virtual Fan

Suggestions by Richard Giulianotti and others that ‘global media’ football fans are somehow less committed or less engaged by their clubs than other supporters – are ‘cooler’ in their support – have recently been challenged by researchers who have begun to explore the intensive new virtual networks of football fan cultures. In fact, the English Premier League (EPL) recently floated the idea of hosting a ‘39th’ fixture in a range of market-appropriate locations abroad, thus rendering local fans – temporarily at least – as ‘virtual’ spectators. The response was less than positive. No matter: the idea was soon ridiculed by the man who had proposed it, the EPL chief executive Richard Scudamore, as ‘old fashioned and passé’.

Instead, he told the world’s press that new ‘immersion technology’ would soon offer global football fans of the EPL the simulated ‘Avatar’ experience of actually ‘being in the stadium’. All this was allied to the ultimate proposition in terms of consumer choice – the satellite TV match choice red button: ‘You could be on a Saturday evening in Hong Kong, 3pm in England, deciding whether you want to be on the Kop or in the Holte End at Aston Villa. You’ll be able to decide where you want to be and watch the game,’ explained Scudamore in August 2011. ‘The possibilities are endless. There could be cafes and bars creating a virtual reality stadium, with tickets being sold to use the technology for those who do not subscribe.’

Even ‘endless possibilities’ can never satisfy unregulated desire, and we are already in the era in which high ticket prices and increasingly passive stadia mean that football spectators’ demand for immediate proximity to the event – the ‘being there’ element – is being challenged, and possibly even replaced for some, by the attractions of a rather different fan experience. Watching on giant screens in chaotic football fan parks or collectively
gathering in pubs and bars may no longer routinely be regarded as second best to the experience of hyper-regulated and sterile football arenas.\textsuperscript{18} 

The EPL’s vision of virtual fandom – reportedly only a few years away – will also offer credence to the ‘boosterism’ claims made on behalf of elite European clubs about the sheer \textit{scale} of their international cultural influence and the scope of their new economic power. Manchester United are argued to have some 331 million fans worldwide, including 9.5 million Facebook fans.\textsuperscript{39} These sorts of extravagant claims are limited to a small number of European super-clubs, of course, but available technology and the devouring ambitions of sponsors mean that such potential global exposure is actually no longer confined to the giants of the game. In August 2011, for example, a preliminary English FA Cup tie between two minor non-league clubs was streamed live on Facebook by competition sponsors Budweiser, thus making it available, free of charge, to a potential global audience of some 700 million.\textsuperscript{40} In the internet age even very local football can become global.

More significantly perhaps, in 2007 the MyFootballClub (MYFC) website offered football fans around the world direct involvement in the management of a \textit{real} football club – the non-League outfit Ebbsfleet United in Gravesend in the United Kingdom. Some 32,000 members drawn from 70 countries initially subscribed, thus allowing MYFC to use digital media to ‘camp in the front garden of its subscribers’.\textsuperscript{41} MYFC bought control of Ebbsfleet and promised a synthesis of ‘grass roots’ and ‘high tech’ in intimate connections with an ‘organic’ local football club, thus subverting, it was argued, the era of football oligarchs, culturally distant millionaire players and multi-billion-pound TV contracts. In fact, of course, MYFC was doing something much more complex and contradictory: it placed digital media technology ‘at the centre of its claims that it revives lost football supporter traditions, the very demise of which have been attributed to the growth and influence of media.’ \textsuperscript{42} MYFC struggled to maintain its legitimacy as Ebbsfleet flat-lined: by June 2011 subscribers had fallen to a reported new low of 1,350.

The Price Is(not) Right

Actually, in societies characterised by this sort of vortex of media effects, even physically \textit{being} at the match today – something beyond the wildest dreams, of course, of the vast majority of these global fans, hangers-on and new internet investors – can itself seem like an increasingly surreal and profoundly mediated sporting experience. Post-modern stadia (including weather-free, roofed venues) which attempt to replicate the safety and
individualised consumer comforts of home and where spectators are also watched, micro-managed under the silent gaze of closed circuit TV cameras, can feel like very rarified spaces. One recent convert likened attending a European club match in England to ‘going to the theatre or opera, and with similar prices’. 43 Academic and fan organizer Rogan Taylor has suggested instead that the new regimes of control by culture, price and surveillance have meant the increasingly precarious presence of ‘ordinary people who must be stretching to afford it’ and the relative exclusion of both older and younger fans. 44 But such developments have also marginalised another figure: the football hooligan.

English hooligans were a role model in the 1970s and 1980s for young fans in Holland and Germany and for ‘radical’ members of organised ultra fan groups in Italy and supporter penas in Spain. 45 The hooligan nadir for the English came at the Heysel stadium in 1985, when 39 mainly Italian fans were killed at the European Cup final following a charge by Liverpool supporters and a stadium wall collapse. English clubs were banned from European competition. 46 The later television-funded reconstitution of the English game in the 1990s as a fashionable cultural product meant that hooligans were also squeezed: by price, by video technology, and by the new safety cultures of all-seated stadia. As well as by police intelligence gathering and even new ‘dialogue and facilitation’ approaches to managing hooligan gangs. 47 Fan conflict in England was increasingly displaced to lower leagues, to locations away from the stadium and out of the cameras’ glare – but also into the symbolic realm of the internet and popular media. 48 Meanwhile, the epicentre of the hooligan phenomenon in Europe had moved south and east.

In Italy, for example, organised and expressive fan violence, extremism and racism among ultras continue to dog the game, threatening both its popularity and safety. 49 In the Balkans and in parts of the old Eastern Europe, meanwhile, the strains of new nationhood, high unemployment and the re-emergence of old ethnic divisions in extremist political clothes both dramatise and feed hooligan outbreaks. In Poland, youth alienation is argued to be a key cause of rising hooliganism, 50 while in October 2010 political orchestration from Belgrade was said to be behind the abandonment of a Euro 2012 qualifier between Italy and Serbia after widespread nationalist-inspired violence and Albanian flag-burning by known Serbian hooligans and agitators. 51

In September 2011 the Turkish football authorities inventively highlighted the problematic masculinities that continue to lie at the heart of football hooligan cultures all over the world. After crowd trouble at Fenerbahce, the Turkish FA banned all adult male fans from the club’s next home
Fans: Consumers, Hooligans and Activists

match – which attracted instead an enthusiastic, well-behaved crowd of 41,000 women and children. Perhaps there was an alternative, after all, to stadium Disneyisation, ticket price rises and intensive video surveillance for countries still riddled by hooliganism.52

At club level, twenty-first-century ticket prices in Europe were being impressively restrained in some places – the German Bundesliga, for example, has large, flexible and peaceful standing terraces and a modernist regulatory and licensing model as a stabilising feature, producing Europe’s largest average and most varied football crowds in the process.53 In Italy, Spain and especially in England, however, elite football had embraced more the core values of neo-liberal globalisation and marketization – with global player rosters, stratospheric salaries and ticket prices to match. England leads the way here, with match ticket prices in the EPL climbing over a 20-year period for some clubs by a staggering 1,025 per cent. By 2011 the average age of all live EPL attenders had climbed to a decidedly middle-aged 41.54

Living the Football Life

But this ‘post-modern’ tale of television, commercialization, globalisation and exclusion is not the whole story, of course. Football remains deeply embedded in the daily lives of millions of ‘ordinary’ local people, young and old. The game continues to carry prized memories of embodied shared experience and place, and its influence extends into homes, workplaces and public spaces, connecting supporters within and across spatial boundaries.55 Millions of supporters of clubs outside the elite levels – and many within them – continue to experience and enjoy football as a lifetime version of ‘serious leisure’, one still defined largely by ties of family and place, and where the material costs to individuals of group membership continue to exceed their visible rewards.56 At lower levels, too, football fans remain deeply committed to more local, less marketized, forms of the game, often derogating the affluent clubs and the global ‘network leagues’ that are more obviously driven and directed, not by fans and local interests, but by global sponsors and television.57

Indeed, we have already examined the enduring emotional importance of football for its committed followers in an increasingly uncertain world and how football fans display a realist acceptance of the game’s commercial tropes, but they also hold on to their own affective, non-market understanding of their identities as fans.58 And when this tension becomes simply too great, there has been both accommodation but also brave resistance among fans around the globe to football’s recent excessive commodification. Creative accommodation has occurred, for example, in the ways in which
mediated versions of football – in pubs and bars – have become a favoured site for excluded fans symbolically to re-enact and re-invent a ‘lost’ and mythologized standing terrace culture.\textsuperscript{59}

However, the existing ‘membership’ models of spectator engagement and the democratic fan involvement at some of the larger clubs in Spain and elsewhere in Europe – in Germany, foreign ownership is still largely resisted and clubs are run as members associations in which supporters hold 51 per cent of the shares – have not yet been replicated in England. They may never be. But at many smaller English clubs, new patterns of involvement of supporters in running, or even owning, clubs, in the shape of government-backed Supporter Trusts, have produced a potentially progressive new dynamic and a local community focus. But even these are not free from contradictions and the charge that they often end up being incorporated into the commercial activities of the club hierarchies they seek to replace.\textsuperscript{60}

At a few larger European clubs, protesting supporters have also had some recent successes. The \textit{Spirit of Shankly} fan group played a part, in 2010, in ridding the Liverpool club of the ownership shackles of the Americans, Tom Hicks and George Gillett, though the global economic downturn did much of the crucial work.\textsuperscript{61} At neighbours and rivals Manchester United, a ‘resistance identity’, as Castells might describe it, has emerged among some fans in response to the ownership of the club by new American (dis)investors, the Glazer family.\textsuperscript{62} This opposition has been manifested in the formation of an entirely new club, FC United of Manchester, initially as a protest against the alleged corporate destruction of more organic football affinities. Following the apparent fracturing of fan communities around United – though the club has quickly replenished its lost support – new formations have emerged. The club marketing rhetoric of ‘customer base’ seems wholly inadequate to describe the cultural democracy at FC United, which is now rising fast up the English league structure.\textsuperscript{63}

These local patriotisms and fierce struggles, co-ordinated by fans, over the ‘ownership’ and meaning of some of the world’s most valuable and important football clubs confirms the enduring significance of the affective ties that bind, even at the very largest outfits. But it also illustrates that football fandom, especially today in the newly globalized world of sport, comes in an increasing number of sizes and forms: from the friendship and family groups active at the smallest local football clubs to the foot soldiers and leaders of the ultras, penas and kops at the European super-clubs; from the committed local attender to the distant internet observer; and from the obsessive fanatic to the more casual football flaneur.

But it is also true that in the bafflingly complex and rarefied domain of late-modern football fandom, supporters of all football clubs, big and small,
Fans: Consumers, Hooligans and Activists

old and new, distant and local, will probably continue to characterize the elusive and still highly prized notion of fan ‘authenticity’ in pretty traditional and reassuringly comforting ways. In other words, ‘by looking into a metaphorical mirror and defining their own traits and habits’. And, ultimately, all supporters know – and Liverpool’s Alan Edge is as good a judge as any on this – that even in the digital age of mediation and simulacrum, for the 11 heroes on the field to consider playing without their fans in the stands in the future is really like dancing without music.

NOTES

1 M. Hyde, ‘Forget the freebies, keep us in misery’, Guardian, 1 September 2011.
7 Galeano, Football in Sun and Shadow, p. 7.
8 Sandvoss, Fans: The Mirror of Consumption, pp. 115–16.
27 Clarke, ‘I’m Scunthorpe ‘til I Die’, 500.
37 J. Burt, ‘Premier League to Enter the Avatar Age’, *Daily Telegraph*, 3 August 2011.
40 R. Bagchi, ‘FA tie to be broadcast on Facebook by sponsor’, *Guardian Sport*, 18 August 2011, p. 5.
42 Ibid., p. 325.
Fans: Consumers, Hooligans and Activists

43 D. Orr, ‘My trip to the Arsenal game was more like a night at the theatre than a football match’, Guardian, 18 August 2011.
44 D. Conn, ‘Young fans and old pay biggest price for football inflation’, Guardian Sport, 17 August 2011.
51 P. Bandini, ‘Italy v Serbia called off after seven minutes due to crowd trouble’, Guardian, 13 October 2010.
52 L. Taylor, ‘Women and children first, with the men nowhere, works at Fenerbahce’, Guardian Sport, 21 September 2011.
53 J. Jackson, ‘How the Bundesliga puts the Premier League to shame’, Observer Sport, 11 April 2010, Section 8.
54 Conn, ‘Young fans and old pay biggest price for football inflation’.
57 Clarke, ‘Scunthorpe ’til I Die’; Jones, ‘A Model of Serious Leisure Identification’.
