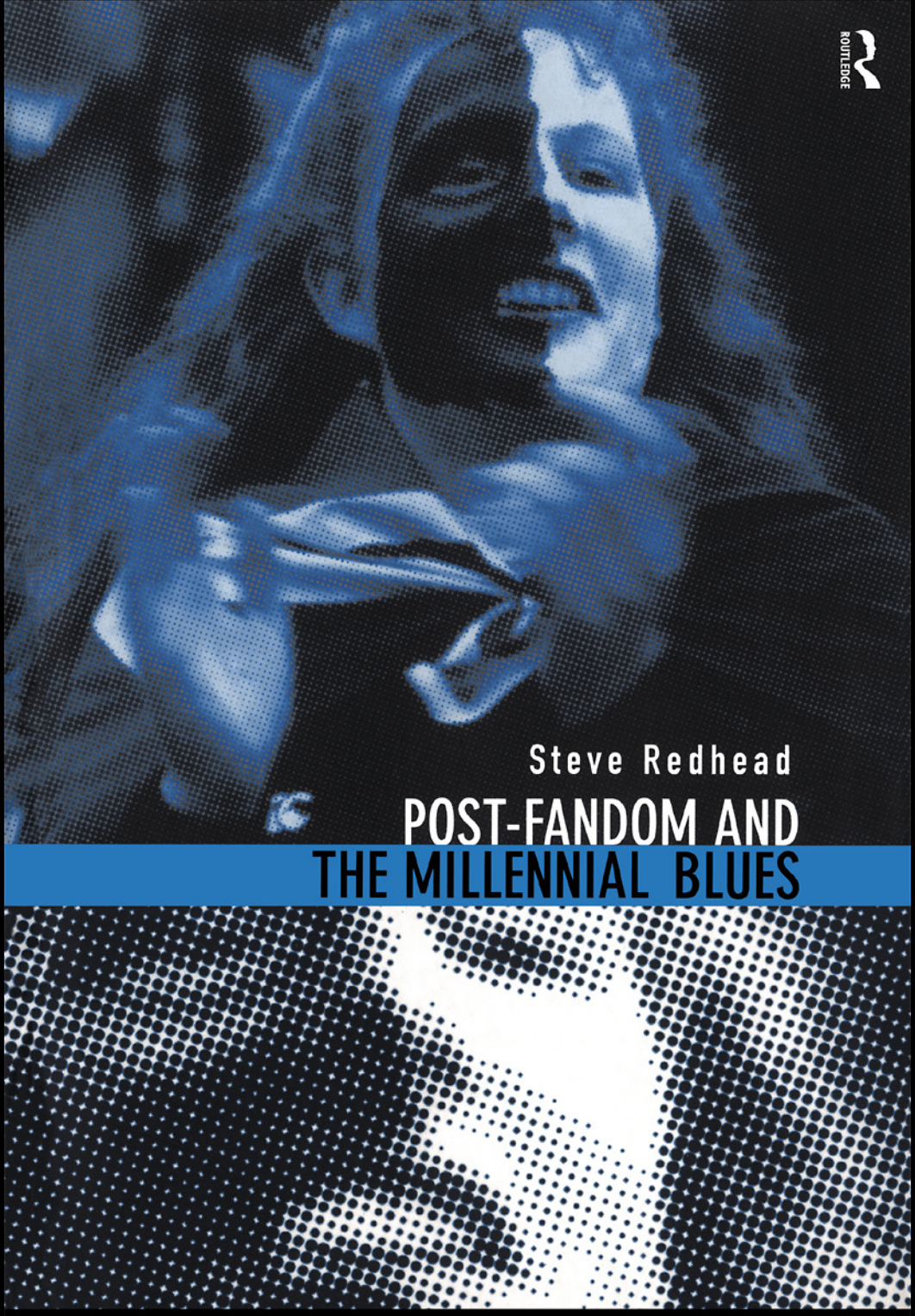

Steve Redhead

POST-FANDOM AND THE MILLENNIAL BLUES

THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCCER CULTURE

POST-FANDOM AND THE MILLENNIAL BLUES

Soccer, pop and youth culture are big, global businesses today. Gone, seemingly, are the horror stories of young males fighting pitched battles and souring the image of soccer as popular consumer culture. Dig deeper into the recent history of this field of thought and a more complex story emerges. The 'millennial blues' is taking over from the 'end-of-the-century party' of acid house and rave culture of the late 1980s. In a blurring of the boundaries between high and low culture, soccer and popular music, and legal and illegal behaviour, the millennial blues is the new postmodern condition.

The book tells a new, accessible story of the 'disappearance' of soccer hooliganism as a social problem into a burgeoning pop culture of accelerated youth styles, literature and post-fandom. As the media future of pay-per-view, digital production and the expansion of the airwaves and cyberspace comes on stream, soccer as the 'people's game' or as 'football hooliganism' is becoming a distant speck on the horizon of twentieth-century history. A 'man's game' is being transformed into a media event for global-but-localised consumption. The resurgence of 'laddism' in the 1990s is one consequence of the 'bourgeoisification' of the game and the popularising of 'soccer into pop' (so that bands like Oasis play their beloved Maine Road stadium and have corporate tie-ups with Manchester City). Fans of both music and soccer are increasingly visibly interchangeable in their mediated spectatorship, look and attitude. 'Low' art is everywhere: soccer and pop are the fields of Bohemian artistic experiment and fashion catwalks. In this book, the author provides a thought-provoking journey into the end of the twentieth-century postmodern culture of youth, pop and sport-as-business.

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POST-FANDOM AND THE MILLENNIAL BLUES

The Transformation of Soccer Culture

Steve Redhead

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Baudrillard…is the latest intellectual to resolve a European sense of cultural crisis with an intense, *prophetic* vision of the New World—a new world now post-modern, post-culture, post-history, post-everything.

Simon Frith (quoted on the back cover of Jean Baudrillard, *America*)

Ah go fir a wander, leaving Gi talking tae Paul 'n' Nicksy aboot Napoli, Liverpool and West Ham, the international male language ay fitba. Sometimes ah lap up that talk, other times its pointless tediousness depresses the fuck oot ay us.

Irvine Welsh *(Trainspotting)*

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PREFACE

This book is the product of research over the last few years. The writing of the book was assisted by travel money provided for foreign visits to present papers to conferences abroad and to undertake further research: Florence, Italy (May 1990); Ottawa, Canada (November 1993); Gothenburg, Sweden (November 1993); and Vancouver, Canada (June to August 1994, and November 1996). In addition, 'home' seminars at University of Warwick Centre for the Study of Sport in Society and University of Westminster Centre for Law, Society and Popular Culture provided further discussion. I am grateful to those people and institutions who made those visits possible and thoroughly enjoyable. Many thanks to all those who contributed informal suggestions about the work: I am especially grateful to David Andrews, Susan Brownell, Andrew Ross, Matti Goksoyr, Mark Ferryman, Anne Coddington, Lincoln Allison, Simon Gardiner, Guy Osborn, Steve Greenfield, Alan Tomlinson, Ken Foster, John Sugden, John Williams, Richard Giulianotti, Adam Brown, Michael Day, Gonnie Rietveld and John Bale for their constructively critical comments. I am particularly indebted to Professor Rick Gruneau who hired me as a Visiting Professor in the School of Communication, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, Canada in 1994 and 1996 and whose own (see, for example, Gruneau and Whitson, 1993) popular cultural study—especially of *Hockey Night in Canada*, the Canadian equivalent of *Match of the Day*—has been one inspiration for this book. In addition, David McArdle was a tireless Research Assistant on this and other Popular Cultural Studies projects. The other important context of the book was the making of a Granada TV *Celebration* arts programme (transmitted in the North West of England in August 1992 and presented at the Gothenburg and Warwick conferences) on the changes in post-fan youth culture, which was made with our assistance. Debts are owed to producer Mick Gold and his team for capturing the moment of transition in the regulation of post-youth, post-fan popular culture so well and making available the various interview transcripts used here.

1

POST-YOUTH

This book is about 'post-youth', the aftermath of youth culture at the end of the millennium. In today's accelerated culture mediatisation, hyperreality and disappearance combine to pose new questions about the 'reality' of youth deviants such as 'soccer hooligans'. Youth cultures themselves increasingly become self-regulating domains; soccer hooliganism, for example, is marginalised and unfashionable within a heavily masculinised sporting fan culture reshaped by advertising and media culture. Law and other forms of regulation continue to police the contours of such domains, but are themselves 'disappearing' into forms of popular culture. The post-fan culture of soccer (formed out of literaturisation and musicalisation of soccer, footballisation of pop music and associated processes) is the instance of such popular culture most clearly and regularly presented in this book.

DEVIL FOLKS AND PANIC MORALS

Folk devils (and moral panics) are making something of a comeback. In Britain in the early 1990s, the Tory Prime Minister of the time, John Major, rhetorically singled out 'New Age Travellers' (Lowe and Shaw, 1993) and 'Ravers' (Redhead, 1993a, 1995) as the contemporary equivalents of earlier youth subcultures like the 'mods' and 'rockers' from the 1960s (Cohen, 1987). In 1994—after massive media focus on them—a Criminal Justice and Public Order Act was passed enacting measures designed to criminalise, and outlaw, these contemporary examples of youth culture. From the violent police raids of 1985 (celebrated, or rather commemorated, in 'The Battle of the Beanfleld'—a song by 'crustie' band The Levellers) there had been an escalating moral panic about the 'new dispossessed' in British youth culture, culminating in a spiralling law and order campaign when Ravers met (literally and metaphorically) New Age Travellers at festivals up and down the country from 1991 onwards. There are, however, numerous other young folk devils in Britain and other countries: urban rioters, heavy metal kids (Gaines, 1991); dongas (eco freaks who protest at major new motorway and trunk road building and other environmentally unfriendly acts across England's green

and (un)pleasant land; dockers (street corner sellers of crack cocaine); gangsta rappers; riot grrrls; ragga/bhangramuffins and junglists (Sharma, Hutnyk and Sharma, 1996); computer hackers; phone phreakers; 'natural born killers'; yardies; joyriders; twockers (an acronym for those taking away cars without owners' consent); slackers; and, of course, the ubiquitous focus of 'respectable fears' (Pearson, 1983), the 'hooligan'.

SOCCER HOOLIGANS AND MORAL PANICS

The 'football hooligan' of the soccer violence-vandalism-and-disorder variety now featured in a film travesty *i.d.* (1995, directed by Philip Davis) as well as a burgeoning literature (Dunning, Murphy and Williams, 1988, 1989, 1990; Canter, Comber and Uzzell, 1989; Williams and Wagg, 1991; Giulianotti, Bonney and Hepworth, 1994; Kerr, 1994) in sociology, psychology, leisure studies, cultural studies, communication studies, media studies, criminology, soccer jurisprudence and socio-legal studies—is the shadowy figure pervading the whole of the present book. As a collection of essays on 'soccer hooliganism' in the 1970s put it:

> Football hooligans are the folk devils of our age. Few other groups hit the headlines with such force and consistency; few other groups arouse such strong feelings of outrage or terror or lead to such cries for retribution. A great deal of publicity is given to the views of football administrators, directors and managers, police chiefs, judges and magistrates. Government ministers pronounce on the subject and periodically set up working parties to investigate it. Declining attendances at football matches are blamed on it and many people, despite having no direct contact with the problem, have very strong views on it. This book considers the issue in a wider context than that usually adopted by newspapers and official reports. Our view is that before a problem such as football hooliganism can be resolved, both the context in which it occurs and the dynamics of the processes taking place within this context must be understood.
>
> (Ingham *et al.*, 1978:7)

The intervening years of New Right government, social decay, economic decline and accelerated growth of media culture have changed the 'wider context'. Further, soccer hooliganism is frequently (and in many ways misleadingly) said to be 'disappearing' in the 1990s. But this book is, in a sense, a (heartfelt) plea for a return to the study of the 'wider context' which Ingham, Marsh and their 'contemporary cultural studies' contributors such as Hall and Clarke identified as crucial for deviance, law and youth culture studies almost two decades ago. Crucially, all of these folk devils—and many more—are connected by the general panic about youth crime which

manifested itself—at least in the British media—in 1991 after riots in apparently unrelated urban estates in places such as Bradford, Blackburn, Oxford and Newcastle (Campbell, 1993) and in 1993 around the chance kidnapping and subsequent murder of toddler Jamie Bulger by two pre-teenage boys on Merseyside (Smith, 1993). They are figures in a complex modern morality play full of youthful 'images of deviance' or deviant 'representations of youth' (Griffin, 1993). It is a case of the familiar story of 'trouble with kids today' (Muncie, 1984). We have, though, been down this road before. Stan Cohen's prescient, classic study of the creation of the mods and rockers (Cohen, 1987) in the full employment, affluent society of Britain in the 1950s and 1960s still provides a reference point to the narratives of police and media-driven law and order crackdowns on youth in the 1990s. But these post-monetarist, end-of-the-millennium dog days *are* different from the era of post-war Keynesian consensus. Acute economic and social 'hard times' accompany today's fast proliferating 'images of deviance'—simulated media portraits of juvenile bogeymen with mass (especially youth) unemployment seemingly here to stay. 'Youth' culture, once a glossy advertising video in the now far-off 1980s (Redhead, 1990), is once again a scapegoat for all of the multiple social ills of western consumer culture, inexorably exported all over the earth. The ever-increasing hard-edged moral panics generated around contemporary youth culture are a global feature as world market capitalism fails to reign back insecurity of what Will Hutton has called the 40–30–30 society (Hutton, 1995)—where 40 per cent are in secure employment, 30 per cent are in insecure employment, and 30 per cent are unemployed—to produce sufficient portions of the 'culture of contentment' (Galbraith, 1992) and the 'end of history' (Fukuyama, 1991) which were so fulsomely promised at the end of the Cold War.

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF YOUTH CULTURE

However, none of this means that youth (mainly male)—biological/psychological—has, as in the predictions of media and cultural commentators, come to an end or in any simple sense 'disappeared'. 'Youth culture' as a formation, however, has tended to disappear, becoming (in Baudrillard's formulation) 'hyperreal' in the process—a 'hereafter of youth'. What has also happened, at least in Britain, over the past 20 years is the virtual disappearance of a 'field' of 'appreciative' contemporary sociological and cultural studies of youth culture (Redhead, 1995, especially chapter 6). As Rupa Huq put it in the *Times Higher Education Supplement* in reviewing an overview of law, youth deviance and cultural studies becoming 'unpopular cultural studies' (Redhead, 1995):

> …academic work in youth culture has not been fashionable since the 1970s, when it flourished at departments like Birmingham University's

> Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS). Changed 1980s priorities (the demise of the Social Science Research Council) left it largely moribund. Signs of a recovery in its fortunes however are currently detectable.
>
> (*THES*, 10 November 1995)

There have, of course, been sociological studies and ethnographies of youth (Willis, 1990a, b), many showing youth as victims as much as hooligans (Anderson *et al.*, 1994; Brown, 1994; Brown, 1995) in the intervening years, but 'youth culture' research has been largely given up to advertising agencies and lifestyle marketing companies like Mintel, as well as political and cultural think-tanks like Demos. Indeed, obituary of deviance studies in general (Sumner, 1994)—and not simply the sociology of youth and soccer deviance—is now the order of the day. This is particularly the case in my view, from long experience as a practitioner and participant observer/ethnographer in the area of the study of soccer hooliganism or soccer deviance. This present book uses the idea originally put forward by Ingham of 'wider context' of soccer deviance (representing postmodern sporting culture more generally) as a vehicle for making new theoretical arguments on 'youth', 'fandom' and 'culture' at the end of the millennium. In previous books on these themes I have signalled the black hole into which the 'field' has disappeared in various ways. *Sing When You're Winning* (1987)—out of print for many years—had the subtitle 'The Last Football Book', partly to parody Julie Burchill and Tony Parsons' notorious subtitle 'The Obituary of Rock and Roll' for their own Pluto Press book *The Boy Looked At Johnny* (1978), the original model for a jokey and ironic look at the 'post-culture' of soccer deviance in the mid-1980s. A later look at the post-culture of youth as a whole (Redhead, 1990) bore the stolen (from Jean Baudrillard) title *The End-of-the-Century Party* to signal the late 1980s collapse of all sorts of sociocultural barriers—rock/dance, east/west, high/low, Left/Right, local/global, masculine/feminine, straight/gay, black/white—and to capture the complex double-coded 'hedonism in hard times', 'subculture into clubcultures' condition (Redhead, 1997b) that permeated the 1980s and 1990s, especially the Thatcher/Major years in Britain. The 'End' in *The End-of-the-Century Party* signified *both* the short-lived nature of the party (the 'right' to party, or rave, was soon to be legally constrained by government statute) *and* the events (such as the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the communist bloc and the Cold War) then exploding as if the 1990s were not going to even take place at all. All of these accounts drew heavily on 'postmodern' theories or, better, theories of the condition of 'postmodernity'. However, these were cut up and reworked mercilessly. They were employed—together with their related strategies—some distance from the traditional output of the academy in order to pontificate about the accelerated post-culture of 'youth and pop' which academics in general (though not some astute cultural writers and journalists)

were struggling to grasp. Studio recordings, television and radio broadcasts, news interviews, magazine articles, photographic exhibitions all served as the sites for the 'publication' of the research as much as academic books, journals and official reports, although all were also used. *The End-of-the-Century Party* became a most apt title of Bristolian singer/toaster Gary Clail's On-U Sound LP from 1989, and my 'field' tape recordings ended cut up, William Burroughs-like, on another of Adrian Sherwood's On-U Sound albums, the Barmy Army's *The English Disease*, where they were accompanied by Doug Wimbish on bass, Style Scott on drums and Skip McDonald on guitar among others. It is perhaps only fitting in the light of the earlier focus on *The End-of-the-Century Party* that the title of the present book is (jokily yet seriously) *Post-Fandom and The Millennial Blues*.

THE MILLENNIAL BLUES

The phrase 'millennial blues' is unashamedly borrowed from Tony Parsons' pop music column in the right-wing *Daily Telegraph* (Parsons, 1995). Parsons used it then to distinguish the 'old' recycled rock of listenable bands (such as Oasis, Blur, Pulp and other 'Britpop') from emergent 1990s avant-dance culture. 'The millennial blues' was the description of new dance cultures (see Sharma, Hutnyk and Sharma, 1996) as best exemplified by the haunting, edgy, dangerous (dark) 'trip-hop' of performers like Portishead (ultimate winners of the 1995 Mercury Music Prize for their album *Dummy*) and Tricky (purveyor of the 'Black Steel' single in all its five versions and the appropriately named second album *Pre-Millennium Tension*). These were, in truth, 1990s Bristolian (Johnson, 1996) successors of Gary Clail and Mark Stewart (of The Pop Group and, later, The Maffia)—as well as Massive Attack—and indebted to On-U Sound for their sound and style, exhibited especially by Skip McDonald and his post-Tackhead and Barmy Army 'bluesy' *Little Axe* project aimed at producing 'blues for the twenty-first century'. Readers can play McDonald's Sherwood-produced 'Hammerhead' on On-U Sound's *Pay It All Back Volume 4* or the *Little Axe* (McDonald on guitar, Wimbish on bass and Keith Le Blanc on drums, Sherwood as co-producer) LP's 'The Wolf That House Built' and 'Slow Fuse' on the Wired label in 1995 and 1996 (or else a remix of the 1995 album track 'Out in the Rain and Cold' on *Pay It All Back Volume 5*) for one sonic representation of 'the millennial blues'. The more DJ/club dance-floor-oriented Leftfield's *Leftism* LP (another record shortlisted for the 1995 Mercury prize), plundering dub reggae, African and ambient sound in a related popular music cultural category, provides an alternative soundtrack, but Adrian Sherwood's dub production of the Primal Scream (with Irvine Welsh) 'The Big Man and the Scream Team Meet The Barmy Army Uptown' single is a classic of the genre, released for only two weeks in June 1996. The stripped-down instrumental version—minus Welsh's blasphemous 'vocal' track—was released as part of RCAs Various Artists *The*

Beautiful Game for Euro '96, the European Soccer Championships held in England in 1996 (an album also containing Massive Attack's 'Eurochild Ninety 6'). The shuffling, 'druggy' sound is reminiscent of Primal Scream's title track for the film of Welsh's hit 'litpop' novel (drawing on his own ethnographic knowledge of mid-1980s Edinburgh soccer casuals) *Train-spotting*.[1]

Nevertheless, 'the millennial blues', like *The End-Of-The-Century Party*, is a phrase pregnant with possibility for analysis of a wider cultural condition and not simply a helpful description—and ironic marketing ploy—for popular music culture. Jungle (or drum 'n' bass as it became known) star, Goldie, purveyor of his own dark version of the millennial blues[2] in his music has claimed that:

> People have to understand that it's about putting their heads up and looking to the future. We have to remember that we're going to witness the millennium and the generation that was buzzing at the age of 21 will see it in full swing. We're going to be in the year 2000, man. A hundred years either way and you'd miss that situation. And whatever runs, witnessing the millennium and witnessing this music taking you into the millennium, with the technology behind it and the barbarians from within it, it's just…it's height, man. An abyss of ideals.
>
> (Goldie in Champion, *Breakbeat Science* CD booklet)

The way 'the millennial blues' is used in the present book, drawing on the theoretical insights of Jean Baudrillard and Paul Virilio (though projecting them onto a very different terrain), suggests that The End-Of-The-Century Party has already bitten the dust and that acceleration of popular culture requires a different description in the late 1990s. Initially, as already pointed out, *The End-of-the-Century Party* title, and theme, originated from an idea by Jean Baudrillard put forward in a very different context. What has been labelled 'Popular Cultural Studies' has persistently and widely 'sampled' Jean Baudrillard's provocative, uneven, but always illuminating 'post-Marxist' or 'post-68' (Baudrillard, 1996c) writings for rewriting analyses of regulation and policing of youth and popular culture, though by no means committing such analyses to a genre of 'Baudrillardian' theory, whatever that may be thought to comprise (Redhead, 1993a, 1995). Baudrillard is an arch anti-modernist, anti-postmodernist writer whose singular contribution—however infuriating—is indispensable to those who wish to theorise the media culture of the end of the millennium. My view is that Baudrillard's notion that (increasingly) 'TV is the world' captures some characteristics of the condition in which youth culture finds itself at the modern *fin de siècle*, but also leaves much unanswered, especially about the lives of 'ordinary youth'—as Cohen (Cohen, 1987, introduction to the second edition) refers to them—excluded economically, culturally, technologically and geographically from the consumer culture advertised on their television screen. After 50 years of

spectacular and highly visible youth subcultures, the search is on (more than ever) for a way for youth to be made to 'disappear', either by conforming to mainstream values (entrepreneurship, home ownership, deferred gratification) or by refusing to vote, work, register and enrol. This is partly a condition caused by the economic and social changes brought in many countries by the pursuance since the mid-1970s of free market, economic and social neo-liberalism, but also partly by panic-ridden law and order crackdowns on youth as 'folk devils'. 'Youth', which in the 1980s was becoming a marketing/advertising fiction for anyone between 5 and 5 5 years old, is now more of a 'life course'—albeit fragmented—in itself as permanent entry into the 'adult' labour market is widely denied. The response by biological youth (i.e. those born since the early/mid-1970s) is, as always, dazed and confused, but there are cultural manifestations which, in the context of sporting/soccer culture, this book outlines. One further instance is the supposed popular cultural production and cultural politics of a 'twentysomething' 'slacker/generation X' which is said to comprise the emergence of 'post-yuppie' youth culture—the first for decades to have to deal with being materially 'poorer' than its predecessor (Redhead, 1998).

The theme of 'disappearance' is central to the present book. In fact, much of what has been taken as useful from Baudrillard's work is paralleled—and frequently, as Baudrillard explicitly acknowledges, originates—in the work of the much less known French theorist, Paul Virilio. Virilio was born in 1932 and is the former director of the Ecole Spéciale d'Architecture in Paris where he is currently the Professor of Architecture. Much of Virilio's French language writing is now available in English translation, thanks especially to the Semiotext(e) editors and translators at Columbia University, New York (Virilio, 1983, 1985, 1989a, 1990a, b, 1991b, c) who have published English language editions of Virilio in their 'little black book' Foreign Agents series. Some of Virilio's other work (Virilio, 1975, 1976, 1978, 1991a) remains untranslated, though other publishers have begun to showcase certain writings (Virilio, 1989b, 1994, 1995), thereby increasing discussion of Virilio's rather quirky and oblique politico-cultural theorising of 'disappearance', 'acceleration', 'mediatisation' and 'speed'. In consequence, Virilio has become more pervasive in influence in the 1990s, though unevenly acknowledged and poorly understood. Virilio still tends to be pigeon-holed as a marginal figure in the academy, the source of interesting quotations and occasional insights, useless to those who remain committed to the search for 'full blown theory' and unlikely to be regarded as a core cultural theorist in book series or academic courses. Baudrillard's rise to superstardom (Rojek and Turner, 1993) has obscured the rather different trajectory of Virilio. Where Baudrillard sees 'transpolitics' as positive—in a peculiarly perverse pushing of everything to its limits—Virilio views it as absolutely negative. As Virilio says in his interviews with Sylvere Lotringer, originator of Serniotext(e) (Virilio, 1983): 'I fight against the disappearance of politics.' As this book makes clear,

Virilio's work can be both instructive and incisive if used judiciously in analysis of what Lyotard calls the 'post-modern condition' (Lyotard, 1986) and a resource for the most urgent political task of rebuilding the 'social', the disappearance of which Baudrillard celebrates so willingly.

The question of definition of the 'postmodern' is an extremely confusing one in cultural theory today. 'Popular Cultural Studies' has been 'modernist' in persistently drawing attention to its own origins, structure and form, and 'postmodernist' in its use of jokey, playful, ironic strategies from deep within the late twentieth-century academy. It is certainly not anti-postmodernist and anti-modernist like the studies of Baudrillard. Neither, however, does it claim that there is any such thing as 'postmodern society'. Just as Foucault's useful concept 'discipline' could not justifiably be used to create a notion of 'disciplinary society' (Hirst and Woolley, 1982), 'post-modern' is not a concept for describing and analysing an entire society. In short, as Hirst has argued (Hirst, 1989), 'society'—e.g. Britain—has changed surprisingly little in the post-war period. What *is* important is to focus on postmodern *culture;* what has changed, and is changing, is part of what Virilio has theorised as acceleration and 'disappearance' in modern, popular culture. Further, following Lyotard (Lyotard, 1986), the term 'the postmodern condition' can be defined as a loss of faith in 'grand' or 'meta-narratives'. Also following Lyotard, postmodernism can best be seen as always already a founding moment of modernism, *not* a period of history somehow emerging *after* modernity. What follows is a 'low modernist' (or 'modernist in the streets') account. It is a continuance of what has been touted as 'pulp theory' (a term already starting to be used in cultural theory more generally) to go along with 'pulp culture'.[3] 'Popular Cultural Studies' has emerged in relation to fragmentation of 'Contemporary Cultural Studies' from its roots in the 1960s/197Os Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. The heavily masculine—or masculinised—tradition of the 'Birmingham School' is problematic, as can be seen in the final chapter of this book where 'masculinity' is critically exposed 'from within'. Baudrillard, as emphasised elsewhere (Redhead, 1990), equates mass culture with 'the feminine', like other high culture theorists such as the Frankfurt School, and is disabled as a consequence when it comes to the task of querying (or 'queerying'!) masculinity in culture. The basis of Popular Cultural Studies theorising has been 'fandom', displacing the concept 'subculture' in the work of the 'Birmingham School'. Initially, the pioneering explorations of Fred and Judy Vermorel (Vermorel and Vermorel, 1985, 1989; Lewis, 1992) foregrounded the explorations of post-1979 youth culture (and its regulation) in Popular Cultural Studies accounts. Subsequently, however, as Simon Frith (Frith, 1996) has pointed out in his theorising of 'unpopular' popular music, 'fandom' as a concept fell foul of many of the long-standing criticisms of the notion of youth 'subculture'—for example, it overemphasised the 'committed' at the expense of 'ordinary' youth. The development and expansion of the idea of 'post-fandom' in this

book is intended to repair some of this justified criticism and help to make sense of the acceleration of 'post-youth' and 'post-culture' at the end of the millennium ('the millennial blues' of the title).

Chapters in the rest of this book take up these themes in concrete analysis of specific, overlapping contexts. *Chapter 2* concentrates on the media narrative of the 'disappearance' of soccer hooliganism as a social problem around the time of the 1990 soccer World Cup in Italy. *Chapter 3* considers further the disappearance of law into popular culture, introducing the notion of hyperlegality in accounting for the return of mass media horror stories about soccer culture in the mid-1990s. *Chapter 3* also promotes the idea of 'post-fandom' as a concept to displace fandom in popular cultural study (post-fandom is explored in all of the following chapters). *Chapter 4* analyses the resources in European social theory—especially Baudrillard—which might be drawn upon to analyse how hooliganism (and its regulation) has disappeared into an accelerated (popular) media culture. *Chapter 5* contextualises the mediatisation of soccer culture—and soccer deviance—at the World Cup in the USA in 1994. *Chapter 6* focuses on the 'musicalisation' of soccer culture and the breakdown—and reconstitution—of the high/low culture barrier. *Chapter 7* shows how fandom and post-fandom have been represented in pop and literary culture's crossover with a (previously separate) 'low' soccer culture. *Chapter 8* takes up the theme which permeates the whole book: namely, soccer culture's connection to the construction of masculinities and the post-culture of 'the millennial blues', and concludes with a way of taking law and popular culture seriously in the next century.

2

POST(REALIST)-REALISM

As Virilio (1995:21) has argued, 'the freedom of the media (democratic rights, the legitimate freedom to inform, to communicate, to circulate) can no longer be separated from the media's liberating power (reduction, proliferation, acceleration, use of communication weapons)'. For Virilio, the 'real problem of the press and television no longer lies in what they are able to show as much as in what they can still manage to obliterate or hide.' The 'real' is murdered (Baudrillard, 1996b) in the culture of hyperlegality and 'post-realism'.

DISAPPEARING HOOLIGANISM

As we approach the end of the millennium, the question of legal and social regulation of youth deviance in soccer culture is increasingly becoming a focus for public debate on an international basis (Dunning, Murphy and Williams, 1990; Kerr, 1994; Giulianotti, Hepworth and Bonney, 1994; Tomlinson and Sugden, 1994; Giulianotti and Williams, 1995). Until the mid-1980s in Britain the question of soccer hooliganism was constantly profiled in media culture. Sometime in the late 1980s the narratives began to change in such a profound way that the notion of the 'disappearance' of soccer hooliganism became commonplace, even among self-confessed (former) hooligans.[1] Those like Dougie and Eddy Brimson (Brimson and Brimson, 1996a, b), who maintain that hooliganism has not entirely disappeared, struggle to convince their readers that their examples of rucks and riots are really from the 1990s rather than earlier eras. Mention of the issue under general, blanket phrases such as 'law and orderism' is, in any case, misleading. For example, to cite the situation in English national soccer culture, there is no simple connection between the emergence in the late 1970s in Britain of a government of the radical or New Right and the changing style of governance of the social field of cultural industries such as soccer (Redhead, 1997a). This, rather, has international, even global, dimensions which cut across the political trajectories of the various national parliaments. Issues of localised and particular regulation are important though, and two

examples in this chapter demonstrate what Virilio calls the 'disappearance of censorship' (Virilio, 1995).

THE GORY GAME OF ITALIA '90

What is with hindsight obvious about the 1990 World Cup competition in Italy was that the event was a self-fulfilling prophecy about to unwind. The story, which has a series of forewords and prefaces including previous World Cups (see Chapter 4) as well as tragic moments such as the Heysel stadium disaster in 1985 and false starts such as the 1988 European Championships in West Germany, contains myriad strands. Let us concentrate on just one of those strands: the writing of the story of soccer violence, especially involving English fans, at the finals in June and July 1990. The writing of this event is a much more complex process than that perceived in the past by deviancy theorists employing a conceptual framework of 'moral panics' (Cohen, 1987) or, later, by contemporary cultural studies writers analysing 'law and order campaigns' (Hall and Clarke in Ingham, 1978). Crucially, it involves the narrative structures of law and policing as well as those of the mass media.

This chapter assumes that the noticeable shift since the watershed month of May in 1985—when Birmingham, Brussels and even Bradford, in initial media accounts, became tragically entwined as instances of the so-called 'English Disease', later to be parodied on LP by Adrian Sherwood's Barmy Army—is not the mass media exposure of soccer as a sport with specific social problems such as hooligan violence, but rather the marked redrawing of the boundaries of the largely 'private', heavily gendered world of professional soccer as an industry. Economic, political and, specifically, legal regulation are involved in this redefinition of the domain of the 'social', as most aspects of the soccer business find themselves being reshaped for the brave new era that beckoned in the single European (sports labour) market. In England, since 1985 alone, five important pieces of what might be called 'football legislation' have been enacted. The narratives embedded in the texts of the Sporting Events (Control of Alcohol etc.) Act 1985, Public Order Act 1986, Fire Safety and Safety of Places of Sport Act 1987, Football (Offences) Act 1991 and, eventually after much controversy, the Football Spectators Act 1989, taken together with the two investigations undertaken by Mr Justice Popplewell (interim and final) and the two reports by Lord Justice Taylor on the Hillsborough disaster (interim and final), amount to a vast body of official 'stories' about the control of soccer as a global business in the late twentieth century. Further, the rhetorics of this official discourse, in the English scenario are, significantly, marked by a designation of soccer culture as equivalent to 'disorder' or 'violence'.

The horrific scale of the death of penning in cages at the Hillsborough disaster of 15 April 1989 can be seen to have directly followed from a (false) interpretation by South Yorkshire Police that they were dealing with a violent

crowd pitch invasion, rather than a problem of safety and over-crowding, itself created by allowing thousands of Liverpool fans to mill around outside the Leppings Lane end of the ground. Lord (Justice) Taylor's reports (Taylor, 1989, 1990), the Hillsborough Project (Scraton *et al.*, 1990, 1995) and *Cracker* writer Jimmy McGovern's 1996 *Hillsborough* television drama documentary all confirm this verdict. Indeed, as a result of information supplied erroneously by the police, some media stories on the day of the carnage blamed Liverpool fans for breaking into the stadium via the gate which the Taylor report found to have been opened officially. Lord Taylor's most well-known proposal—that of introducing compulsory all-seater stadia to the whole of the country's football (as well as other sports) by the end of the century—was made, essentially, as a recommendation to improve safety for sports crowds in the wake of Hillsborough. However, David Waddington, then Conservative Home Secretary, announcing his government's acceptance of this measure, proposed it as a new panacea to combat 'football hooliganism', a move which has generally endeared itself to the police responsible for implementation, who perceive it to contain manifest difficulties which will nevertheless be overcome by the redesigned ground architecture (such as more gangways between seats). It was seen, in the short term, as a direct replacement in the government's strategic armoury in its war against hooliganism for the compulsory membership (or ID) card scheme which the Football Spectators Act enshrined, but which was (for the time being) shelved after Lord Justice Taylor had strongly criticised it on the grounds that it would make another Hillsborough disaster *more*, not less, likely.

Post-Hillsborough there was renewed concentration on pitch violence at soccer matches in England. The outraged proclamations by the British Minster for Sport, Colin Moynihan, and Alan Eastwood (of the Police Federation in Britain) regarding the lenient (as Eastwood saw it) Football Association ruling on a much-publicised mass player 'fracas' at an Arsenal v. Norwich City league fixture at Highbury on 4 November 1989 only made sense in the context of this particular style of juridification. The Minister for Sport called later that month for police to arrest and charge players involved in brawls. The *Guardian* (28 November 1989) quoted Colin Moynihan as saying that:

> the police have the powers to move in and it is up to them to judge each set of circumstances. If they feel they have to use their powers, they should not hesitate. If that means arrest and charges, then so be it.

Eastwood criticised the Football Association disciplinary commission decision to fine Norwich City £50,000 and Arsenal £20,000 for bringing the 'game into disrepute': 'the fine is meaningless' Eastwood said, 'and so is the body which decided it'. He voiced the further opinion that the Minister for Sport and his office at the Department of Environment 'will be as dismayed as we are by the punishment'. The previous day, Eastwood had put forward the

Police Federation suggestion of the possibility of a summons for assault in cases of on-field violence. In the early 1970s, such hawkish statements would have been fodder for widespread ridicule—in the hallowed halls of Lancaster Gate as much as in the pages of British football's sole satirical magazine, *Foul*. The many soccer fanzines of today (see Appendix 1) in Britain as well as those representing an embryonic movement in other European countries may poke fun at such outbursts for all they are worth, but the relationship of public intervention to the social space occupied by soccer culture has been radically altered in the intervening years. The soccer authorities for their part are certainly no longer laughing and continue to plunge headlong into the legal quagmire with government and police opinion ringing in their ears. Nowhere is this more evident than in the question of judicial discourse on players' behaviour on the field. It seems only a matter of time before the kind of criminal prosecution of players undertaken in the early 1990s in Glasgow after a particularly fiery 'old firm' game between Rangers and Celtic or in the mid-1990s involving then Rangers striker Duncan Ferguson becomes the norm in the sports industry south of the Scottish border, creating new possibilities for judicial interpretation of the rapidly expanding field of sports law (Redhead, 1997a).

It is, however, in this context worth remembering that despite the strident march onto the sacred turf by the local constabulary in the Arsenal v. Norwich City match, no criminal prosecutions were forthcoming. We can only assume, therefore, that despite the Police Federation criticism of the levels of the fines meted out to the respective clubs by the Football Association, the behaviour in this case was unruly rather than illegal. At some stage in England and Wales this hazy borderline may well be deemed to have been breached. What is certain is that the borderline, or contours, of the 'field' of legal intervention depends on a variety of discourses and prac tices. Some of these are evident in the media predictions of soccer violence by English fans in Italia '90.

The story of the World Cup 1990 as 'gory game'—rather than Hunter Davies' 'Glory Game'—gathered pace as Moynihan in his role as British Minister for Sport (responsible for two of the competing nations: Scotland and England) 'lobbied' for England to be included as one of the six seeded nations at that year's competition. Despite the confident claims of other nations, based on recent sporting prowess in the World Cup finals, the English team were chosen to head one of the groups. Strong denials were issued from international football authorities and the Minister for Sport that any non-sporting reasons were behind the controversial decision, but suspicion persisted that the reputation of English soccer hooligans abroad and at home had played some major part in the construction of criteria for decision making.

Moynihan had already seen that his own legislation (see interview with Minister for Sport in Redhead, 1997a), the Football Spectators Bill, had been

steered through the British Parliament in 1989 against a background of considerable disquiet from all parts of the political spectrum enabling (under part 1) the government to introduce a Football Membership Authority which would impose a compulsory membership scheme on all home soccer followers in England and Wales, and (under part 2) to ban from going abroad on days of matches involving England and Wales (or their respective club sides) anyone convicted of football-related offences, as previously defined by the Public Order Act 1986, section 31. Despite the shelving of the identity card scheme as a result of the Taylor report, part 1 of the Act remains on the statute book and was the very vehicle for setting up the Football Licensing Authority which the Major government decided to use to implement the parts of the Taylor report (such as all-seater stadia) which it accepted. The Thatcher government having strongly supported the European Union of Football Association's decision to impose a severe penalty for the English role in the Heysel disaster, European soccer administration's long awaited decision to readmit English clubs into European competition was seen by Moynihan as dependent on the Bill's successful passage through the parliamentary process. He had repeatedly made it clear during the whole of 1989 that his recommendation to UEFA on whether the conditions in England had been sufficiently changed in the years following the Heysel tragedy to allow the ban to be lifted would be governed by the success or failure of the Football Spectators Bill, together with the proclaimed 'visible' decline of football-related offences in England. To this end, following disturbances involving English fans on a cross-channel ferry to Sweden (and in Sweden itself) travelling to a World Cup qualifying match in September 1989, a scheduled England friendly match in Holland later in the year was abandoned by the Football Association (whether or not on the Minister's specific recommendation remained unclear) for fear of 'hooligan' clashes between Dutch and English fans.

A further World Cup 1990 qualifying match in Poland, where riot police protected English fans from Polish youths' attacks, took place but the irony or significance of the incident did not seem to be appreciated in government, the media or among the football authorities more generally. A previous qualifying game in Albania had been notable for the mass media publicity given to the trouble-free trip organised for English supporters by *When Saturday Comes*—the best-known of English soccer fanzines—but the Polish game was reported more through a prism of (fading) Cold War rhetoric and predictions that few English spectators would brave the long-distance travel to the Polish wastelands. Prior to the game, a British radio station placed this author 'on standby in case there was trouble involving English fans' so that a breakfast-time news item on continuing English football violence could be run on the morning after the fixture. In spite of there being no story of England supporters causing trouble to discuss, the programme went on the air anyway, the interviewer expressing incredulity

at the suggestion that there had been many sides to earlier one-dimensional reports of England matches and that the lack of the sort of news story the station had expected was not really so unpredictable.

In the summer of 1989, as part of a coordinated strategy to bear down on the phenomenon of English soccer hooliganism, a new body—the National Football Intelligence Unit (NFIU)—was set up at Scotland Yard, elevating the Greater Manchester Police Superintendent Adrian Appleby to its leadership. The *Manchester Metro News* on 15 September 1989 focused on the parochial aspects of the appointment and proclaimed that the government had 'given a £300,000 grant to declare war on soccer thugs'. Superintendent Appleby was quoted as saying that his first task would be to target ringleaders and 'hooligan generals' in all parts of the country. He said the unit would:

> start by specifically targeting serious football hooligans and collecting information from police forces throughout the country. We will try to identify trends, such as their travel plans and the weapons they carry, then coordinate the information centrally and try to give advance warning for matches and recommend the level of policing in and around grounds. I am certain it will be a success. Often the gangs will have junior and senior groups and the juniors will have to 'earn their spurs' before they are allowed to join the seniors. The hooligans are led by a general who contacts other groups before matches and arranges to meet. They gather in large groups but usually don't attack until there are 30 of them.

The *Manchester Evening News* of 14 March 1990 featured Superintendent Appleby warning that thugs see the World Cup competition as 'the apex of their football hooligan career' and predicting that up to 500 hardened hooligans from Britain would be among the several thousand expected to travel to Italy. The *Manchester Evening News* article focused on the work by the Greater Manchester Police tactical aid group (TAG) which had organised dawn raids on ten addresses in Bolton and in the Midlands. Following closed circuit television (CCTV) surveillance at a Bolton Wanderers v. Rotherham United match in February, where a 'section of the Bolton crowd was filmed gesticulating and trying to intimidate Rotherham supporters', the dawn raids of March resulted in the arrest of six Bolton supporters in their twenties and a police Superintendent's statement that 'we have intelligence that some of these supporters were planning to travel to the World Cup'. The article claimed that 'police suspect louts from league clubs throughout the country plan to clash with Dutch hooligans during the championships' and that 'the suspects are being secretly monitored by police attached to the National Football Intelligence Unit'. Charged with gathering information nationally and internationally, the NFIU had been at

the centre of preparations for policing English soccer fans at the soccer World Cup Italia '90. Once the World Cup draw had been made in late 1989 and the careful preparations to separate England out onto the island of Sardinia for the opening round of matches had spectacularly backfired with the selection of Holland and the Republic of Ireland to join them in the group, intelligence which would help police to restrain Dutch and English fans from fighting each other in Sardinia was sought by the NFIU. By March 1990, British newspapers and television companies were reporting that the NFIU had obtained information about plans being made by Dutch and English 'football hooligans' to clash in Sardinia. This was compounded by a general acceptance among police spokespersons in Britain that there would inevitably be clashes, that such information and intelligence gathered by the NFIU was bound to be accurate and that the best that could be hoped for what would be a limiting of the damage and extent of such hooliganism. Italian police (some 60 Carabinieri) were invited to observe policing of football matches in Britain around this period so that they could receive briefings from British police forces who had experience of 'the English Disease'. In a reverse mission, police from forces such as Greater Manchester, backed by the NFIU, had themselves been scheduled for duty in June in Italy to work alongside Italian police patrolling all the venues where England would play as part of an exchange plan between Britain and Italy to clamp down on 'football hooligans'. Malcolm George, a Greater Manchester Police Assistant Chief Constable, and Secretary of the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) general purposes sub-committee on hooliganism at sporting events, was reported by the *Manchester Metro News* on 16 March 1990 as saying that 'the Italian police are keen to develop a strategy which will assist the football fans to enjoy their visit to the full. They are, however, not prepared to tolerate any anti-social behaviour which interferes with the quality of life of the local people and other football spectators.'

Moynihan, as Minister for Sport, made great play of such 'coordinating measures', stressing to the House of Commons in March 1990 his own role in the process by travelling to 'Rome and shortly to Sardinia'. He further proclaimed on national television in the wake of the 'leaking' of the NFIU intelligence reports that there was bound to be trouble at the World Cup and that the task of police and football authorities was, indeed, damage limitation dependent on the best possible prior knowledge of events. The Labour Party sports spokesperson, Denis Howell (himself a former Sports Minister) took up the theme for the opposition in parliament: 'The thugs of Holland and the thugs of this country are arranging their own fixtures already', he said, repeating information which had only been made available to the media by the NFIU. Denis Howell demanded that Moynihan 'stop the thugs leaving these shores for the World Cup', effectively repeating his long-standing criticism of the lack of toughness in Conservative Government

policy towards English football hooligans. Dougie and Eddy Brimson, as former hooligans, argue:

> The fallout from Italia '90 was considerable. Despite hysterical rantings from Moynihan, it was clear, and becoming clearer even to the British media, that the vast majority of English fans at the tournament had behaved themselves. The Italian authorities...came out and congratulated the English fans on their behaviour…Italia '90 proved that the fear surrounding England (as opposed to English) fans abroad was hype, and what did occur almost inevitably involved an element of provocation.
>
> (Brimson and Brimson, 1996b: 65)

The only counter at the time to this general storyline of soccer violence at Italia '90 was provided by the Football Supporters Association (FSA), a body which formed in the mid-1980s to represent football fans in Britain and to help 'democratise' soccer as a cultural industry. The FSA World Cup sub-committee, chaired by a soccer fanzine editor, Steve Beauchampe, made it known to the media that they would be setting up their 'own form of tourist information which will also be able to give out the latest on matches and ticket allocation', creating an alternative information and advice agency with its own office on Sardinia which would be very accessible for travelling English fans on the island. The FSA made it clear that they saw their role as countering the propaganda about the inevitability of English football violence and had consciously made contacts with Italian police and media organisations. In the eyes of the FSA, England's soccer supporters had already been branded as thugs by the media. A member of the FSA sub-committee, John Tummon, was quoted by the *Manchester Evening News* on 23 March 1990 (under the sensationalist headline 'The Peace Squad: World Cup fans bid to thwart hooligans' which promoted the hooligan violence theme of earlier football stories it had run) as saying that:

> England has gained a bad reputation through the years. But some of the criticism being handed out is unfair and unfounded. This is a crucial time for our national game and we want to ensure that the World Cup goes well. There are thugs, but they are vastly outnumbered by the ordinary and decent supporter. We will also have Italian-speaking people with us and we intend to try to create the best possible kind of image we can. In the past some of us have felt that bad reporting by the press has actually inflamed incidents and sparked off soccer violence. We do not want to see that happening at the World Cup.

The FSA had also been approached by the NFIU, seemingly misunderstanding the role and scope of the organisation entirely, to help to identify 'hard core'

hooligan supporters who might be travelling to Italy, thus giving the impression—contrary to media reports—that the much vaunted intelligence gathering operation was proving more problematic than had been predicted. The FSA had already campaigned earlier in the year in Manchester against soccer T-shirts on sale in the city (as elsewhere) which they thought could provoke violence at the World Cup. One showed cartoon character Fred Flintstone telling his wife 'Not now Wilma: I'm off to kill a Dago' on the front and, on the back, an aggressive bulldog waving the Cross of St George replaced by a Manchester United flag with the macho boast These colours don't run' underneath. John Tummon argued to the *Manchester Evening News* on 3 January 1990 that they 'are a threat to public order' and Pauline Whitby, Chair of the Greater Manchester branch of the FSA, suggested that 'this is the last thing we need when all eyes will be on England supporters'. A Football Association spokesperson was quoted, in the same article, as saying that 'these shirts are pathetic—like anyone who wears one. They are a target for violence and possibly for arrest and incitement to riot.'

Finally, the racist theme of soccer hooliganism was further taken up in the British press reporting of what were seen to be increases in soccer hooliganism in Italy itself during the season immediately before the staging of the World Cup, a sub-text to the story of the 'England problem'. The *Guardian* on 6 March 1990 referred to an incident in Florence where:

> masked soccer hooligans, armed with baseball bats, beat up a Tunisian during all-night carnival festivities on Shrove Tuesday…. Police have identified the baseball attacker {*sic*} from his record of brawls at the soccer stadium. Since he is still a few weeks away from his eighteenth birthday, he has not been detained and says he will do it again.

The most important conclusion that can be drawn from the story of the World Cup in Italy 1990 is that, whatever may have been said in the wake of the Hillsborough inquiry undertaken by Lord Justice Taylor, the scheme for compulsory membership cards to be introduced for soccer fans as a result of the passage through parliament of the Football Spectators Act 1989 is always waiting in the wings. Almost irrespective of events in Italy in June and July 1990, the question of the problem of English soccer violence has persisted and, rightly or wrongly, is seen to remain in need of legislative measures. Professional soccer will in other words be seen to be a public order problem deserving of a 'legal' solution. In the 1990s, soccer hooliganism (such as it is) has been displaced to lower-league and non-league grounds where surveillance is less likely, and known pubs and city locations which have long been the sites for pre-arranged 'firms' (Redhead and McLaughlin, 1985; Redhead, 1997a) to cause 'Clockwork Orange' style mayhem.

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF CENSORSHIP

The media narratives around soccer hooliganism show up elements in post-modern culture more widely, especially in relation to youth (masculine) violence and its regulation through law and the media. 'Censorship' of cult films like *Crash* (1996, David Cronenberg's shooting of J.G.Ballard's story of the sexual seduction of violent car crashes) or *Natural Born Killers* (1994, Oliver Stone's tale of young hoodlums in love and on a killing spree) exposes these media practices. As Virilio puts it:

> the question now is how far the media can compromise themselves with the 'nouveau spectaculaire'…spreading its net indifferently across political, economic, social or legal information to the pseudo-entertainment, freed from any form of censorship that includes live talk shows, video clips, pornography, and interactive games.
>
> (Virilio, 1995:5)

In March 1996 the mass slaughter of young primary school children took place in Dunblane, Scotland. Thomas Hamilton, a middle-aged white man who lived alone, brutally killed 16 five- and six-year-olds and their teacher, and injured 11 other children and two other teachers in the school gym with four handguns. He then shot himself. In the same week, Warner Brothers were due to release the video of Oliver Stone's film *Natural Born Killers* which had already caused controversy on its release in the British cinema, provoking debate about whether it should be delayed or even banned when it was released in October 1994. Even so, in the case of both film and video, *Natural Born Killers* received its formal certification from the British Board of Film Censors.

Because of the Dunblane massacre, Warner Brothers Videos decided not to 'release the film at this stage' as Michael Heap, Managing Director of Warner Brothers, put it in a telephone call from California to Liberal Democrat MP and pro-censorship campaigner David Alton. Alton told the British press that 'if the film is not appropriate to be released as a video because of this horrific incident, it is not appropriate to be shown at any time. All the evidence shows that these videos lead to a culture of violence and we need to stop it.' Mary Whitehouse, the former chair of the National Viewers and Listeners Association, added that 'there have always been lonely, bitter individuals. The difference now is that they are particularly vulnerable to the images of violence as entertainment which is an approved and accepted part of our society. The chasm we have crossed in our day is using as entertainment violent images which used to shock us.' For writer David Selbourne, however, only because of the social breakdown where individuals become totally estranged from their fellow human beings does television's diet of violence cause violence. Selbourne argued 'out of estrangement comes

a sense of individual entitlement without moral restraint to impose your own ego on others. We have become habituated to…a gush of blood from an innocent body on the screen. If you gaze on these things in isolation…with no bonds of family or friends, you come to think this is a human norm.' In the event, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) announced only two weeks later that it had acquired rights to screen *Natural Born Killers* (automatically receiving it under a deal with film-makers New Regency Enterprises). A corporation spokeswoman insisted that it could not be screened before 1998 and even then might not be shown at all on the BBC. Part of the controversy stemmed from the linking, without any manifest evidence, to so-called 'copycat' murders in the USA and France, supposedly inspired by the scenes of violence portrayed in the movie which its director claims as a condemnation of the mass media 'celebration' or glorification of serial killers, especially in the USA. Local 'censorship' of the showing of *Natural Born Killers* on British television (and its non-release on video) therefore looks like a highly probable consequence (albeit short term) of the moral panic and law-and-order campaign surrounding its release on film and incidents of extreme violence such as the Dunblane massacre. At one level, the saga surrounding the reaction to *Natural Born Killers* on both sides of the Atlantic seems to be a case of old-fashioned moral panic about 'folk devils'—usually youthful—in post-culture. But the end of the millennium is a mediatised age: 'old-fashioned' approaches to problems of law, crime and deviance will rarely suffice any longer. The 'greed' which dominates postmodern culture is, above all, a greed for information and, as Virilio notes, information is speed. The divide between public and private, and especially between 'real' and 'imaginary', has been blurred by what Baudrillard has astutely seen as the 'ecstasy of communication'. In *Natural Born Killers*, the 'realism' comes from a remake of Quentin Tarantino's original film script (1995). Tarantino, famed for his scripts and filming for *Pulp Fiction* and *Reservoir Dogs*, has been in major dispute with Stone over the eventual translation of Tarantino's 'tauter and leaner' script into the director's film. Nevertheless, what Tarantino in his 'pulp theory' actually does is to reflect a 'post-postmodern' attitude. His multiple references are to other films, or remakes of other films, and all the other facets of accelerated pop culture—videos, fast food, drugs, pop music, MTV, computer games, and so on. He is concerned with a reality that has already been mediated and pre-digested; a veritable 'post(realist)-realism' (Redhead, 1995, chapter 6). The question of (soccer) violence or (soccer) hooliganism so far discussed in this book can be similarly regarded. Referents of news stories (images accompanying which are ever more 'realistic') of soccer hooliganism or soccer deviance since the late 1980s are largely to other 'stories': interviews with former 'hooligans' who have written books, academics whose research pre-dated the late 1980s, police and soccer administrators who merely make reference to each other's—spurious—predictions of forthcoming hooligan clashes, and so on. As we

shall see in the rest of this book, literary, screen or musical representations of soccer culture are the 'Tarantino' post-postmodern equivalents for soccer's pulp fiction.

In *Natural Born Killers,* a love story involving two serial killers for the media age, an MTV-style realism is achieved by Oliver Stone, underscored by an arresting and innovative rock soundtrack produced, conceived and assembled by Trent Reznor of Nine Inch Nails, which in its released version as a tape/CD intercuts music with soundtrack noise from the film itself. Mickey and Mallory Knox, played by Woody Harrelson and Juliette Lewis, embark on a killing spree and are eventually imprisoned only for the news media to make heroes out of the characters. Brutal, amoral violence is shot in black and white and colour and its editing in the final version gives an effect like 'channel-surfing'. Critic Stephen Schiff argues that Stone had concentrated on:

> how much dislocation, cross-referencing, near subliminal imagery, and ironic counterpoint he can pack into every moment of screen time. Within fractions of a second, Stone whiplashes among camera angles, lenses, and film stocks—35 mm, 16 mm, super 8, videotape, colour, black and white, still photographs, bits of animation—to create an unstable, lurching spectacle that resembles nothing so much as an evening of crazed channel-surfing.
>
> (Schiff in Kagan, 1995:234)

What *Natural Born Killers* produces then, is a post-realist 'realism'. The violence exhibited in the film is more 'realistic' than in, say, a film like Stanley Kubrick's *A Clockwork Orange,* based on Anthony Burgess' novel, similarly controversial because of its portrayal of apparently amoral youth deliquency in the early 1970s. Two decades of products from the cultural industries like TV, video and popular music (and especially MTV—as well as 'hand held camera' TV police series such as *NYPD Blue* and *Homicide*—as a combination of all three forms) have accustomed consumers to 'images' which are more and more 'real'. That is why *Natural Born Killers,* with its sonically superb soundtrack, feels like a longer version of a 'video' on MTV rather than a feature film. Rather than yet another film about which there has been a 'hysterical' moral panic—exploited commercially by director and company (Warner Brothers) alike, as always—*Natural Born Killers* may really be the shape of things to come: a prototype of hyperreal film and television culture for the twenty-first century, already here in a present where Virilio (1995:4) sees 'anarchic proliferation of private, cable and Hertzian channels and the spread of zapping'.

3

POST-FANDOM AND HYPERLEGALITY

'All that I know most surely in the long run about morality and the obligations of men, I owe to football'—so said Albert Camus, French philosopher-novelist and sometime goalkeeper for Oran FC in Algeria. He may have had a point. The shorter and more politically correct version (minus the 'of men'—or 'of man' as an accurate translation has it) of this quotation now adorns a T-shirt produced in Britain in the 1990s by an organisation called Philosophy Football, with No. 1 (for goalkeeper) on the back. A Baudrillard aphorism is emblazoned on another of the playful series of T-shirts which also includes the pithy statements of soccer legends Brian Clough, Danny Blanchflower, Bill Shankly, Eric Cantona and Pele, as well as Antonio Gramsci, Oscar Wilde, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Umberto Eco, Jacques Derrida and Vladimir Nabokov. The idea of Philosophy Football, originated by (respectively) Arsenal and Spurs fans Anne Coddington (herself author of a book on women and football, *One of the Lads,* published in 1997 by Pandora) and Mark Perryman (author of *Philosophy Football,* published by Penguin in 1997), is an excellent instance of post-youth, post-culture with its irreverent low modernist deconstruction of the barriers between high and low. The statement was originally made in an article by Camus called 'Football in Algiers' for the magazine *France Football* in 1957 and is printed in full in *The Faber Book of Football* (Hamilton, 1992; see also Kelly, 1993a) which, interestingly, in its own translation replaces 'football' with 'sport' in the sentence quoted.

HYPERLEGAL SPORTING CULTURE

Other critics have seen the media and entertainment corporate business take-over of sport as the defining characteristic of the 'postmodern condition'. As writer, broadcaster and pop mogul Paul Morley put it in an essay on Eric Cantona himself:

> the anti-sport of postmodern English football spurts commercially into the 21st century.
>
> (Morley, 1995)

Certainly, sporting culture and especially soccer culture have long been seen to embody certain values and principles—the Corinthian amateur ideal, for example (Grayson, 1994)—which have been taken as blueprints for living. Increasingly, as the twentieth century has drawn to a close, the intervention of various social forces (the market, the media, the law, the state) into the once 'private' area of sporting culture has been perceived to be transforming that particular cultural domain or 'field'. Over the last 20 years in a world of increasing deregulation (where law is seen by some writers as having been unceremoniously taken out of the public sphere), market forces have become paramount or, more prosaically, 'the name of the game' in the words of soccer consultant Alex Fynn (Fynn and Guest, 1994). The most pressing question today is how those (market) forces might be regulated. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the intersections of law, sport and the media. The former New Right philosopher, John Gray (Gray, 1993, 1995) and, subsequently, one of its most cutting and controversial critics, argues that the 'question posed by our historical context is not whether to adopt the institutions of a market economy, since that is everywhere a *fait accompli*, but how market institutions are to be reconciled with enduring human needs for fairness and community' (*THES*, 6 October 1995). This book focuses on post-youth soccer culture for the most part but other artistic, sports and popular cultural forms exhibit similar tendencies. For instance, in Spring 1995 the professional sport of British rugby league was effectively bought up by communications tycoon Rupert Murdoch in the course of the creation of his television-driven world super league, and rugby union in the southern hemisphere (Australia, New Zealand, South Africa) was similarly commandeered, formally professionalising the union game in that region of the globe as well as speeding up the process in the northern hemisphere. Undoubtedly, Murdoch's Sky satellite company recognised the importance of live sports events to its early growth, proclaiming that the Sky Sports channel was 'providing people with a choice they have not had in the past', as a Sky executive argued when called before the National Heritage select committee of the House of Commons when it examined sport on UK television in 1994. As Alex Fynn points out (Fynn and Davidson, 1996), the digital revolution which will give broadcasters like Sky almost limitless channels with which to bombard the nation's living rooms will underline further this freedom to choose (not to mention 'pay-per-view'). In a previous Popular Cultural Studies account of soccer's consuming passions (Redhead, 1993b), I put forward the argument that the regulation of the popular culture industry—especially the European soccer industry—could be understood partly in terms of development of a participatory/passive dichotomy among

spectators, though one which is not necessarily mutually exclusive. On the one hand there is most definitely now a greater degree of active participation, and even some democratisation, among fans. This process is evident in the increase in the numbers of women in soccer (though fan surveys from the Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research, University of Leicester, confirm British soccer fans as still overwhelmingly male), the rise of (club-based) independent supporters' associations (Taylor, 1993), fanzines, the increasing role for soccer in other art forms (music, theatre, video, film, television) and the mixing of soccer—as low or pop culture—with high arts, such as opera and classical music. The opposite process is also evident: the increasing presentation and marketing of football for a passive, 'respectable' audience sitting in either executive boxes, all-seater stadia, on sofas at home, or at the bar watching it on 'deregulated' television. The book also pointed out that the '1994 World Cup [was] to be held in the land of the mediascape, the USA, [so] will hasten such change in European football culture, which itself is hurtling towards continent-wide super leagues controlled by international media moguls' (on the back cover of Redhead, 1993b). Parts of this present book take these questions much further and continue, in the context of the study of a male dominated post-youth culture, the tradition of exploring the links between law and popular culture which has been done so well in the arena of cricket by David Fraser (1993). The 'juridification' (Gardiner and Felix, 1994; Foster, 1986, 1993) or 'policing' (Redhead, 1986b) of the football 'field' has continued apace over the last decade as an instance of a more general juridification (or 'legalisation') of social and private fields creating, in turn, interdisciplinary domains such as 'soccer jurisprudence' (Redhead, 1991a, especially chapter 7). This regulation of the soccer field has occurred alongside apparently contradictory and confusing processes of 'privatisation and deregulation of hitherto public areas of concern and provision', as critical legal theorists Costas Douzinas and Ronnie Warrington (1994) have sharply observed. Disciplinary fields within formerly 'black letter law' parts of the law school curriculum—looking at the legal instances of these processes—have also emerged, such as sports law, media law and entertainment law, with their specialist practitioners, associations and journals, as professional lawyers have colonised ever more areas of social life and the American culture of 'litigiousness' has spread to Europe.

In the late 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s, British soccer was probably best known globally for the phenomenon of soccer violence associated with a proportion of its spectators. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the mass media gradually created a consensus about the 'disappearance' of soccer-related violence which was based on stereotypical reporting almost as grotesque as the moral panics which had proclaimed, and sustained, the 'golden ages'—as they were described by Robert Elms in *The Face* in the 1980s—of the various cultural forms of youthful soccer hooliganism in

the earlier post-war eras. None of the focus on 'images' of football spectator deviance, however, should detract from the crucial point in the transition to the media concentration on fan fraternisation after Italia '90s story of soccer violence in the early 1990s which we excavated in Chapter 2. Undoubtedly, whatever the sceptics say, soccer hooliganism became less fashionable and more effectively marginalised in soccer fan culture from the mid-1980s onwards in Britain. It did not simply go away or come to an end. Nevertheless, in season 1994–5 in England, almost a decade of 'rehabilitation' of English soccer culture following the Heysel disaster in 1985 was abruptly brought to a closure—in the media at least—when various legal interventions into the regulation of the ethics and rules of the sport were initiated. These included the policing of English fans' violent 'live' televised disruption of a friendly international in Dublin against the Republic of Ireland. In truth, it was mainly domestic matches which had witnessed the growing unfashionability of soccer hooliganism between 1985 and 1994; very little *national* reporting of hooliganism at, or around, domestic club fixtures took place in Britain at all in the period, especially after the 1990 Italian World Cup extravaganza. England's national team's matches abroad had witnessed almost as much hooligan behaviour after 1985 as before, some of it organised by right-wing groups, and much of the stories were widely reported in the national and international media. Fan violence, however, was displaced in terms of media attention in 1994–5 by scandal[1] involving players and managers, not least the criminal court case of Manchester United's controversial French international, Eric Cantona, following his violent 'kung fu' kick on a spectator who was shouting abuse at him after he was sent off in a Premier League fixture against Crystal Palace at Selhurst Park in January 1995. As Eric Cantona's biographer, Ian Ridley (Ridley, 1995) put it, there 'is only one verdict on what Cantona did that night…when he launched himself feet-first over a barrier into a Palace fan, whom he then punched as retaliation for calling him a French motherfucker, it was, quite simply, wrong'. As television editor and writer Stuart Cosgrove (Cosgrove, 1991) has hilariously demonstrated in his Scottish soccer parody of Kenneth Anger's *Hollywood Babylon*, Scotland has long had its history of 'sex and scandal' and, in Britain generally between 1900 and 1965, according to Simon Inglis (Inglis, 1985), soccer frequently found itself 'in the dock'. Nevertheless, the litany of 'sleaze' in the 1994–5 season, including bribery allegations against Bruce Grobbelaar, John Fashanu, Hans Segers and others, an upheld 'headbutting' charge against Duncan Ferguson in Glasgow sheriff court, a 'bung' ('unsolicited' moneys from agent or other soccer club) accusation and subsequent 12-month ban on George Graham, and Paul Merson's admission of alcohol and cocaine abuse, not to mention constant allegations of business misconduct against England's national team coach Terry Venables, certainly made it a period full of column inches and picture stories. Stephen Kelly's collection of football

writing of the 1994–5 season (Kelly, 1995) remains a readable testament to its significance in deviant 'post' modern sporting culture. Moreover, its media culture notoriety was quickly captured on former stars George Best's and Rodney Marsh's video entitled (provocatively) *Drugs, Mugs and Thugs: The Inside Story of the 94–95 Football Season* which was released in September 1995, following hard on the heels of a 1992 video of *Soccer's Hard Men* soccer player violence from Wimbledon's Vinny Jones, an enterprise which cost the player a Football Association fine (King, 1996). Eric Cantona's reprehensible assault on a spectator who was allegedly racially provoking him was, crucially, caught clearly on camera and has been repeatedly shown via the international airwaves almost as many times as the Zapruder film of the JFK assassination in Dallas in November 1963. As his club manager, Alex Ferguson complained (Ferguson, 1995:203) 'when the incident happened at Selhurst Park, it was shown 93 times on television over the next two days—that's more repeats than the films of the JFK shooting. They've probably discussed it more as well.' Ferguson himself had to watch the incident on video to appreciate what had happened even though he was only a matter of yards away from the event 'live'. Paul Ince, Cantona's team mate, was also prosecuted for common assault after an incident following Cantona's at the same match, but his behaviour was not clearly and conclusively 'shot' by television; this would seem to be the only pre-trial difference in the cases, explaining why no sanctions by club or football authority were imposed on Ince prior to his court case. By contrast, Cantona received long bans by club and Football Association, as well as by the French international team, prior to sentence by the Croydon magistrates' court to 2 weeks imprisonment, which was commuted to community service on appeal. Media comment was ubiquitous. Former British Labour Party deputy leader, Roy Hattersley, found himself sued for libel by Manchester United FC after writing an article in the Conservative *Daily Mail* in January 1995 headlined 'Arrogant genius who is being destroyed by his passion for violence'. Two weeks prior to the Cantona incident, the Labour Party leader Tony Blair,[2] speaking at a dinner to honour the legendary winger Stanley Matthews' 80th birthday, had criticised Manchester United for changing their numerous playing strips (especially the away shirts which had become a popular fashion item) too often and thereby contributing a leading role in the general tendency towards making the sport itself too costly for the 'working' people it is thought to cater for. Others, such as Alex Fynn, sought to blame the burgeoning postmodern soccer industry's attitude of 'anything goes', with sporting 'tradition and ethics' becoming secondary in importance to short-term financial gain, on the media and the sport's authorities. Fynn argued that Sky's TV deal with the Premier League brought the game to a new level of importance, from 'back page to front page overnight'. Eric Cantona himself pronounced at a press conference to a perplexed array of journalists, photographers and

cameramen his own view of the media's role in the soccer star system. He said, to the visible astonishment of Maurice Watkins—the club's solicitor who is also a director of Manchester United—sitting next to Cantona, 'when the seagulls follow the trawler it is because they think sardines will be thrown into the sea'! Inevitably, these lines soon translated themselves onto T-shirts. Despite many attempts, Inter Milan failed to persuade Manchester United to transfer Cantona to Italy (though subsequently they were able to buy Ince, who was acquitted at his own court trial) and Cantona completed his community service, club and FA bans by October 1995. Cantona's rehabilitation was visible and manifest in numerous outstanding on-field performances for his club. The media turned elsewhere to find its sports folk devils—Faustino Asprilla, Newcastle United's Colombian international purchased from Parma in Italy, rapidly took Cantona's place as the hate figure of the tabloid press in an increasingly hyperlegal 'age of anxiety'.

The infiltration of unfettered market forces into sporting culture (especially soccer) is, of course, not new. However, it is posing all kinds of questions about legal rights and duties which have rarely been subjected so strongly to the judicial gaze. One area in what Ian Taylor terms the 'marketisation' of football (Taylor, 1995), which has long resisted legal intervention (Redhead, 1986a; Redhead and Miller, 1994) in Europe is the transfer system. In 1995 the European Court of Justice eventually heard the long-running case (Case C-415/93) of Belgian footballer Jean-Marc Bosnian whose boldly declared intention was to end transfer fees and the European Union of Football Associations' (UEFA) three-foreigner rule, which restricted the number of 'overseas' players that each club can use. Bosman sought judgement under Articles 48, 85 and 86 of the Treaty of Rome, 1957. In 1990, Bosman was a player at the Belgian soccer club RFC Liege who wanted to retain him on a quarter of his existing wages. Bosman refused and asked for a transfer to another club. In European countries outside Britain, transfer fees are based on criteria including age, experience and previous years' wages. Bosman was placed on the transfer list by Liege at a relatively high fee and was unable to find a club willing to take him at such a price. He subsequently began litigation in the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg claiming damages of £300,000 from the Belgian Football Association, UEFA and RFC Liege for restraint of trade, i.e. they prevented his freedom of movement as a worker within the European Union contrary to European Union law. Bosman also alleged that UEFA's three-foreigner rule, too, restricts the right of players to work anywhere in the European Union. The UEFA view was that soccer is a special case; it is a sport as well a business in their view, so that special arrangements to side-step accepted normative European Union laws are justified. John Janssen Van Rey, Bosnian's lawyer, claimed against this that the player's case 'concerns one of the foundations of the internal (European

Union) market: freedom to work anywhere people want'. In September 1995, the European Court of Justice found in favour of Bosman in an interim judgement handed down by the Advocate General. In December 1995, the full court swiftly supported the interim decision, though it rapidly became clear that legal opinion viewed the decision as not applicable to transfers within European countries, only between them.

This present book contends that the media, youth deviance and law are intertwined in the area of sport, that law itself has partially 'disappeared'—becoming 'translaw'—into forms of popular and post-realist, post-youth culture (Redhead, 1995). In a preview of the spectacular global media soccer tournament of World Cup America 1994, Stewart Beckett (Beckett, 1993) echoed the feelings of many sports spectators and commentators around the world by referring to the competition as 'the greatest show on earth'. TSN, the Canadian cable television company which covered all the World Cup games in 1994 in America (as its sister company ESPN did in the USA) boasted in its advertising that its audience would be able to consume 'real drama, real life, real TV—as, in fact, it does for advertising its other sports coverage, such as baseball. Together, these two visions of the soccer World Cup played in the USA in June and July 1994—the idea of soccer's premier tournament as a global media/sports event alongside the Olympics, Superbowl and the World Series, and the live television coverage as unmediated 'reality'—are powerful myths. Parts of this present book critically analyse these two myths in a critical Popular Cultural Studies look at 'post-culture'. The contextualising of theories of the media and sport takes place in the form of a critique of European theorists' (such as Jean Baudrillard) 'post-tourist' (Urry, 1988) travel theories about the USA, followed by comments on television coverage (in the USA, Canada and Britain) of USA '94 and what such mediation means in the light of debates in contemporary critical legal and cultural studies. These sections feature some material from research carried out into 'post-culture' in the three countries in June/July 1994. The 'disappearance' of USA '94 into the hyperreal mass media is further considered; for instance, the footballer given most coverage in 1994 (and 1995) was O.J.Simpson, ex-NFL star, who was on trial for allegedly killing his ex-wife and a male companion in 1994. Fragments of my research diary of 1994 World Cup America as a popular cultural form (see Appendix 2) include details of the commercial and advertising conditions of existence of USA '94 in a country where prospects for revitalising soccer as popular culture have been pessimistically described as 'stillborn in the USA' (Giulianotti and Williams, 1994). Appendix 2 also follows the tournament of June/July 1994 through the matches themselves in an attempt to critically construct for posterity the World Cup USA '94 and the media sign of 'America' in the 1990s in all its seductive (*á la* Jean Baudrillard) 'hyperreality'.

POST-FANDOM

As Chapter 1 pointed out, fandom is central to Popular Cultural Studies work on youth and popular culture.[3] Fandom, though, can be seen to be overdetermining as a concept, focusing on the obsessive 'fanatic' (Ferris, 1995) rather than ordinary supporter or casual television viewer of sport. We need then to consider what I want to call the 'post-fandom'—in Europe, especially England—since Italia '90 (the last but one World Cup) and the way in which soccer culture has become both privatised or marketised (or for some critics 'Americanised') on the one hand, yet ever more legally 'governed' and regulated on the other—a state which Popular Cultural Studies has elsewhere described as 'hyperlegality' and 'post-law' (Redhead, 1995) or what amounts to the repatterning of the rule of law and justice in a media age. We are now manifestly born into 'post-fandom'. The concept of 'post-fandom' explicitly connotes not so much the idea simply conceived in the past that a historical period of fandom—a mainly male 'terrace' soccer culture, from whatever date is chosen, late nineteenth century, 1950s or mid-1980s—is at an end, more that the fragmentary, self-conscious, reflexive, mediated, 'artistic' (Germain, 1994), 'style-surfing' (Polhemus, 1996) notion of what it means to be a fan of soccer, music and fashion which has always been present is now more pervasive. The best parallel is the notion of 'post-tourist' which John Urry (Urry, 1988) has developed from other theorists of leisure. Urry's pioneering reworking and re-application of this concept brings out the 'play' of the 'tourist gaze', the recognition that there is no authentic (or real) modern tourist experience, but that pleasures are in the 'multiplicity of tourist games'. The argument for 'fandom' in popular culture in the present book is essentially that the accelerated hyper-modern culture of post-fandom is similar. The 'post-fan', like the 'post-tourist', does not have to leave the home or the bar to see the object of the gaze because television and video provide endless opportunity for 'grazing' and 'channel surfing'. In fact, as David Toop has accurately pointed out, *the fin de siecle* idea of 'vicarious (or virtual?) living' originates at the end of the *nineteenth*, not the twentieth, century. Toop quotes literature from the 1880s where the character's:

> journey progresses no further than Paris. 'After all', he reflects, 'what was the good of moving when a fellow could travel so magnificently sitting in a chair?' So the couch potato, the sofa surfer, the virtual nomad was born.
>
> (Toop, 1995:6)

The birth of the cinema in this period also founded this figure. As Toop says: 'commercial cinema was born, the armchair traveller was up and lounging, the virtual traveller was seeded and already visible as a tiny dot on the far horizon'. Playing 'games with the environment' then is not new,

even if the high (digital) technological means to such pleasures is vastly improved. The proliferation of choice which de-regulation of the media is supposed, by its supporters, to deliver is recognised by the 'post-fan' as part of 'post-fandom'—especially as the banal is juxtaposed with the beautiful. The self-consciousness of knowing that fandom is 'just a game' and that experience of the game is always mediated but never direct is a vital part of being a 'post-fan'. This applies equally to 'being there' at an event where, increasingly, giant video screens playback action instantly—or else watching on television. 'Participatory' and 'passive' fans are often the same people, not different categories of spectator (Redhead, 1993b). One significant response to the satellite take-over of soccer on British television by Sky in the 1990s has been for fans to congregate in large numbers across the country in bars, which have Sky TV, at times of live matches. The traditional soccer culture of yesteryear of participatory, largely male, fandom of the terraces—threatened by smaller all-seater stadia, steeply rising prices of admission and the *embourgeoisement* of the sport—has effectively transferred itself to the already existing male 'pub culture' which in large part created it in the first place. Writer and television producer, Harry Lansdown, has argued that:

> Most football supporters have been proved wrong about Sky. It has lifted the whole quality of the coverage. I would not want things to go back to the way they used to be. But then again, neither I nor most of my friends have a subscription. Pub football is brilliant for away matches you'd never get to, or for big games of general interest.
>
> (quoted in Fynn and Davidson, 1996:222)

Prize winning Irish writer Roddy Doyle (in Hornby, 1993) has written hilariously of the Eire version of this mode of 'post-fandom' in Dublin, watching a Republic of Ireland away match. Indeed, the Irish (Republic) model has been thought to be more generally pervasive: thousands of fans of all nationalities watched the World Cup America soccer USA '94 television coverage crammed into packed, newly built mock (simulated) Irish bars in cities and towns up and down the British Isles in the summer of 1994. Of course, the 1994 soccer World Cup tournament was watched all over North America too, in bars more used to televising indigenous sports. Moreover, aspects of the Irish football culture have themselves been conceptualised as 'postmodern' by Richard Giulianotti (Giulianotti, 1995a, 1996). World Cup USA '94 in many ways has symbolised a mode of television coverage of sporting events beyond the continent of North America. For instance, the idea that events such as the World Cup will, in future, only be available on satellite or cable television is already an eventuality which citizens in Britain are having to contemplate as traditional terrestrial broadcasting continues to lose out in the competition for live events, confirming Sky as 'both the paymaster and ringmaster' of soccer (Fynn and Davidson, 1996). In 1995,

for instance, Sky signed future deals for taking away from terrestrial broadcasting the Endsleigh League and Coca Cola Cup live soccer matches which had previously been exclusive to terrestrial broadcasters. In many senses, it could be said that we are all 'post-fans' now. Post-youth, post-fan culture, then, is the focal point of this and other chapters in this book. It is, in fact, evident in all kinds of facets in the popular culture (and its regulation) of our late twentieth-century, media-saturated global village where policing of the boundaries between high and low culture has partly broken down. Mark Ferryman of Philosophy Football tells the intriguing story of an order of Philosophy Football T-shirts from a woman claiming to be preparing to marry Jean Baudrillard. The phone order was for six Philosophy Football T—shirts to be sent so that the waiters at the wedding could wear them (the story turned out not to be apocryphal and there is rumoured to be a wedding video!). Perhaps, though, this breakdown of the binary divide between high and popular culture is most poignantly, even romantically, captured in the words of Jacques Derrida, theorist of deconstruction (and author of *Spurs!*), who reveals his unlikely, youthful dream to his philosopher-biographer, Geoffrey Bennington (Bennington, 1991): 'I dreamt of becoming a professional footballer.'

4

HYPERREALITY BYTES

> Football is perhaps the last spectacle which is able to create an open and intense social relationship. Nobody is forced to come to the stadium. Nobody is made to sing.
>
> (Eric Cantona in Robinson, 1995)

Eric Cantona's observation, taken from a book of aphorisms judiciously edited by Michael Robinson entitled *La Philosophic de Cantona* (Robinson, 1995) may well be an epitaph for an era as law, media and sport become ever more part of the global accelerated, privatised, marketised, computerised, Internetted, wired culture prefiguring the next millennium. Soccer culture on the Internet (Duncan, 1995), such as computerised soccer chatlines, reproduces (without gender and devoid of bodies) the (male) pub culture communication and community in hyperspace with the minimum of censorship, policing, discipline and regulation. World Cup USA '94 was viewed as a watershed in the relationships between law, media and sporting culture conceived as three supposedly formally discrete areas of social life, and I have used soccer culture as the main illustration of what I want to say about post-fan youth culture throughout the various parts of this book. I have also taken up some notions in 'post-colonial' studies such as 'travelling law' (Bell, 1995) in which legal theory, tourism and travel come together, especially in the USA, where hyperlegality seemingly parallels hyperreality.

'REAL' FANS

The hyperreality of televised sports culture is commonly taken as innately a 'bad' thing, a development which undermines what is recalled as 'real' soccer, 'real' sport, 'real' culture. Michael Nyman, experimental classical music composer and Queen's Park Rangers supporter, was interviewed about these issues for *The Passion of Football,* a *Celebration* arts programme made in 1992 for Granada TV based on research in law, deviance and popular culture around the notions of post-fan, post-youth:

INTERVIEWER Are you filled with despair about the way the game is going if we progress towards the elimination of standing in the terraces and other changes to make the game more acceptable to a televisual culture?

MICHAEL NYMAN It's very interesting that in the 60s and 70s you probably got back into football through television; *Match of the Day* on a Saturday night—you couldn't leave the house on Saturday night, you had to watch *Match of the Day*. And you'd go to great lengths not to know the results of the matches that were being shown on *Match of the Day*. ITV became involved, Saturday evening became Sunday afternoon. The whole tension breaks down, because there's no way that you can spend a whole weekend not knowing what the results are. So the kind of lure of obsessive, television football watching disappears. And now I see, for better or for worse, that television is dictating not only what time of day a match kicks off, what conditions etc., and I find all that—it makes football into something that's not real. It becomes very fake, and what is even more fake and phoney and money-orientated is the idea of the World Cup taking place in the USA. I just find that absolutely horrendous. If people are going to change certain rules to make football more accessible to, and acceptable by, a public who has no interest in the game, who singularly fail to get the professional game going in the USA, I think that would really kind of turn my stomach. You know I'm very much blood and guts terraces. I'm not even really concerned with the comfort of the stadium. You go to a match for 90 minutes, and you go to the loo and it doesn't really matter whether it's a loo like a four-star hotel or a four-star hovel. You do what you have to do. You go back onto the terrace to watch the match. Quite often I'll be heard screaming to myself quietly—why not spend the money on good players, rather than good lavatories? No matter how comfortable it is, if the football is uninteresting, being comfortable will make it even worse.

INTERVIEWER Do you feel hostile to the American culture in other ways? Or do you think there is something about America that is particularly pernicious in the game of football?

MICHAEL NYMAN America is pernicious in the game of football simply because, like a lot of things they take over, they take it over with enthusiasm but actually make it anodyne. Certain kinds of American music have swept the world to good and bad effect. Certain kinds of American music that I'm intimately involved with have (another one of the bees in my bonnet) only become well known through Europe. Totally rejected by America. These composers become popular in Europe with European money, European concerts, European television, radio stations, record companies. The

> Americans look at them and say 'these are our composers, let's bring our boys home' and consequently they're big in America and there's not the kind of reciprocal process going on.

Nyman's views expressed the sentiments of many Europeans at the decision to stage the soccer World Cup in the USA in 1994. The move, actually announced by FIFA in 1988, exacerbated a deep resentment of a more general new 'cultural imperialism'. Two years away from the staging of the event, Nyman anxiously looked ahead to legal changes—in the sport's rules—which would in his view 'Americanise' a fundamentally (historical) European sport:

> MICHAEL NYMAN What football will become after the World Cup in America, I can't imagine. There's this talk of playing in indoor stadiums, various other rule changes, the idea of the penalty shoot-out. There's also this idea about the statistical element in American sports coverage and commentaries and analysis, You know, the idea of the assist. This is actually a very interesting way of watching football. You know, obviously so and so has scored 27 goals in a season and you never actually credit the players who maybe much more skilfully provide the last pass. But there is something naive about having a category called the 'assist'. So and so did 64 assists in such and such a season. There's something naive and not necessary about that. I don't really want the game to change very much. Obviously it changes before your very eyes, but a wet Saturday afternoon in the pouring rain with the pitch cutting up and players falling all over the place and mistakes being made is wonderful. Nothing better. Standing uncovered. Wonderful.

Writer Paul Morley, interviewed for the same Granada TV programme, also wished to resist 'modernisation' in the form of all-seater stadia:

> PAUL MORLEY I mean, for me—safety wise—I wouldn't want to sit down. I'd feel very unsafe, if I had to sit down with a bunch of strangers. There's nothing better than standing with a bunch of strangers watching a football match, because you're suffering. And I think you've got to suffer to watch football. I think the day we cease to suffer—I mean, they seem to be putting roofs over the top and everything, and it would become very kind of choreographed. I like to suffer when I see a football match.
>
> INTERVIEWER Well I suppose people are saying—it's got to become decent family entertainment. It's got to be a place where you can take the kids, where you can buy popcorn and where you can go to the loos cleanly. You don't share these emotions?
>
> PAUL MORLEY I'm always pissed off about the way that when you go

to see a football match, basically it's a thing working-class boys do, working-class men do. That you are herded around like animals, and that you are treated like individual pieces of shit and that basically you're not actually in the arena, you're just in a kind of concrete shape. I'm pissed off about that. So when I say I don't want football to become too kind of choreographed and clean and American football-ised, I still think there's no reason why we have to be treated like shit. But, then, perversely that's part of the struggle, it's part of the way we suffer as football fans.

INTERVIEWER And you'd feel obligated and alienated and disorientated if you were suddenly being treated like a respectable customer.

PAUL MORLEY No, I want to be treated like a respectable customer, but I don't want to be treated like someone who is the object of marketing, if you see what I mean. Because I think that the possibility—because of the time and the era—is that the people who go to see football will be consumers; they will be there because they have been marketed into a position and once you start talking about family kind of entertainment and all that rubbish, then you are just the object of marketing. I would hate that.

Morley recognised that the purest example of marketing of soccer culture to date would be represented by USA '94:

PAUL MORLEY Well that will probably be the battle, because there soccer will come up against the ultimate in marketing. So, if it survives, I suppose it will go on forever…

INTERVIEWER If we could talk about what will happen when football gets to the USA…?

PAUL MORLEY Well I guess that when the World Cup happens in America, it will be the great battle between football, as some kind of original poetic tradition, against the ultimate in marketing. I'm definitely going to go—actually I've already made plans because that struggle alone will be fantastic to watch, and I guess if football survives it and doesn't come out the other side too choreographed and marketed, it will last forever, and if it does get pummelled to death by the American system, then it will end up in ten years time as—there will be a World Cup in America that consists of only American teams. Because it's interesting that football has never made it in America, because they've marketed it to death, but they never quite got hold of its abstract, kind of enigmatic quality. They've reduced it to six-a-side indoors and they try to give it American football treatment; celebrating the players as they come out. They've hired the best players in the world. It's never really worked. Because I think the Americans could never understand 66 nil-nil draws on the

trot. It doesn't make any sense to them. And yet that is, in the end, a magical quality. As a football fan you've got to suffer the 66 nil—nil draws, the pain, the horror, the misery, to get to that one moment when it all goes right and it's 4–1.

INTERVIEWER And you were hinting a minute ago that there's something about the American hunger for artificial emotions, that generated their national game.

PAUL MORLEY It's going to be interesting to see whether the World Cup football will survive the American need to fake their emotion, to make sure that it happens. The thing about Americans—they have to ensure that there are the peaks and troughs, the highs and the lows. Ultimately, they don't really leave things to chance. Football's all about leaving things to chance. So it will be a battle, whether football as we know it as an English kind of thing remains. It isn't the same as a European thing really, but it kind of survives that. It might come out the other side as being very artificially controlled. And it's already going that way in a way, very feebly, with the Premier League and marketing men becoming involved, talking in marketing ways about the magic of football. I suppose in a pop music equivalent it's like—the true nature of pop is Lou Reed and that's Manchester City on a good day, and the end result of marketing is Simply Red and that's sort of Baltimore Tigers playing a six-a-side against New Orleans. Do you know what I mean? It's like a vast difference in the end. Something I think we have to cling on to—the sheer stupidity of going to football. A miraculous stupidity.

INTERVIEWER Do you see a difference between English-style and European-style football?

PAUL MORLEY Well, you know, I don't really know what it's like to go to a football match in Europe. You get it fed glamorously on late night sport presented by Tony Francis, the Italian League or Sky TV and I'm sure—I know it's true—that looking in on European football everyone gets envious and says it's fantastic and 'what a world' and it's sophisticated and intelligent. And I'm sure the Europeans looking in on us prefer the English thing. But I don't know. I only know the experience of following English football, I don't really know how that connects elsewhere.

Nyman and Morley, representing a middle-class, artistic, bohemian interest in soccer fandom, articulate here a more widespread populist cultural belief in a 'real'—or authentic—'working-class' soccer culture untouched by an evolutionary rationalising and technologically sophisticated 'modernity', perceived to stem from either continental Europe or the USA. This belief itself is a myth, encouraged by the press and electronic mass media of

various kinds, which reproduces itself as sport and popular cultural 'history' (see Redhead, 1987). In many ways, what Nyman, Morley and others in Europe were concerned about in the early 1990s before USA '94 occurred was the 'mediatising' as well as the marketising of football as a world game.

MEDIATISATION

John Williams (Williams, 1993) has analysed this phenomenon in terms of what he calls the general 'mediasation of popular culture'. There are only a small group of previous analyses of the soccer World Cup as a post-World War II cultural event. Most of these have concentrated on the extent to which 'reality' has been displaced by the televisual or cinematic 'image'. An exception to this rule are Ian Taylor's studies (Taylor, 1970a, b) of the soccer finals in Mexico in 1970 which tended to concentrate on the socio-political situation in the country at the time. Since England's home victory over West Germany in 1966, the World Cup in soccer as a global television event appears, according to these analyses, to be increasingly and inexorably constructed by, for and in, the mass media.

The books and articles written around the subsequent World Cup Finals[1] which reflect this apparently incremental process of 'mediatisation' are largely in the academic field of mass communications, media or cultural studies. After the 1974 finals in West Germany, a pamphlet called 'Football on Television' was produced by Edward Buscombe (Buscombe, 1975) which comprised a study of television coverage of the 1974 World Cup, eventually won by the hosts in the final against the 'total football' of Holland. In the pamphlet, Buscombe and his colleagues at the British Film Institute (BFI) concentrated on the media coverage of soccer—'football on television'—focusing especially on the debates (*c.* 1975) around the problem of 'mediation'. The crux of that contemporary debate in the mid-1970s—and, in fact, as Garry Whannel (Whannel, 1992) has shown, ever since—was the extent to which television programmes in general, and sports coverage in particular, were not so much a record of events as socially constructed phenomena. At the time of the 1978 finals in Argentina, as the venue controversially moved to the then reviled authoritarian South American regime, two contrasting European perspectives were developed on the World Cup: an influential article in the film theory journal *Screen* (Nowell-Smith, 1978/9), and an essay by Umberto Eco before he achieved global fame as a best-selling essayist, magazine journalist, lecturer and (post)modernist novelist, called 'The World Cup and its pomps' (Eco, 1987). Nowell-Smith, focusing on Argentina 1978, explicitly built on the BFI study, theorising television as 'never exactly a reproduction of' a cultural event but 'always, in some way or other, a representation', recognising nevertheless that 'the prejudice dies hard that television is there to reproduce; that its subject is given reality' (Nowell-Smith, 1978/9). He noted the irony of holding the World Cup finals

in a country where government and other groups' terror reigned and citizens frequently 'disappeared'.

Eco's own essay on the World Cup in Argentina in 1978 stressed that this far-away global television event was taking place in the year of the Red Brigade's kidnapping and killing of the former Prime Minister of Italy, Aldo Moro. Eco's chapter—in 'Reports from the global village', a most appropriately named section of his collected essays *Travels in Hyperreality* (originally published as *Faith in Fakes* and then reprinted in the 1990s using both titles)—is concerned as much with the wave of (mainly ultra left-wing) bloody terrorism sweeping late 1970s Italy as with the cultural and media politics surrounding football. Eco discusses the way that the 'World Cup has so morbidly polarised the attention of the public and the devotion of the mass media', arguing further that 'public opinion, especially in Italy, has never needed a nice international championship more than it does now' (Eco, 1987). In other words, in Eco's judgement, the global televising of an event like the World Cup deflects attention from other, harsher 'realities'. Years later his views about soccer's place in the scheme of cultural things became somewhat clearer when, in 1990, Eco wrote a piece called 'How not to talk football' (Eco, 1994)—reprinted in the London 'slacker' magazine *The Idler*—which suggested that, although he did not 'hate football', he really did 'hate football fans'!

The tournament in Spain in 1982 took place against the backcloth of a recently finished war over the Falklands/Malvinas in the South Atlantic, involving three of the competitors: England, Northern Ireland and Argentina. In 'The World Cup—a political football', Alan Clarke and Justin Wren-Lewis (Clarke and Wren-Lewis, 1983:123) further critically and provocatively developed the ideas of both the BFI study and Nowell-Smith (Eco's account, though written in 1978, was not published in English until 1986) in an article for the then recently launched journal *Theory, Culture and Society*. They examined the 'ways in which political discourses did and did not intrude on to the footballing world as seen on television in June/July 1982' (Clarke and Wren-Lewis, 1983:123), i.e. the period of the World Cup in Spain. The claim by Clarke and Wren-Lewis was that 'the footballing world is a well developed site that does not easily appropriate discourses outside itself, and one which 'indeed has its own politics'.

For 1986 in Mexico, where the tournament returned after a gap of only 16 years, an edited series of papers entitled *Off the Ball* (Tomlinson and Whannel, 1986) was published, including references to the mass media and the World Cup. This complex relationship between modern media and global soccer culture is especially evident in 'Tunnel vision: television's World Cup', by Christine Geraghty and Philip Simpson (who were then connected to the BFI) with media and sports researcher, Garry Whannel. The essay ranges across the history of the World Cup and the related history of the televising of the event. The three authors' incisive discussion showed how 'television

football became a global phenomenon', but also emphasised that a 'western oriented view of the sport has become the norm in much of the world' (in Tomlinson and Whannel, 1986:20).

All of the essays I have briefly referenced above reflect a concern that, incrementally every four years, the televising of the World Cup from the 1960s onwards displayed a trend generally seen in the electronic transformation of western culture which resulted in an increasing domination of the 'image'. For some commentators, however, this (post)modern world was fast becoming more than just a visually dominated society; it was seen instead as a fully fledged post-literate culture of television images with no, or at least very little, reference to what was previously known as 'reality'. The coverage of global sport by the time of the 1990 World Cup finals was seen by a few critics as having already reached this stage. The critical analysis made by these writers was also of a qualitatively different kind from that of the earlier 1970s and 1980s formulations. This new analysis seemed to draw on the controversial perspectives of postmodernism, even where its authors denied the definitions and assumptions behind such a label.

POST-HOOLIGANISM

The best example of such a different perspective is *All Played Out*, Pete Davies' (1991) book on Italia '90, the World Cup tournament in 1990 in Italy. Following on from his earlier forays into fiction—*The Last Election* (1987) and *Dollarville* (1990)—the book is a postmodern-ish travel/theory journey through the World Cup finals of 1990, implying that events such as this have become part of a media saturated (hyper)reality designated by Davies as 'Planet Football'. 'Planet Football' is described as 'an unreality zone of media and marketing mayhem, a land of hysterical fantasy' much of which relates, as Davies skilfully shows, to the ever-present impending doom of soccer related youth/fan violence. My own idiosyncratic discussion about Italia '90 (see Chapter 2) and the earlier 'Ninety minute culture: E for England party mix' in *Football With Attitude* (Redhead, 1991b), represents the meta-narratives and mass media stories of English hooliganism at the Italia '90 World Cup finals in such a way that it is as if the (hooligan) event which had been widely predicted in the mass media hardly took place—a conclusion which Davies also independently reaches. None of his analysis—or mine—suggests that there was (or is) no 'real' fan violence at World Cup finals, but it does stress the important role of news/media expectations and their often self-fulfilling prophecies. More controversially, in Davies' book there is the hint—taken up within much postmodern theorising or, more helpfully, theorising of the postmodern condition—that an event of fan hooliganism which is not covered in the media has not fully occurred at all. In other words it is not 'real'. Davies' title phrase, 'All Played Out', is taken up throughout his book suggesting the 'death' or 'exhaustion' of all aspects of

soccer, youth and media culture, including the performances of the 'post-colonial' English national football team, former winners of the Jules Rimet trophy in 1966.

In summer 1993, a year prior to the USA '94 World Cup being staged, Davies published a post-Italia '90 article on the USA and global soccer's biggest prize (Davies, 1993). The essay was later included in revised form in his 'intelligent fan's guide to soccer and World Cup '94' (Davies, 1994) aimed at North American readers at the time of the finals. Following the various musings of more mainstream football writers such as Patrick Barclay (Barclay, 1993) and Brian Glanville (Glanville, 1993), Davies' article took a careful look at what the implications (of the USA being the host nation) had on the development of soccer in America. He focused on the crucial dimensions of space and time in a country the size of the USA and the likely impact of the global telecommunications industry on the internal consumption of the event. The new experience of having the World Cup in the USA for the first time, despite the country having entered the inaugural finals in Uruguay in 1930 and, in fact, also qualifying for several more of the last stages in the intervening years, was prominent in Davies' article, giving rise to his optimistic view of both how the World Cup would be staged in summer 1994 and the likely impact on the playing of soccer in future in the USA after the World Cup publicity effect and media aftermath was finally over. There is a pragmatic pessimism in Davies' account, too, as he notes the serious potential for the World Cup to 'disappear' when he claims:

> The baffling vastness of America presents all manner of difficulties both for organisations and for fans…. So it may be that the World Cup will be huge in nine cities, and that in Kansas or Idaho they won't give a cuss. Eleven weekend games will be live on ABC and the other 41 will be on ESPN—a 24-hour sports cable network reaching 70 million homes—but whether anyone will watch outside those nine immediately concerned media markets remains to be seen…we should…be watching with some fascination to see what they do with it; but if there's one country on this earth where the World Cup can happen and a whole bunch of people not even notice or care, then this is the one.
>
> (Davies, 1993)

In the event, although three of the four quarter-finals of the USA '94 competition were covered by ABC (because they were held at a weekend), there was the strange spectacle of the semi-finals of the tournament only being covered on ESPN (TSN in Canada) as they took place mid-week (on a Wednesday). In many ways, Davies was proved correct in his assessment of partial 'disappearance'.

BAUDRILLARD ON THE BALL!

Another writer who has cultivated the idea of 'disappearance' is the foremost—though reluctant—guru of the 'post', Jean Baudrillard. Baudrillard has proclaimed the complete, utter meaninglessness of the term postmodernism in his statement that 'there is no such thing as postmodernism',[2]—Which Mike Gane quotes (Gane, 1993)—and denied being anything approximating to a 'postmodernist', but his poetic/aesthetic/aphoristic approach to culture is impossible to ignore. Baudrillard's own biographical trajectory, and eventual meteoric rise to academic superstardom, can be usefully compared to that of Umberto Eco.[3] Both authors, interestingly, are fascinated by the USA and the fake/hyperreal, but Eco retains a rather 'respectable' gravitas inside and outside the academy, whereas Baudrillard provokes (and indeed courts) the most extreme hostility as well as uncritical celebration.

Let us consider the commentaries of Baudrillard on the areas which we have already covered with regard to Eco. On the question of soccer being a 'distraction' from politics, Baudrillard puts forward a different view of power to Eco. In his famous essay 'In the shadow of the silent majorities', he says:

> On the night of Klaus Croissant's extradition, the TV transmitted a football match in which France played to qualify for the World Cup. Some hundreds of people demonstrated outside la Sante, a few barristers ran to and fro in the night; twenty million people spent their evening glued to the screen. An explosion of popular joy when France won. Consternation and indignation of the illuminati over this scandalous indifference. La Monde: '9 p.m. At that time the German barrister had already been taken out of la Sante. A few minutes later, Rochteau scored the first goal.' Melodrama of indignation. Not a single query about the mystery of this indifference. One same reason is always invoked: the manipulation of the masses by power, their mystification by football. In any case, this indifference ought not to be, hence it has nothing to tell us. In other words, the 'silent majority' is even stripped of its indifference, it has no right even that this be recognised and imputed to it, even this apathy must have been imposed on it by power. What contempt behind this interpretation! Mystified, the masses are not allowed their own behaviour. Occasionally, they are conceded a revolutionary spontaneity by which they glimpse the 'rationality of their own desire', that yes, but God protect us from their silence and their inertia. It is exactly this indifference, however, that demands to be analysed in its positive brutality, instead of being dismissed as white magic, or as a magic alienation which always turns the multitudes away from their revolutionary vocation. Moreover, how does it succeed in turning them away? Can one ask questions about the strange fact that, after several revolutions and a century or two of political apprenticeship, in spite of the newspapers,

> the trade unions, the parties, the intellectuals and all the energy put into educating and mobilising the people, there are still (and it will be exactly the same in ten or twenty years) a thousand persons who stand up and twenty million who remain 'passive'—and not only passive, but who, in all good faith and with glee and without even asking themselves why frankly they prefer a football match to a human and political drama? It is curious that this proven fact has never succeeded in making political analysis shift political ground, but on the contrary reinforces it in its vision of an omnipotent, manipulatory power, and a mass prostrate in an unintelligible coma. Now none of this is true, and both the above are a deception: power manipulates nothing, the masses are neither mislead nor mystified. Power is only too happy to make football bear a facile responsibility for stupefying the masses. This comforts it in its illusion of being power, and leads away from the much more dangerous fact that this indifference of the masses is their true, their only practice, that there is no other ideal of them to imagine, nothing in this to deplore, but everything to analyse as the brute fact of a collective retaliation and of a refusal to participate in the recommended ideals however enlightened.
>
> (Baudrillard, 1983:12–14)

Although he has written relatively rarely about sporting culture, Baudrillard has mused in a collection of essays 'on extreme phenomena' called *The Transparency of Evil* (Baudrillard, 1993) about the extent to which media coverage displaces the 'real' cultural event. For Baudrillard, in an essay entitled 'The mirror of terrorism':

> The most striking thing about events such as those that took place at the Heysel Stadium, Brussels, in 1985, is not their violence *per se* but the way in which this violence was given currency by television, and in the process turned into a travesty of itself.
>
> (Baudrillard 1993:75)

He comments further that:

> The Romans were straightforward enough to mount spectacles of this kind, complete with wild beasts and gladiators, in the full light of day. We can put on such shows only in the wings, as it were—accidentally, or illegally, all the while denouncing them on moral grounds. (Not that this prevents us from disseminating them world-wide as fodder for TV audiences: the few minutes of film from the Heysel Stadium were the most often broadcast images of the year.) Even the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles were transformed into a giant parade, a world-wide show which, just like the Berlin Games of 1936, took place in an atmosphere of terrorism created by a power's need to

> show off its muscles: the world-wide spectacle of sport was thus turned into a Cold War strategy—an utter corruption of the Olympic ideal. Once wrenched away from its basic principle, sport can be pressed into the service of any end whatsoever: as a parade of prestige or of violence, it slips…from play founded on competition and representation to circus-like play, play based on the pull of vertigo.
>
> (Baudrillard, 199?:77)

Baudrillard follows this point later in the same essay by commenting on a post-Heysel European Cup tie in 1987 between Real Madrid (Spain) and Napoli (Italy) which was ordered by UEFA to be played behind closed doors. He writes that:

> the match took place at night in a completely empty stadium, without a single spectator, as a consequence of disciplinary action taken by the International Federation in response to the excesses of Madrid supporters at an earlier game. Thousands of fans besieged the stadium, but no one got in. The match was relayed in its entirety via television. A ban of this kind could never do away with the chauvinistic passions surrounding soccer, but it does perfectly exemplify the terroristic hyperrealism of our world, a world where a 'real' event occurs in a vacuum, stripped of its context and visible only from afar, televisually. Here we have a sort of surgically accurate prefigurement of the events of our future: events so minimal that they might well not need take place at all—along with their maximal enlargement on screens. No one will have directly experienced the actual course of such happenings, but everyone will have received an image of them. A pure event, in other words, devoid of any reference in nature, and readily susceptible to replacement by synthetic images. The phantom football match should obviously be seen in conjunction with the Heysel Stadium game, when the real event, football, was once again eclipsed—on this occasion by a much more dramatic form of violence. There is always the danger that this kind of transition may occur, that spectators may cease to be spectators and slip into the role of victims or murderers, that sport may cease to be sport and transformed into terrorism: that is why the public must simply be eliminated, to ensure that the only event occurring is strictly televisual in nature. Every real referent must disappear so that the event may become acceptable on television's mental screen.
>
> (Baudrillard, 1993:79–80)

Baudrillard's various comments quoted above from *The Transparency of Evil* come in the context of the 'live' televising of the deaths of 39 Italian fans at the Heysel Stadium football disaster at the European Cup final in May 1985,[4] rather than a World Cup final, but any analysis of mass media presentation of post-fan culture such as USA '94 needs to accommodate the extent to which the 'real referent' has disappeared over recent years and

how far audiences, both 'live' and television, have been transformed by the increasing domination of the 'mental screen'.

The fact that the 1994 World Cup soccer tournament was held in the USA emphasises its role as the land of the mediascape along with Japan, another culture dominated by hi-tech communication, yet in such a way that it could be said to be the world's first 'post-culture' (see Smart in Rojek and Turner, 1993), waiting in the wings to jointly host the first third millennium World Cup finals following the year 2000 after France (Baudrillard's home country) has staged them in 1998. The USA '94 event may well mark a watershed in the mediatising of this ultimate example of global post-fan culture. A more 'passive', as opposed to 'participatory', audience for soccer is one possible outcome as sport is globally consumed more and more through the mediation of television. American 'live' audiences for USA '94 were predicted to be the least committed and knowledgeable of any World Cup held so far, though attendance records were broken and it was clear that sections of many crowds contained passionate and 'authentic' fans of the competing nations as at any other World Cup finals. There was also widespread fear prior to the competition that the lack of informed, technical knowledge among broadcasters would lead to a reduction in the generally high technical quality coverage of sport on TV in the USA. Again, this expectation was only partially fulfilled. TSN, for instance, hired English commentator John Helm to cover some of their matches and, although ABC commentary was markedly different—it tended to concentrate on a pedagogic mode for the audience likely to be new to soccer facts and figures—it contained much detailed and expert commentary. The media aspect to the event was certainly assumed by large sections of soccer fans and cultural critics in Europe to be the reason for the award of the staging of the competition in a country where soccer has such a low profile compared to baseball, basketball, golf and American football.

The USA was generally perceived by commentators as an eccentric choice for the 1994 competition. As we have seen in the comments of Paul Morley and Michael Nyman above, many football supporters loudly said as much to anyone who listened. Certainly, a number of European sports journalists reacted cynically—with a few exceptions such as Patrick Barclay (Barclay, 1993)—when the news of the USA as the World Cup venue was announced. For instance, journalist Michael Parkinson noted in the context of writing about some sporting ideas he wanted to send to FIFA (the Federation Internationale des Football Associations):

> I hope they will take my suggestions seriously in Zurich. I am hopeful. They might sound barmy but the people at FIFA are used to that. It was they after all, who gave the next World Cup to the yanks.
>
> (Parkinson, 1992)

Nevertheless, sports journalists' sarcasm notwithstanding, the final of the 1994 World Cup was held in the same city—Los Angeles—as the Olympic Games

was hosted in 1984, itself a new and significant watershed moment in the ongoing postmodern globalisation and commodification of sport. It was played in the Pasadena Rose Bowl in Los Angeles, where a large crowd witnessed the Olympic Soccer Final in 1984. Germany, the holders of the World Cup after defeating the 1986 winners, Argentina, in an acrimonious final in Italy in 1990, opened USA '94 at Chicago stadium, Soldier Field, on Friday 17 June in a tournament of 24 finalists. The teams were put in groups of four at the final draw in Las Vegas in December 1993, watched by an estimated 600 million people in 125 countries. Widely predicted changes to the actual on-field playing of the game of soccer as a consequence of the staging of the tournament in the television-saturated USA were, in fact, not forthcoming. For instance, the president of FIFA, Joao Havelange, declared in November 1992—after much previous speculation to the contrary—that his plan to split matches into four quarters would not be implemented in time for the 1994 finals. However, the ever faster changes in new communications technologies at the end of the millennium inevitably coincided with the build-up to the televising of the 1994 World Cup and its aftermath. For instance, in early 1992 it was proclaimed ('Soccer fans get choice of TV shot in Cable's next best thing to terraces' headlined in the *Guardian* in Britain on 12 February) that armchair British football fans would soon be able to select their own television pictures following the launch of a new cable service. Interactive television was seen by the providers, the Videotron cable company, as enabling viewers to select from four cable channels all covering a match simultaneously with different facilities such as camera angles and statistical information. At the time, Greg Dyke, a key player in television sport deals for a number of years, called the Videotron experiment 'a big, big message for the 21st century'. As Fynn has noted (Fynn and Davidson, 1996) cable and satellite broadcasters like Sky will, if they wish, give 'every camera at major football games [its] signals transmitted down a channel of its own. The viewer at home could flip between different channels and see the same match from different camera positions. Behind the goal? Main stand? Touchline dugout? No problem with digital technology.' As we saw in Chapter 2, 'post-realism' is already here: soccer culture comes to MTV!

Perhaps, though, we can use the theories of Baudrillard in a more complex way than analysing what he has written about the hyperreality of modern media culture, much of which is based upon his extremely controversial contention that 'TV is the world'. As a contribution to what the disciplinary field which has elsewhere been labelled Popular Cultural Studies (Redhead, Wynne and O'Connor, 1997)[5] can eventually bring to the analysis of post-fan, post-youth culture, we need initially to critically appraise Baudrillard's travel/theory/adventure book *America* (Baudrillard, 1988). This text, published originally in France in 1986 as *Amerique* by Grasset of Paris, has provoked a stormy and often vitriolic debate. Here let us provisionally assess some of its implications for the study of the hosting of the 1994 World Cup by a country Baudrillard describes (Baudrillard, 1993) as '(un)cultured' and

'born modern',[6] or even 'hypermodern' and, further, as 'the original version of modernity' which 'has no past and no founding truth' and that 'lives in a perpetual present…in perpetual simulation, in a perpetual present of signs' (Baudrillard, 1988:76). In his role as a European tourist travelling to the USA, Baudrillard proclaims that Europe has disappeared into the USA or, more accurately, into California: in 'Los Angeles, Europe has disappeared', he states (Baudrillard, 1993:81). In a cogent book of essays on Baudrillard, Barry Smart and Bryan Turner[7] (in Rojek and Turner, 1993) argue, legitimately, that the Europe/USA couplet which Baudrillard uses is located in a more general historical critical transatlantic tradition. Baudrillard, as is his wont, gaily and provocatively pushes this tradition to its limit in his comparing and contrasting of the 'modern' USA and 'traditional' Europe, the New World and the Old World (Gundersen and Dobson, 1996).

Apart from the contributors to the collection of essays edited by Rojek and Turner, perhaps the scholar most critically sympathetic to Baudrillard has been Mike Gane. In Gane's book of selected interviews with Baudrillard (Gane, 1993), which contains a most revealing introduction focusing on the difference between Baudrillard's writings and his 'live' interviews, one of the sections is entitled 'America as fiction' and reproduces a previously little-known interview with Baudrillard about his views on the USA at the time of the French publication of the book. Baudrillard comments in this interview that the last thing he wants to suggest:

> is that America is some sort of paradise. It is precisely its rawness which interests me and its primeval character, although one shouldn't confuse it with some sort of primitive society.
>
> (Gane, 1993:135)

Baudrillard does, however, seem to see the USA as a kind of primitive society of the future. He goes on to 'specify that *America* should not be read as a realist text, its subject matter being a fiction itself; the USA as post(realist)-realism. For a theorist like Baudrillard (building on Paul Virilio), the difficulty in the book had been to 'evoke this transpolitical, transhistorical reality' of an American society which 'is not a society of appearances'. In Baudrillard's argument, the USA has no counterpart to the games of seduction with which he sees Europe as being so familiar. For him, Americans 'experience reality like a tracking shot', which is why they succeed so well with certain media, particularly television. This fascination with the object of Baudrillard's 'post-tourist' (Urry, 1988) enquiry (or what he did on his holidays!) does not mean that Baudrillard 'likes' what he sees. He is, simultaneously, seduced and repelled. His view is that 'America is hell' ('I vomit it out') and that it is, as a whole, a 'matter of abjection', but 'such criticisms are inconsequential' because at 'every instant this object is transfigured. It is the miracle of realised utopia… America is a place where utopia was realised by a geographical

displacement and conservation of the ideas of the eighteenth century' (Baudrillard in Gane, 1993:187). Writing to Gane after being interviewed by him, Baudrillard rejects the idea that he is less pessimistic than others about the USA:

> As far as America is concerned, the question is not one of pessimism. I am not a judge in political or economic matters (the specialists are not either). My opinion does not count any more than that of others here. It is a question of knowing to what rules societies (particularly of the world type like America) will manage to function *beyond* the economic or the political. That is to say, the indistinction of values and in the confusion of genres. Perhaps Brazil, Italy and Japan are in this respect more advanced societies than America. Pessimism itself is something that only afflicts Western values and is itself part of Western values. It may be that the fateful date of the 500th anniversary marks the beginning of a reconquest of the Western world (by submersion, viral infiltration, demographic promiscuity) by all those whom it had subjugated to its law.
>
> (Gane, 1993:187)

Nevertheless, looking back a few years after the book was first published and realising that the utopia he mentions has a historical reference in 1950s America, Baudrillard claims that the USA has 'changed since I wrote *America*. It now functions only in the mode of protectionism, survival' (Gane, 1993:187). He confesses, in a separate interview in Gane's collection which dates from 1991, to having lost his 'exaltation over America', a confession which itself perplexed some critics on the Left who had thought they had perceived in *America* a Baudrillard who was 'condemning the dehumanising influence of America'. Nothing, in fact, could be further from the truth. 'It's become trivial', he says, 'it finds it is being overtaken by a non-realistic model such as the Japanese model…between Japan and the rational and technicist West, there is an irreducible antagonism' (Gane, 1993:187). Even in the book version of the fiction of America itself, there is a hint of the 'disillusionment' with even an achieved utopia when Baudrillard argues that 'today the orgy is over' and that the USA, along with everybody else, 'now has to face up to a soft world order, a soft situation' where 'power has become impotent' and decentred (Baudrillard, 1988). Baudrillard, here at least, certainly articulates the experience of many European and other post-tourists of an empire at the end of its tether. For some critics, the publication of *America* was worth taking seriously, though not without a rigorous critical reading and an exposition of elementary errors and prejudices in this, and other, similar 'diary' writings of Baudrillard, such as *Cool Memories I* and *II*. For many commentators (notori-ously, for instance, American media theorists such as Douglas Kellner), it was a sign of how far Baudrillard's '68' left-wing credentials

had slipped around the head of just another 'lazy' French academic. For yet others, the self-styled 'panic' theorists of postmodernity, Baudrillard's vision was, if loaded in manic fashion onto other examples of French intellectual production, a paradigm case of the hyperreality of postmodernity (the idea of Disneyland being the 'real' America, for example) and also evidence of a wider connection between Europe and America. Arthur Kroker, in particular, sees almost all of the leading contemporary French social and cultural theory—most explicitly Baudrillard, but Lyotard and others too—as integrally related to 'America'. Kroker asks (rhetorically):

> And why the fascination with French thought? Because its discourse is a theoretical foreground to America's political background: fractal thinkers in whose central images one finds the key power configurations of the American hologram… French thought, therefore, as a violent decoding and receding of the American way, which is to say, of all the world, since America is today the global hologram.
>
> (Kroker 1992:1)

The comparative (economic) failure of Disneyland Paris in France may call into question such ubiquitousness of the American hologram, and also some of the wilder elements of Kroker's own 'panic' appropriation of Baudrillard, but the different versions/visions of the USA are there for all to see. For Baudrillard himself, *Amerique* was:

> a book I wrote in a flash of inspiration. I loved that country. The book is talked about a lot, but there was nothing but negative reactions. On the one hand, I've been treated like the last of the Europeans, stuffed with prejudices and self satisfaction, who had understood nothing about the reality of America. It was impossible to connect that by saying that I was not presuming to judge American reality. My critics were reading the wrong book. On the other hand, some people read it another way.
>
> (Gane, 1993:189)

Baudrillard's 'astral' America is clearly distinct from the economic and social 'reality' of the USA, and there are obviously many different Americas; as Barry Smart has pointed out, Baudrillard arrived already in possession of America, possessed by it, a colonised subject of its empire of cinematic signs (Rojek and Turner, 1993). Any Popular Cultural Studies analysis of USA '94 (and, for that matter, before and beyond USA '94) needs to take Baudrillard's version of the USA seriously, but with a good deal of caution, too. As Gane has contended about Baudrillard's work in general:

> He is not always capable of surprising and provoking us to the degree he would wish, and some of his analyses are vulnerable to the most

> harsh of judgements. Yet the overall impression we are left with is of a consistency and persistence of critical imagination which produces, sometimes, remarkable insights. Some of his work is utterly self defeating, even hypocritical. But there is an undeniable vitality and creativity coupled with an undying fidelity not to a Utopian vision in a passive sense, but to a passionate Utopian practice in theory.
>
> (Gane, 1991b: 157)

This judgement by Gane serves also as a useful summary of Baudrillard's writing in general and, specifically, in *America*. However, it means that when using such a text as one way into the consideration of USA '94 as a global media event, the precise angle of the 'flight' to America needs elaboration. My own personal 'America' envisaged in this book is a less cinematic one than Baudrillard's. In a way, my previous works on soccer's mediatised culture from a Popular Cultural Studies perspective—*Sing When You're Winning: The Last Football Book* (Redhead, 1987) and *Football With Attitude* (Redhead, 1991b) for instance—combine elements from what was once called the 'new journalism', the beat poetry of Jack Kerouac and several decades of American rock and pop culture with an iconoclastic use of theories of the 'postmodern condition'. A phrase such as 'The Last World Cup'[8] has, for me at least, the distant echoes of an empire of pop culture signs including Hunter S.Thompson's *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* and *Fear and Loathing: The Campaign Trail '72*, Jack Kerouac's *On the Road*, Bob Dylan's *Highway 61 Revisited*, and *Blonde on Blonde* and R.E.M.'s *Murmur* and *Reckoning*, not to mention Detroit 'techno', Chicago 'house' and NY 'garage'. In my own fictional journey to 'America' and USA '94, Baudrillard with his French sidekick, mysterious Professor of Architecture Paul Virilio, armed with the politics of speed and an 'aesthetics of disappearance', meet the above characters on their way to the World Cup Final in Los Angeles. Both Baudrillard and, say, Hunter S.Thompson, in their very different ways, have, during the last 25 years, provided insights into the American (or 'western' or 'capitalist') condition. When the spirits of these two mavericks meet (one a visitor from the outside, one a visitor from within), the product may be the fragmentary travelogue entitled 'Veneer and Loafing in Los Angeles' (or 'Fear and Loathing in Pontiac' as the self-styled 'half decent football magazine' *When Saturday Comes* (WSC) suggested in its preview of USA '94 in September 1993, which comprises part of Chapter 5 of this book).

A number of travelogues, besides Baudrillard's own, have indeed been written on the USA. Recently, this has been done by utilising genres such as American popular music (Brown, 1993; Bull, 1993; Davies, 1992; Heath, 1993; Hoskyns, 1994) and popular crime fiction (Williams, 1991) as a way into American popular culture: as a journey to the heart of the contemporary American dream. I suggest here that the search also might be pursued through post-fandom, and the event of USA '94, and that a critical reading of

Baudrillard's *America* can be a helpful guide. But soccer is, in many ways, alien to American popular culture—an originally European cultural form inserting itself into the psyche (or sign) of the USA. Baudrillard's series of distinctions and contrasts between a modern, deculturated USA and an older, more historical, 'cultured' Europe is one possible (although controversial and potentially damaging and dangerous) frame for analysing the media presentation which took place at USA '94. Nevertheless, for conventional media, communications and cultural studies' academic researchers, the way to study the accelerated production, consumption and regulation of a globalised TV event like the soccer World Cup is more likely to be by 'zapping' the channels ('surfing') on as many television sets as can be found in as many countries as possible. Such research design would not necessarily even entail visiting the USA during the period that the event takes place at all. In this sense, the methodology and theoretical apparatus which lends itself most easily to such cultural analysis is the sort exemplified by the BFI study of the televising of the 1974 soccer World Cup finals in West Germany (Buscombe, 1975) which was cited at the beginning of this chapter. Such an approach does resolve some difficult research problems (such as how to fund travel from other countries to the USA!), though to eschew any form of ethnography in these cases is likely to lead to only a very partial view of an event. Conventional ethnographic study could, and should, be done to supplement media and textual analysis of what occurs on television screens as Richard Giulianotti has, for instance, usefully provided on Irish fans at USA '94 (Giulianotti, 1995a, 1996). There are also all sorts of 'world cup cultures' which have been excavated so expertly in the volume of essays on USA '94 edited by Alan Tomlinson and John Sugden (Tomlinson and Sugden, 1994), and they have their reverberations in the various ethnic cultures in the USA itself—Hispanic, African, European, Oriental, and so on. To rely simply on the semiotic analysis of reading TV signs in accounting for an event such as USA '94 risks, for many critics, ignoring how an event is differentially consumed by a variegated ('live' and television) audience and accepting uncritically and apolitically the dangerous logic of the complete disappearance of the 'real referent'. However, as we shall see, Baudrillard's critics in particular have frequently misunderstood the basis of his theory of hyperreality (Baudrillard, 1995a).

Finally, what can be said about theorising post-youth, post-fan and post-culture before we look at narratives of the (media) event of USA '94? Even though Havelange's plan to divide the 90 minutes of play into four quarters—to better accommodate television advertising—had been shelved, many effects of the World Cup being staged in the home of the ultimate land-scape of the media were manifest prior to 1994. USA '94, 'World Cup Amerique' in a sense, could be said to have 'already taken place' in terms of its contribution to the global media coverage of soccer, especially in Europe. The transformations of the football audience—from more participatory to more

passive—are already well advanced, as I and other colleagues have demonstrated in work which has concentrated on European post-fandom (Redhead, 1991b, 1993b). The complete 'disappearance' of the audience which Baudrillard himself playfully toys with in the comments which we quoted earlier from *The Transparency of Evil* has not, of course, literally taken place, apart from isolated games (like the one between Real Madrid and Napoli which he reviews) where indiscipline by supporters has led to governing bodies of the sport ordering the playing of matches without spectators behind firmly closed doors. Nevertheless, it is clear that the reorganisation of the business side of many of the world's biggest soccer clubs (AC Milan, Barcelona, Manchester United) is proceeding in such a way that 'live' paying spectators will not *necessarily* be required in order that these entities survive and prosper in future as economically successful corporations. Plans to charge such fans less (or nothing) because television spectacles will be denuded without a backdrop of spectators have been mooted in some quarters already. Television revenues, sales from various commercial exploitation of related commodities and sponsorship already count for far more than spectator income. The drive for more passive spectators (at the ground or at home watching television) rather than more participatory supporters (or 'fans') risks, to be sure, diluting the spectacle itself, which for many critics depends on the enthusiasm generated by 'fanatical' sports spectators. Whether the 'resistance' movement among fans in many countries succeeds in fighting this modernisation and rationalisation of global soccer is always unpredictable, but in Britain, for instance, clubs—such as Arsenal—have already experimented (albeit during ground reconstruction) with the 'simulation' of a participatory crowd. Artists' impressions of a terrace crowd, and piped singing/chanting/cheering, were part of the simulation of a whole 'end' of terrace culture at Highbury (Arsenal's ground) over one recent season (Watt, 1993) when rebuilding work post-Taylor was completed.

Nonetheless, the implication of Baudrillard's work for any Popular Cultural Studies account of events such as the World Cup is even more fundamental than this. The problem posed by Baudrillard is how to make sense of something which is so 'mediatised'—so hyperreal—that it can be said:

1 to have already taken place; or
2 that it will not take placed.[9]

For Baudrillard, the Gulf War (Baudrillard, 1995a) was such an event to be analysed in these terms. For some of his harshest critics, like Christopher Norris (1991), this approach to a local/global war was ludicrous and, worse, politically dishonest in view of the terrible loss in Iraqi and other populations' lives. At first, Baudrillard's increasingly controversial position on the Gulf conflict,[10] before any military hostilities began between Iraq and the

'allies', seemed to be a fairly straightforward prediction that there would be no war—merely simulation of war—but once there was fighting in early 1991, this argument had to be clarified. In the context of the aftermath of another global event such as Italia '90, I have argued in a note on the Iraqi war that 'within months the world was plunged into ultra high-technological warfare in the Gulf where video games replaced dead bodies as the products of war' (Redhead, 1991b). As Gane (1993) points out in his analysis of Baudrillard's writings on the war, once it had begun, Baudrillard could have easily outlined the 'novelty of war in which computer simulation played…a major part in the technological armoury of both sides'. But Gane rightly points out, 'Baudrillard went considerably further' suggesting that 'everything was unreal: the war, the victory, the defeat' (1993:8). Baudrillard rarely, in fact, goes this far in his varied writings and interviews—that is, implying total simulation and the complete disappearance of the event/referent—and as can be seen from his analysis of Heysel and subsequent soccer events, the theoretical desire to do so is often limited in practice, giving way to a more limited, Eco-like account of 'hyperreality'.[11] Many critics say it is debilitating to follow Baudrillard at his most extreme since he sets up, as some have pointed out, his own 'disappearance'. However, Paul Patton, in his introduction to Baudrillard's book on the Gulf War, strongly refutes Baudrillard's critics, especially Norris:

> According to Norris, Baudrillard's 'absurd theses' about the war readily accord with a 'postmodern mood of cynical acquiescence' and represent a form of 'theory' which is ill-equipped to mount any kind of effective critical resistance. Claims of ideological complicity are notoriously difficult to prove or disprove, but there is little in Baudrillard's essays to suggest acquiescence in either the political and military operation carried out in the Gulf or their portrayal by the media…. Baudrillard at least published polemical pieces which addressed the political and media reality at the time.
>
> (Baudrillard, 1995a: 15)

For Patton, Norris 'seized the occasion to renew his campaign against the whole postmodern tendency in contemporary theory' and misunderstands Baudrillard's whole enterprise as 'epistemological scepticism' when, in fact, Baudrillard's 'interrogation of the reality in the media Gulf War presupposes that this is a different kind of event from those which occurred in the desert, a simulacrum rather than a distorted or misleading representation' (1995a: 16). Patton argues that Baudrillard's essays on the Gulf War 'advance no universal claims about the collapse of the real into its forms of representation'.

All in all, the event of USA '94 as a global media show may well have been foreshadowed in the changing face of globalised television-driven, media mogul-dominated world soccer culture over recent years. But what

has been extremely and surprisingly interesting to watch is the way in which the separate 'world cup cultures', the separate national identities formed around soccer, continue to manifest themselves. The 1990 tournament in Italy brought howls of protest that, in playing styles, 'we are all Europeans now' and that, as a result of most of the world's best players being collected into Italian league soccer in Serie A, difference and spontaneity were in danger of being squeezed out of the styles of the world soccer culture. For some theorists, this European soccer culture has disappeared in North America as Baudrillard's 'post-tourist gaze' implies: the 'old world' soccer culture losing itself in the 'desert' of the new world USA. However, this is by no means certain.[12] Perhaps rather than discussing USA '94 in terms of the 'last world cup', we should be emphasising that, in the words of the publicity for Don Watson's 'new football journalism/travelogue'[13] (Watson, 1994) on World Cup USA '94, this was 'the first North American World Cup'. As the Philosophy Football advert for 'his' shirt (with a No. 3 on the back) puts it: 'On the ball, Baudrillard!' Even *Time* magazine in July 1994, at the height of its World Cup fever pitch noted:

> Football in America is a stranger in a strange land no more. On to the last whistle roars a fine old sport for an enthusiastic New World.

5

(CHANNEL) SURFIN' USA

In this chapter, we can look in more detail at the hyperreality and hyperlegality of soccer deviance and sports fan culture. For instance, in the media culture of the North American continent which produced USA '94 as a global event (Appendix 2 has some fragments of media and documentary analysis taken from a larger research diary), there are signs of 'disappearance', 'acceleration' and 'mediatisation' in a millennial culture where Virilio's twin aspects of time, instantaneous and ubiquitous, are written large in the 1990s.

VENEER AND LOAFING IN LOS ANGELES

'The image of football today is of sweat and of muscles strained through effort. But I dream of lightness, harmony and pleasure. I am looking for a symphony, but the music of football these days is nothing but heavy metal' according to an aphorism of Eric Cantona. Cantona once said that England's best player of the 1980s, Glenn Hoddle, was 'like Mozart among the hard rock men' and the above quotation from *La Philosophic de Cantona*[1] underlines the equation of hard men and hard rock. Cantona's own World Cup America was cut short by France's unexpected last minute elimination from the qualifying competition. However, he went to USA '94 as a television commentator only to be subsequently arrested after a fracas: what was to be a mere 'warm up' for the debacle of Selhurst Park and its aftermath in 1995. The unlikely pop culture anthem of summer 1994 was Wall Of Orange's 'Can We Kick It? No We Can't'—a record which included samples from *Do I Not Like That*, a Channel 4 TV documentary programme on the English soccer manager, Graham Taylor. The chorus of the song proclaimed: 'We're not going to the USA! We didn't wanna go there anyway!' Newspapers in Britain certainly echoed this sentiment, although they did so manifestly without the irony, jokes and playfulness of Wall of Orange. The *Daily Mirror*, for instance, on the day after England (and Taylor) suffered humiliating defeat by Holland in Rotterdam in October 1993, which virtually sealed the team's exit from the competition, headlined its front page 'Shamed: fans torch seats

after day of riots'. Prior to the game, fans travelling via Amsterdam had been reported rioting in that city's red-light district. British tabloid press coverage of the final, official verdict that England had failed to qualify after the following group games largely concluded that USA '94 was better off without the English team and its supporters. Republic of Ireland T-shirts at USA '94 read 'The Irish are coming, and the British are staying at home'. Simulated soccer ('soccer sims') through video games, however, did reinstate all four of the home nations, England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland in the World Cup of 1994. For instance, 'World Cup USA '94', the officially licensed video game for the 1994 World Cup was launched on 6 June on nine formats by a company called US Gold. All 24 teams who officially qualified were represented in simulated form, but players could include all or any of the home nations, if they chose. As Alix Sharkey has pointed out in relation to Sega's 'Virtua Striker' arcade soccer video game:

> All 18 international sides have a range of differing formations and characteristics. England, predictably, are totally predictable. The Italians use a 4–4–2 formation and play a counter-attacking game, and ponytailed Roberto Baggio is instantly recognisable. The degree of verisimilitude is such that you can rely on him to miss if the game comes down to a penalty shoot-out. As befits their status as world champions, the Brazilians are undoubtedly the best team, faster and more fluent on the ball than any other.
>
> (Sharkey, 1996)

In fact, English soccer/pop culture *did* travel to USA '94, albeit belatedly. Following Manchester pop band New Order's anthem for Italia '90, the 'World in Motion' collaboration with England's national soccer team and actor/comedian Keith Allen (see Chapter 7), another Mancunian group James' 'Low, Low, Low' from their 1993 *Laid* album recorded with electronic and ambient producer, Brian Eno, was re-written for the World Cup as 'Goal, Goal, Goal' and included on the official album *Gloryland* on the Mercury record label alongside songs by the Moody Blues, Fleetwood Mac, Darryl Hall, and the Scorpions. It was originally intended as a theme song for the England squad, but the team's non-qualification meant that there was no official anthem from the Football Association. 'Low, Low, Low' was always seen by James as sounding like a soccer (chant-like) anthem and its translation into 'Goal, Goal, Goal' was widely predicted in advance. Bookmakers in Britain, nevertheless, estimated that the USA '94 World Cup would generate £60 million by the end of the tournament as UK fans moved on to gambling to keep their interest in games without home nations playing. Indeed, USA '94 turned out to be the biggest betting event in the country since betting shops were legalised in 1961, at least in overall takings at bookmakers' shops.

The jacket 'blurb' for Bret Easton Ellis' (1994) 'blank generation' novel, *The Informers*, about Los Angeles 'in the very recent past' proclaims portentously that *American Psycho* author Ellis' fictitious characters know that the 'bright veneer of their lives, blinding as sunshine, is not enough to help them'. Baudrillard's vignettes in *America* and *Cool Memories I* and *II* can be seen, as Mike Gane says (1991a), as casting a 'certain brilliant light on the catastrophe of American culture in its massive deculturation'. Baudrillard certainly is trying to see in America 'a bloc of light, modernity in a pure state, neither dream nor reality, but a primitive hyperreality, an achieved utopia', but one in which the poor do not exist and must disappear (Gane, 1991), where (like entire sectors of modern societies) a 'Fourth World desert zone' has been created for entire swathes of the population which are falling into oblivion (Baudrillard, 1988). In many cases it is precisely the World Cup soccer subcultures mentioned in Chapter 4 which make up the 'Fourth World desert zone', the poor within the heart of the First World. It also applies to disappearing or 'uncultured' youth (Redhead, 1998). Pop writer Sarah Champion noted in the summer of 1995 about the USA rave scene:[2]

> The mid-West is Raving, from Indiana to Illinois and right up to Canada. Metal kids are into gabba and headbang to it at Satanic raves called 'Hell' and 'War'. Milwaukee ravers wear baggy pants, tattoos, lip/tongue piercings, blue eye shadow and spikey dog collars.

As Champion says in 'Fear and Loathing in Wisconsin' (in Redhead, 1997b), 'rave culture' has become a significant 'clubculture' (post-subculture) in the most unlikely places in North America. Prior to USA '94, a West Coast fanzine *Walter Zenga's Right Buttock (WZRB)*[3] had documented this scene, especially from the point of view of the soccer/dance crossover so familiar in Britain since the late 1980s (Redhead, 1991b). Subtitled 'The USA's ONLY cool rave/sports magazine', 'soccer', 'rave' and 'America' pervaded most of the contents of this San Francisco magazine up to the World Cup of 1994. 'Here Comes The World Cup' proclaimed the June 1993 issue, a full year before the tournament was hosted by USA, lamenting the 'atrocious lack of attention that the world's largest sport receives in the USA's mainstream media' which 'sometimes calls soccer an un-American game'. Another feature article detailed 'how rave came to the USA, even floating the mind-boggling notion that 'rave was a CIA mind control experiment that backfired'. The USA tabloid *Weekly World News* started a 'We Hate Soccer' moral panic style media campaign at the beginning of June 1994. In April in Los Angeles (where the final was to be played in June), the city's airport was selling official souvenir products for the World Cup at half price. Tom Weir, columnist for *USA Today*, wrote that 'hating soccer is more American than mom's apple pie, driving a pickup or spending Saturday afternoon channel-surfing with the remote control'. Los Angeles was seen as being much more involved in the

World Cup than San Francisco, at least viewed from the North American media. Reasons cited for this included the large Latin population of Los Angeles compared to San Francisco, reputedly superior organisation at the Rose Bowl in Pasadena compared to Stanford Stadium in Palo Alto, and the extensive soccer coverage of the *LA Times* which even managed to move the OJ Simpson story from the front page and replace it with the World Cup. The case of OJ Simpson, however, manifestly won out over the 1994 soccer World Cup as a media event. The preliminary hearing in 1994 caused television stations in North America to massively switch their attention to the trial. For example, figures for the first day coverage of the preliminary hearing showed that American networks 'scored big' with live coverage: CNN's cable rating of 1.8 (a single point equals 496,703 households) was triple its usual average, while according to CBS audience research, as many as one in four homes with cable in the USA tuned into the network's coverage. ABC snatched the most viewers with a 6.4 rating, followed by CBS with 5.7 and NBC with 4.5. Companies quickly stopped showing regular afternoon fictional courtroom dramas, replacing them with real life courtroom drama from Simpson's pre-trial hearing. The live coverage was accompanied by legal analysis from studio pundits, rather like half-time discussions on soccer coverage on British television programmes like *Match of the Day*. The case of OJ Simpson itself demonstrated the hyperreality (and hyperlegality) of the American justice system, as many live trials had done in the 1980s; trials such as that of John Hinckley, arraigned because of his attempted murder of (then) President Ronald Reagan following his fan obsession with Jodie Foster, co-star of Robert de Niro (playing Travis Bickle) in the 1970s film *Taxi Driver* which involves attempted assassination after stalking a political candidate. As Roseanne Kennedy has argued about the Hinckley case and the showing of *Taxi Driver* in the courtroom (Kennedy, 1992), the 'real' and the 'imaginary' are no longer separable in any straightforward way. As if to emphasise the media/law spiral, the hyperlegal condition, *Court TV* on American television has as its own television advertising jingle the slogan If Court TV were any more addictive it would be Illegal.' The lawyers, as demonstrated in the OJ Simpson case, become media stars in their own right, reducing many trials to popularity contests between advocates. Robert Shapiro for Simpson and prosecuting counsel Marcia Clarke, not to mention Judge Lance Ito, were instantly superstars in the 'trial of the century'. Simpson, a black American running-back footballer of legendary repute, was accused in June 1994 in the city of Los Angeles of murdering his ex-wife, Nicole, and her friend Ronald Goldman. OJ's media profile had been enhanced since retirement from sport by his acting roles in *The Towering Inferno* disaster movie and the popular *Naked Gun* comedy films, as well as stints as a television commentator for the Olympic Games and numerous appearances as a pundit on TV shows in the USA over the years. Orenthal James (OJ or 'The Juice') Simpson separated in 1979 from his first wife, then met and eventually

married (in 1985) Nicole Brown. After many years of alleged domestic violence by Simpson, the couple divorced in 1992–though Simpson continued to 'stalk' his former wife. After the incident in 1994 in which Nicole Brown and a waiter from her favourite local restaurant in LA, Ronald Goldman, were murdered, Simpson (having written a supposed suicide note) was driven along the freeway in Los Angeles—holding a revolver to his own head—by an old American football friend Al Cowlings with the LAPD in full chase. The freeway odyssey was shown world-wide on live television—having been filmed by KNBC cameramen in a helicopter following the convoy of cars with media speculation rife about whether the drive was a flight from justice by a (guilty) murder suspect or a thwarted suicide attempt.

As soon as the preliminary OJ Simpson court trial opened, the mediatising and marketising of the case ('OJ Mania' as it was dubbed) began. 'Don't squeeze the Juice' T-shirts were on sale outside the central Los Angeles courthouse, closer to the Watts ghetto than the estates of Beverly Hills. Across from the fortress-like criminal court building, a media city grew up with portable lavatories, scaffolding and satellite dishes which mushroomed once the trial proper started in September 1994, and ground on through 1995. Even ESPN, the 24-hour all-sports network, ran preliminary hearing excerpts and updates at half time during USA '94 World Cup soccer telecasts. North American supermarket tabloids had the OJ stories on their covers for five straight weeks in the summer of 1994, boosting sales levels even higher than when Elvis Presley died. North American television audiences followed the case on TV as if it were a crime serial—a real life *LA Law*, *NYPD Blue* or *Homicide*, but with better ratings. The media feeding frenzy meant that CNN—which showed Simpson's LA mansion home from cameras in a helicopter above the house on the evening of the low-speed freeway chase—virtually became the 24-hour OJ Simpson news network for many weeks afterwards, justifying such blanket coverage by regularly pointing to Simpson being the most high-profile American celebrity ever to be accused of murder. The District Attorney in Simpson's case decided before the trial not to seek the death penalty which was an option under Californian law. Californian law does not, however, demand that the prosecution prove a motive for the killing in order to convict Simpson. The massive pre-trial publicity given to the details of the murder and the personalities involved meant that finding an unbiased jury was a major problem for the state authorities in California. The difficulty gave rise to the most told 'knock knock' joke in comedy history: 'Who's there?' 'OJ.' 'OJ who?' 'You're on the jury!' Peter Hillmore, writing in the *Observer*, concluded:

> It is real. It is also surreal. Something is being seen to be done. Whether it is justice is another matter.
>
> (September, 1994)

The issue of race and the mythology surrounding the black male body in sport and popular culture (Blake, 1996) became central to the OJ Simpson—ex-gridiron footballer of legendary prowess—case, especially when the jury returned a 'not guilty' verdict in October 1995 at the conclusion of a year-long trial, though Simpson eventually lost a civil suit in 1997. The spectre of the Rodney King court case from the early 1990s LA law history came to haunt the authorities when tapes of a key police witness were released exhibiting extreme racial prejudice. King, a black man, sustained a severe beating by white police officers—an event which was itself caught 'live' on film and, subsequently, because of the perceived injustices surrounding the case, sparked the LA riots of 1992.

Official sponsors of USA '94 were Canon, Coca-Cola, JVC, McDonald's, General Motors, MasterCard, Gillette, Philips, Snickers, FujiFilm, and Eveready Energizer. Marketing partners were American Airlines, ITT Sheraton, Adidas, Sprint, Sun Microsystems, Upper Deck Trading Cards, EDS Information Technology Services, and Budweiser. This corporate soccer-club culture was furthered when lawyer Alan Rothenberg, USA '94 organiser, set up the Major Soccer League in 1994, launched officially in June 1995. American Professional Soccer, a rival six-team league, had existed for several years prior to this but with a very low profile and less corporate sponsorship. Despite many millions of school-aged children (perhaps as many as 15 million) playing soccer now—both boys and girls—the sport of soccer (association football) is unlikely to exploit this potentially massive participatory base until a successful professional soccer league emerges to replace the earlier North American Soccer League of the 1970s, which had the benefit of major (former) European soccer stars such as George Best and Franz Beckenbauer in its ranks, not to mention Pele, Brazil's most famous soccer son and cultural icon.

A total of 52 matches between 17 June and 18 July made up the bare bones of USA '94, shown by ESPN and—in some cases—by ABC. ESPN averaged a 1.6 cable rating and 1.01 million households for 32 first-round World Cup '94 telecasts—a 77 per cent increase from the 571,000 average for 25 games on the TNT network during Italia '90. ABC's four first-round games averaged a 4.8 rating. ABC also televised three second-round games, three quarter-final and the final, whilst ESPN covered the mid-week semi-finals as well as the third-place game in addition to second-round and quarter-final games. The Brazil versus USA match on the Fourth of July was the most watched soccer game in American television history, drawing national ratings of 10.5. The most widely publicised event of USA '94 for the host country was USA's 2–1 victory over Colombia in the Rose Bowl, Los Angeles. The hosts put another nail into Colombia's coffin—literally, sadly, in the case of Andres Escobar who put through his own goal in the USA versus Colombia match (scoring the 'winner' for the USA, in effect) and was found murdered in Colombia several days later following the team's return home. The 27-year-old fullback's killers, reportedly, shouted 'Goal! Goal! Goal!' (a chillingly

ironic echo of James' re-write of 'Low, Low, Low') after firing each of the six (or 12 depending on which story you believe) bullets they used to execute the Colombian player. Escobar's sin had apparently been to accidentally score the own goal evidently costing some heavy duty Colombian gamblers serious money. Another media echo from USA '94 in the killing was the celebration of Argentinian sportscaster Andres Cantor, who exclaimed 'Gooooaaaallll! Gooooaaaallll! Gooooaaaallll!' after each goal scored in matches for which he was commentator. The event most publicised at USA '94 as far as the rest of the world was concerned was Argentina's World Cup captain—and soccer's global star in the 1980s/early 1990s—Diego Maradona's drug 'bust'. Well known for his drug use, Maradona had to be withdrawn from the Argentina versus Bulgaria fixture after results of a drug test following the previous game against Nigeria were made known. A prohibited substance—ephedrine—along with others was discovered and an immediate ban on Maradona was imposed by FIFA. The President of the Argentina Football Federation claimed it was in a nasal spray not prescribed officially by the team doctor. Maradona announced two weeks after the ban that he was considering (seriously) giving up soccer and taking up basketball. Perhaps it was not the 'hand of God' that beat Peter Shilton in Mexico in 1986 when Argentina beat England by virtue of the best dribble (for Argentina's second goal) ever seen in a World Cup Finals! An apparently drug free, Maradona-less Argentina suddenly lost their erst-while confidence (and the match) whilst Hristo Stoitchkov and the rest of the Bulgarians confirmed their improving form. Maradona had already been banned by FIFA for 15 months in 1991 for cocaine abuse whilst playing in Serie A in Italy. Nevertheless, 20,000 Bangladeshis took to the streets of Dhaka after Maradona's drug ban at USA '94 in protest at the world soccer authorities' decision. In the most unpredicted soccer deviance associated with USA '94, however, riots broke out in The Hague in the Netherlands after Holland beat Ireland. News media reported people breaking windows, looting stores and setting cars ablaze. The police in the Dutch capital were (so to speak) flat-footed by the outbreak of lawlessness and explained their lack of preparedness by saying that nobody in Holland (or the USA) expected the disorder because the Dutch side had won, not lost. The final of the USA '94 soccer tournament took place on Sunday 17 July in the Rose Bowl, Los Angeles where Brazil played out a goal-less draw with Italy which Brazil won eventually on penalty kicks after extra time. In a repeat of the Italy versus Brazil 1970 final, the 52nd game ended in disappointment for the global audience. For the first time in World Cup soccer history, a dramatic penalty shoot-out occurred, but it followed an unexciting spectacle. In the shoot-out, Baresi missed the first penalty for Italy, Pagliuca saved the next from Marcio Santos, and then Albertini put Italy one up. Suddenly, Brazil were 3–2 ahead after a crucial save by Taffarel, and Roberto Baggio stepped up to level for Italy. Forza Buddha' ('Let's Go Buddha') as the Italian papers headlined, referring to Baggio's professed

religious preference—unusual to say the least for a foot-baller. He missed, shooting over the bar: Zen and the art of penalty taking! (Romario outscored R.Baggio—no relation to D.Baggio—as his No. 10 shirt advertised him for USA '94, because he converted one of Brazil's penalties.) At the last, Brazil won a World Cup final which did scant justice to the sometimes excellent play of the previous 51 games. The American law enforcement authorities announced 'good fan behaviour' at USA '94 and congratulated FIFA, stating that they usually have more trouble with basketball and American football crowds. Official statistics suggest only 400 arrests at the 52 matches, involving a total of over 3.5 million fans. The total number of people tuning in to the World Cup final and closing ceremonies telecast live from the Rose Bowl in Pasadena, California, was estimated to be two billion, similar to the figure for 'Live Aid' in 1985.

POST-REALITY BITES

The two billion people of the world's population who constituted the final of the USA '94 audience were subsequently represented—reconstructed for the media—by German producer Andreas Rogenhagen in a television film for the British TV series *TX* called (appropriately for Roberto Baggio) *The Final Kick*. In the course of production for television of this screening, 40 directors had been organised to record simultaneously the reaction of audiences in 40 different countries to the first penalty shoot-out World Cup Final. The soccer spectator's place in the global village of the 1990s was the focus of the film. As Virilio, in his role as urban theorist of accelerated culture, noted as long ago as the early 1980s in his writings on speed and time, technological space has displaced geographical space with a 'space of time'. Virilio said, perhaps more prophetically than he knew considering the eventual media culture context of USA '94:

> So today, concentration in the space of a city or a stadium corresponds to a concentration in broadcasting time. Broadcasting time replaces urbanisation. It's a city of the instant in which a billion people are gathered.
>
> (Virilio and Lotringer, 1983:87)

Virilio also reflected in these early writings on the 'disappearing' live fan:

> The billion people who watch the Olympic Games in Moscow, or the soccer championship in Argentina (in 1978) impose their power at the expense of those present, who are already superfluous. The latter are practically no more than bodies filling the stadium so that it won't look empty. But their physical presence is completely alienated by the absence of the television viewer…. Once the stadiums were full. It

> was a magnificent popular explosion. There were two hundred thousand people in the grandstands, singing and shouting. It was a vision from ancient society, from the agora, from paganism. Now when you watch the Olympics or the soccer championship on television you notice there aren't that many people. And even they, in a certain way, aren't the ones who make the World Cup. The ones who make the World Cup are the radios and televisions that buy and—by favouring a billion and a half television viewers—'produce' the championship. Those absent from the stadium are always right, economically and massively. They have the power. The participants are always wrong.
>
> (Virilio and Lotringer, 1983:86)

For Baudrillard—drawing much inspiration from the work of Virilio, despite describing Virilio as a 'Christian'—there 'remains today the widespread will to spectacle'. He described the Gulf War, for example, as 'empty war':

> …it brings to mind those games in World Cup football which often had to be decided by penalties (sorry spectacle), because of the impossibility of forcing a decision. As though the players punished themselves by means of 'penalties' for not having been able to play and take the match in full battle. We might as well have begun with the penalties and dispensed with the game and its sterile stand-off.
>
> (Baudrillard, 1995a: 33)

Besides being an apt comment on the Brazil versus Italy final of USA '94, Baudrillard s idea of the 'will to spectacle'—or what Arthur Kroker has talked of as the 'will to virtuality' (Kroker and Weinstein, 1994)—is pregnant with possibilities—and also pitfalls—for theorising post-fan, post-youth culture. Baudrillard's conception is not of the same order as the more conventional theories of the mediatisation of sports events which were initially considered in Chapter 4, but neither is it unconnected—as we saw in later parts of Chapter 4. For Baudrillard:

> There is always a camera hidden somewhere. It may be a real one—we may be filmed without knowing it. We may also be invited to replay our own life in whatever television network. Anyway, the virtual camera is in our head, and our whole life has taken on a video dimension. We might believe that we exist in the original, but today the original has become an exceptional version for the happy few. Our own reality doesn't exist anymore. We are exposed to the instantaneous transmission of all our facts and gestures on whatever channel. We would have experienced this before as police control. Today it is just like an advertising promotion…. We just don't need the media to reflect our problems in real time—each existence is telepresent

> to itself. TV and the media have left their mediatised space to invest 'real' life from the inside and to substitute themselves to it exactly as a virus does in a normal cell. We don't need digital gloves or a digital suit. As we are, we are moving around in the world as in a synthesised image.
>
> (Baudrillard, 1995b)

In Baudrillard's vision of the 'TV as the world' future in the here-and-now, the 'telespectator has to be transferred not in front of the screen where he is staying anyway, passively escaping his responsibility as a citizen, but into the screen, on the other side of the screen'.

Baudrillard has made much in his often inconsistent and fluctuating body of writing on the important idea of the 'precession of the real'. He puts it succinctly when he argues:

> I would like to conjure up the perversity of the relation between the image and its referent, the supposed real; the virtual and irreversible confusion of the sphere of images and the sphere of a reality whose nature we are less and less able to grasp. There are many modalities of this absorption, this confusion, this diabolical seduction of images. Above all it is the reference principle of images which must be doubted, this strategy by means of which they always appear to a real world, to real objects, and to reproduce something which is logically and chronologically anterior to themselves. None of this is true. As simulacra, images precede the real to the extent that they invert the causal and logical order of the real and its reproduction.
>
> (Baudrillard, 1987:13)

As we saw in Chapter 2, this gives rise to a conception of post(realist)-realism in the portrayal of violence and 'crime'. Oliver Stone, film director and explorer of the underbelly of the American dream through the popular cultural 'myths' of John F.Kennedy, The Doors, Richard Nixon, and the Vietnam War, has written in a similar vein that:

> When we set out to make *Natural Born Killers* in late 1992, it was surreal. By the time it was finished in 1994, it had become real.
>
> (Stone in August and Hamsher, 1994:7)

The fast-changing media culture which Stone refers to is, especially in the USA, prone to creating ever-more 'realistic' images of deviance. As Stone points out:

> No legislation in Washington, no TV or movie censor boards are going to prevent these merging virtual realities of media from expanding. It

> is inevitable that with games, viewing glasses, interactive buttonry, more and more 'news' and what's-happening-every-nanosecond-shows, that the depiction of violence will become more and more realistic.
>
> (Stone in August and Hamsher, 1994:9)

For Stone, America's 'crimescape' is one where 'Our society is bloated not just with crime but with media coverage of it' (Stone in August and Hamsher, 1994:10). Stone's film *JFK*, which claims to show the truth behind the killing of President Kennedy:

> concludes that the media version of events in the 1960s was itself a simulation designed to cover up a conspiracy. 'Real' events are replayed, re-acted by the cinema causing collective memory to be dismissed as faulty.
>
> (Rojek, in Rojek and Turner, 1993:116)

Quotation of so-called 'postmodernist' theory of the condition of postmodernity should not be simply taken as unequivocal support for the propositions widely—if sometimes mistakenly—associated with it. There are numerous problems with such theorisation as this book has already made clear. However, it can be contended that the question of the production of the media and technological images of soccer hooliganism—and therefore the context of the figure of the soccer hooligan as folk devil—is advanced somewhat by a contextual understanding of Baudrillard's notion of 'hyperreality'—'the anticipation of reality by images, the precession of images and media in relation to the events' (Baudrillard, 1987). Hyperreality and hyperlegality as concepts developed in this present book alongside the idea of a post-realist, post-youth, post-fan culture can help to throw light on fandom (and hooliganism) in sporting culture. Let us turn now to the processes by which post-fandom develops. It is this culture into which soccer hooliganism, and its legal regulation, has 'disappeared'.

6

THE SOUND OF THE STADIUM

'Football is the most beautiful of the arts because it is art' as Eric Cantona has said in his official *Eric The King* video. Yet sporting culture—especially soccer culture—has often been seen as separate, even antagonistic, to artistic culture. The sport/art divide is in many instances another version of the low/high culture debate. The damning evidence of instances of soccer hooliganism in sporting culture in Europe in the late 1960s, 1970s and early/mid 1980s reinforced high culture's labelling—through a whole panoply of 'football legislation' in statute and court decisions (see Chapter 2)—of soccer as irredeemably 'low art'. Slowly, but surely, in the British context at least, this process changed for the first time since the 1950s, without actual incidents of soccer hooliganism 'disappearing' as such. Soccer came to represent in this post-youth, post-fan culture something other than merely 'soccer hooliganism', or even the 'people's game'. Soccer culture, indeed, became so pervasive as a part of media culture that by the mid-1990s cultural commodities increasingly became marketed by reference to soccer, even when the game itself was absent. For instance, a collection of short stories (Williamson, 1996) from Scottish contributors to the magazine *Rebel Inc* (including luminaries of 'litpop' such as Irvine Welsh, Alan Warner and Gordon Legge) published in 1996 could be adorned by a soccer-oriented cover without any mention of soccer in the essays (bar Welsh's ubiquitous soccer casual references) and a title bearing the name of an obscure Scottish professional club.

The media and its influence on images of soccer hooliganism has produced perhaps the most widespread dynamic for theorisation as this book has already demonstrated. In particular, derived from a concentration on literary theory, there has been a renewed interest in 'narrative', in stories of soccer hooliganism. These stories almost always follow Baudrillard's idea of 'simulacra', images preceding the real. Take the following example from the *Independent on Sunday,* anticipating soccer violence at the European Championship in England in June 1996 (Euro '96), the first major international soccer event to held in the country since (in a blaze of nationalism and a

rewriting of 1066) England's 'boys in Red' won at home in the soccer World Cup 1966. Under a headline 'Streets of Shame', journalist Norman Fox—said in the by-line to be 'worried that Euro '96 could be the home to renewed violence'—wrote:

> The few Nottingham Forest fans who went to Munich last week got drunk and acted in a way that was unacceptable even in the beeriest city in Europe, prompting the local police chief to say that the 'English Disease' was rampant. His alarmist generalisation is not supported by the facts, but this summer's European Championship in England is threatened by groups of troublemakers who have no allegiance to clubs or even football. Glen Kirton, tournament director of Euro '96, admits that the huge decline in hooliganism at the modernised grounds where this summer's matches are to be played will be reflected inside the stadiums, he is less sure about trouble in the cities. His doubts are confirmed by the Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research whose spokesman John Williams said 'While the figures show a dramatic decrease in arrests at club matches, the England situation is different…' Williams said that trouble is comparatively rare at modern Premiership grounds but remains a problem lower down the divisions where away support is less restricted. Recent incidents have occurred mainly when England play away, when clubs play away in Europe or where away supporters are unlimited and unrestricted. Also the nature of hooliganism has altered. These days it often seems directed more against rival managers and players than supporters.
>
> (*Independent on Sunday*, March 1996)

Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research director John Williams' exemplary account of the 'good news' of radical change on the soccer hooligan front since the 1980s—arrests down from over 7,000 to below 4,000 per season in 10 years and attendances up by four million—was in fact turned by Fox and his newspaper into the familiar prediction of trouble by 'Union Jack-draped neo-fascists in the streets this summer', a prophecy which for once was not self-fulfilling.

How do we best interpret the (continuing) story of soccer violence portrayed in this fashion by the mass media? The many narratives of young (mainly white) male machismo at and around soccer matches are in the arguments in this book theorised through concepts of fandom and post-fandom. The above quotation from Eric Cantona about art and soccer makes an appropriate epitaph for this era, especially in an age when marketisation of sporting culture has accelerated so much. Indeed, soccer culture has entered 'pop time' (Redhead, 1990, 1997a), looping back on itself almost as fast as clubs (and national teams) change their extremely profitable (when sold in the shops to consumers) fashion-led, body-hugging 'away' strips. *La Philosophic de Cantona* is full of

evidence that it is soccer's aesthetic qualities which make it important to this 'deviant', highly desired, highly paid athlete. Aestheticisation—and, significantly, eroticisation—of everyday life are defining features of postmodern culture according to some cultural theorists. The next section looks at a number of examples of this process of the 'aestheticisation'—and 'eroticisation'—of post-culture through the prism of soccer/sport fandom.

AESTHETICS OF FANDOM

The Granada Television arts documentary programme *The Passion of Football* which we quoted in Chapter 4 was filmed based on the Unit for Law and Popular Culture at the Manchester Metropolitan University research into legal and social regulation of post-youth post-fandom as a 'celebration' of late 1980s, early 1990s soccer culture in Britain. It contained accounts of the fascination of soccer culture from musicians (Michael Nyman, New Order, Nigel Kennedy, 808 State) and from fans (the hyperreal fan culture at that time among some working-class and bohemian middle-class spectators at Manchester City, for instance). *The Passion of Football* contained many diverse personalised—even contradictory—multiple stories, not a simple narrative with a beginning, a middle and an end. It was more like a collage composed of images and sounds of soccer, music, drama and style. It was an account of the game from unexpected angles, and also a view of soccer as a spectacle whose meaning arises as much from the fans on the terraces as from the players on the pitch in the 1990s. In May 1985, 39 Italian soccer supporters died at Heysel in a riot provoked by (mainly) Liverpool fans. The moment crystallised the then widespread perceptions of football supporters as 'mindless young thugs'. Between the mid-1980s and the early and mid-1990s, there was an extraordinary renaissance in British (especially English) soccer's media image, a process that has been cultural and political, and this programme looked at how images of soccer became linked to high culture. The barriers between high and low culture seemed for some commentators to have become redundant: the Three Tenors Concert staged in Rome for Italia '90 resulted in Luciano Pavarotti achieving a pop chart Number One in Britain with his recording of Puccini's 'Nessun Dorma'. In 1994 at the time of USA '94, the Three Tenors—Pavarotti, Domingo and Carreras—reunited in concert at Dodger Stadium on the eve of the LA World Cup final. Not everybody, however, was convinced in the early 1990s by a series of arguments about a 'Pavarotti effect'. Paul Morley, for example, was sceptical when interviewed for *The Passion of Football*.

INTERVIEWER: …about Pavarotti's record. I was going to say that after that, opera as a spectacle—as a Harvey Goldsmith spectacle—did attract large audiences and Pavarotti's Concert in the Park became a massive event. There did seem to be some sort of crossover

going on between football becoming affected by high culture and high culture going over into a mass audience. Were you impressed by that process?

PAUL MORLEY: Well, what I saw with Pavarotti's result, since the World Cup—I think it probably would have happened without the World Cup to be honest—he would probably have sung some anthem to do with Wimbledon or something or sung a theme tune to *Inspector Morse*. I think that's more the fact that there has to be new entertainment for people to consume, and there was a whole vast area of opera out there for the Harvey Goldsmiths of this world. Again, it's a result of marketing, that particular process. So for me the Pavarotti thing wasn't actually much connected with football. It was an accident. It just happened right time, right place, etc. I think there might have been six months delay, but I think it would have happened anyway.

INTERVIEWER: But isn't there some kind of phenomenal accessibility? Probably back in the nineteenth century opera was a lot closer to popular culture. It was the tunes that people whistled then, the things that they sang in public and there are amazing melodies and amazing gems buried there, which could be released.

PAUL MORLEY: Yes, but for me Pavarotti's got fuck all to do with football, to be honest. You know now and then there's some weird connection that people make, but keep him as far away as possible to be honest. I mean, the Pavarotti thing might have been some kind of strange, either conscious or unconscious, attempt for certain powers that be to try and raise football slightly upmarket. Do you know what I mean? I mean they might have been that involved. I don't know whether it was that sophisticated or that calculated. But, you know, if I see Pavarotti, I never think of football, I think of the middle of the road. Do you know what I mean? I just see easy listening. I just see something that had to happen that's so far removed from what it was, probably in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, that is simply something that can be marketed very well. Because it's pleasant.

INTERVIEWER: Could you explain why you say removed from what happened in the nineteenth century?

PAUL MORLEY: Well you say that the songs in opera, in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, were probably very connected to the way that ordinary people live their lives, far more than we realise and the way that it became high art. What I'm trying to say is that Pavarotti now, to me, is Richard Clayderman or it's Liberace—it's very pleasant and all the context and maybe the harshness—everything's been dismantled and we are simply left with the pleasantness. It has absolutely nothing to do with football.

INTERVIEWER: What did you see happening in Hyde Park when Pavarotti gave his concert?

PAUL MORLEY: I saw a middle-class rave, when Pavarotti played in Hyde Park. All the people who were probably really offended that their sons and daughters went to the fields to listen to strange music at 6 a.m. in the morning, all went along and did the same thing with Pavarotti—they were in a field, basically enjoying sounds. So it was nothing to do with football, it was just the middle of the road. It was the *Hello* generation coming to haunt us.

INTERVIEWER: And when a classical violinist like Nigel Kennedy makes great play of his passion for football?

PAUL MORLEY: Well that's again—we're being marketed you see. That's what I hate about those—you know when Nigel Kennedy does what he does, we are just being passive consumers of the marketing trick. We've got this music that's apparently difficult and old. How can we get through to the fact that middle of road people who buy Barrington Pheloung's soundtrack to *Inspector Morse* would absolutely enjoy this. Well Nigel could be a bit sort of common. And how can you be common? Well, let's be a football fan…and undoubtedly I'm being incredibly cynical and simplistic about that, but it's actually true. But in marketing you are cynical and simplistic. Again, when I look at Nigel Kennedy I don't think of the glory of football, I just see a symbol of marketing.

Paul Morley's scepticism—no doubt born of his own deep involvement in ZTT's selling of Frankie Goes To Hollywood in the mid-1980s—was based on the fact that the young violinist Nigel Kennedy ostentatiously 'hung out' with the members of the England World Cup soccer squad for a time during Italia '90 courting the mass media and seemingly spending longer publicly describing his passion for Aston Villa in interviews than discussing music. That the leading violinist of his generation looked like a caricature of a 'scruffy football yob' provoked both admiration and derision. More than anybody else, Nigel Kennedy—looning around with England footballers in Italy like a court jester, selling Vivaldi albums by the truckload—personified the disintegration of barriers between high and low culture, but it is unclear whether those divides were demolished or simply being reconstructed (as is usually the case) and whether he is the heroic and praiseworthy destroyer of archaic and snobbish boundaries or simply the 'Pratt and the Fiddle', as *Private Eye* labelled him.

Nigel Kennedy argued in various parts of his interviews for *The Passion Of Football* that his own obsessive soccer fandom, especially with Aston Villa FC, was bound up with the formation of cultural identity as he was growing up male, dazed and confused. He said:

> I changed my persona, as you put it, because I was uncomfortable with who I was. People do change. You can't expect everyone to carry on needing their nappies changed or looking like a foetus…

He sensed that football had a certain (masculine) stability—a tradition—which counteracted this fluidity of 'modern' identities:

> You stand there watching the game unfold, and there's this sense of long-gone fathers and grandfathers standing beside you, sharing the identical frustrations and excitement.

and, further, that:

> I'm sure that having had a disrupted childhood background, and with such a crazy career, the stability, the history of the club is terribly important. Whatever happens to me professionally or personally, those same rituals will unfold at Villa Park, it's a sense of belonging that no family upset or professional crisis can take away from you.

We will look in greater depth at the 'masculinities' produced around soccer culture in the final two chapters. For the time being let us consider further the musicalisation of soccer which Kennedy signifies.

MUSICALISATION OF SOCCER

Soccer itself can be, and be seen as, another cultural form: i.e. as music, as a quotation from the most artistic and creatively stylish (Brazilian) footballer Pele: 'That wasn't football, that was music', vividly makes clear.[1] Manchester's 808 State say they hear an analogy between the dynamics of a football match and the dynamics of their music. As one band member said in an interview for the programme *The Passion of Football:*

> You can have, like, periods of boredom, almost static play…then there's an attack…then there's a counter-attack. Then a shout goes out, then you hear a response to the shout. Then when you score, everybody screams and shouts. It's the same on the dance floor as on the terraces. It's that sense of belonging that spills over into ecstasy.

Paul Morley, when interviewed for *The Passion Of Football,* recalled 808 State's avant-pop 'millennial blues' dance music specifically when asked about the soccer and music connection:

PAUL MORLEY: And if anybody asked me the question about the way that pop music and football were connected in the late 80s and

early 90s, my favourite answer would be that I really enjoyed the way that 808 State seemed to make their pop dance music connect to the way that you feel on the terraces, and watching a match. The mood and the rhythm, and the motion and the excitement, and the boredom and the intermission, and the before the match and the after the match. So, for me, if I was going to do a sound track to a football match musically, I would always use 808 State.

INTERVIEWER: Could you talk a bit more about that? What you think of as what they have in common: the music and the football.

PAUL MORLEY: Well, 808 State's music definitely came out of the fact that they were making a music very directly connected to night life. They were in night life, watching night life, part of night life and they made their music correspondingly with that night life: a lot of people coming together in union to share their emotions and share their lives, it can be obviously very connected to the way that a football match is. The way that the highs and lows and the triumphs and the way that you all come together to share something. And for me, the way 808 State represent night life can be connected, if you like, to the way that people go to a football match and connect with strangers. When you go to a club, you are basically in amongst a lot of strangers, and at its peak you can have such an amazing time for no good reason, which is the same as at a football match.

INTERVIEWER: It's like emotions spilling over into some sort of collective euphoria?

PAUL MORLEY: Yes…. It's also very strange, if you think, usually the English aren't supposed to have this kind of expression of themselves, and certainly you look at the 80s and into the 90s, two of the best ways that you can see English people represent themselves is at a football match or at a night-club.

Also interviewed for *The Passion Of Football* was avant-classical composer, Michael Nyman. For Nyman, a football match is 'a huge collective stereophonic musical event…it's a spontaneous vernacular form of music to threaten, to encourage, to taunt, to revive flagging spirits'. The composer behind the baroque beauty of Peter Greenaway's film music analysed football as a musical event and presented his diagnosis of 'the English malaise':

> English football now is technically brilliant but ultimately sterile. It produces nil-nil draws because there's no emotion and there's no passion to lift the game above the level of a very sophisticated computer analysis, which is how the English game is managed today.

In the programme, Nyman told the macabre story of how the composition of his piece 'Memorial' was overshadowed by the tragedy of Heysel, and

how this piece became a requiem for the event. Nyman's account of the effect of Heysel on his music is very powerful and moving:

> With 'Memorial', *The Cook, The Thief, His Wife and Her Lover* by Peter Greenaway extends the list of death music with which I ended my notes to the *Drowning By Numbers* soundtrack album. 'Memorial' is heard throughout the film, but in its complete form only in the final sequence as it choreographs the procession bearing the body of The Lover, prepared by The Cook, served by The Wife as a dish for her husband, The Thief. Yet 'Memorial' was, and for me will remain, indissolubly tied not to a fictional film death, but to the deaths of 39 Italian citizens at the Heysel Stadium in Brussels, witnessed throughout the world on TV on the evening of 29 May 1985. At that time I was working on a commission from the Festival d'Eté de Seine Maritime in Rouen for a large scale work, lasting around an hour, to be performed in an electricity generating station at Yainville made redundant, silenced by nuclear power. The building retained its potency, however, in its enormous scale, its permanent collection of massive generators and turbines and its vast window at the far end. All these features, coupled with a reverberation time of around ten seconds suggested, indeed dictated, a slow, powerful processional composition in which the harmonic overlapping brought about by this extremely live acoustic would be organised in such a way as not to be disruptive. Switching on a television set that Wednesday evening expecting to see a football match between Liverpool and Juventus, I witnessed a massacre. In the following few days newspaper photographs of the grieving families made such profound impact on me that the composition, previously abstract, purposeless and title-less, gently transformed itself into a memorial for the dead football fans.

Ironically, when reworking the material later in the 1980s—it was only performed live once, in June 1985–Nyman found himself inextricably connected once more to soccer stadium tragedy, this time at Hillsborough:

> But, just as during the first working of musical material, the Heysel Stadium disaster intervened, so during the second reworking, between the recording of the instrumental and vocal tracks of 'Les Murs Des Fédérés'. In fact, I heard the news in the late afternoon of 15 April 1989 of the 96 Liverpool fans who had been crushed to death at Sheffield Wednesday's Hillsborough ground during the FA Cup semifinal with Nottingham Forest.

As Nyman explains in detail in the extensive interviews for the programme:

MICHAEL NYMAN: Why don't we talk about the aftermath of the memorial.

INTERVIEWER: Yes. Can we do Rouen?

MICHAEL NYMAN: Yes, that's what I mean.

INTERVIEWER: If you could tell me the story?

MICHAEL NYMAN: Right. So, having performed 'Memorial' in Rouen, there were possibilities to perform it on a year by year basis in Liverpool, as a kind of commemoration, but it never happened. And as the Brussels' court case dragged on and became more and more acrimonious, there seemed less and less reason to perform the 'Memorial' in Liverpool. Although, what was interesting about performing it in Rouen in the few weeks after the Heysel Stadium happened, was that the continental attitude towards England, which I think was also tied in with the high Thatcherism of 1985, while I was working with people in Normandy acted as a kind of healing process trying to smooth over this attitude towards English barbarism. So again, there seemed no real reason to perform it. But, looking at the piece objectively, out of one hour's music there was about 20 minutes that I thought should be performed, should be continued to be performed and should be rescued from this work. So I decided to do an asset stripping job on it and to dismantle it. So I gave one piece to Peter Greenaway for *The Cook, The Thief, His Wife and Her Lover*, which became a memorial in *The Cook*, which is a powerful piece in the film as it is, and the genuine memorial. And then there are one or two other pieces that I decided to turn into very elaborate orchestral backings for songs. And I was in the process of re-recording these backing tracks one Saturday afternoon. I was in the Pye Studios at Marble Arch and, as was my usual Saturday afternoon wont, I was checking on the football results, during the afternoon, and every time there was a break I would switch on the radio. There was an Everton semi-final and a Liverpool *v*. Nottingham Forest semi-final. Every time I switched on, I would get the Everton score and I would always miss the Nottingham Forest score. So I then had to go down to Norfolk to do a concert or something. When I got to Liverpool Street Station at 5 o'clock, I checked Sports Report to find out the result of the Nottingham Forest *v*. Liverpool match, and then heard the second Liverpool associated disaster, which was Hillsborough. The kind of reaction was indescribable, because, apart from what happened, I felt, in a spooky sort of way, I was responsible for this disaster, because on the two occasions when I was messing with this musical material, there had been football disasters. I'm not a credulous human being—I don't believe in fate, I don't believe in chance and I don't believe in anything like

> that, but for a few days there was a sense that—what is it about this material that I was handling, for the second time, that brings on football disasters like this? And again, no great feelings for Liverpool, but the whole emotional kind of package that was brought up by Hillsborough was, in a way, more powerful, more potent because it was much closer, that much more domestic and it had nothing to do with misbehaviour of fans and it was very family orientated. The mother and father who took their two teenage daughters to the match, and the daughters were behind the goal and the parents were somewhere else and the daughters died. I kind of associated with that. I could quite easily have taken my daughters to such an occasion. So the whole thing became much more confused emotionally for me. But I didn't think about—there was no musical response, even though the people I had been talking to in Liverpool about performing 'Memorial' in its original form as a kind of yearly recollection of Heysel, did phone me up a few days later to ask me to come to Liverpool to perform 'Memorial' again. I was extremely embarrassed and said, 'Well, I can't' because it's now something else and I wouldn't want to perform 'Memorial' for real human beings who have been killed in a football disaster, a piece of music that is now associated with rather gruesome, fictional deaths in a film by Peter Greenaway.

Michael Nyman considered, too, the breakdown—and recombinations—between low and high culture, especially soccer style and opera. Italy's greatest tenor is now her most famous football fan. Pavarotti, Domingo and Carreras staged their Three Tenors Concert as their tribute to a game all three love passionately. Regularly in interviews Pavarotti tells of his feelings for the game, and of his feelings about achieving a Number One single through the use of the aria 'Nessun Dorma' over World Cup footage. Italia '90 consummated the link between football and Italian style (Redhead and Melechi, 1990), and also demonstrated extraordinary success in the 'crossover' marketing of music: operatic arias could sell on a bigger scale than soccer records. Perhaps there was no longer any difference across the 'great divide', as some theorists of postmodernity would want to argue. Nyman pondered this high/low culture link thus:

> INTERVIEWER: I was wondering…. When the Italian '90 World Cup was on, the Three Tenors Concert happened. Pavarotti became a national figure. Did you feel there was a kind of crossover between operatic style and football style?
>
> MICHAEL NYMAN: Obviously football culture changes like music culture changes, or every culture changes. It has its moments. The World Cup was very interesting in the sense that, that piece of Puccini

became as well known as it did, and that classical music listeners came up to me and said: 'Well I think it's wonderful that these millions and millions of people are listening to a pretty decent piece of music for a change.' And all the kind of showbizzery surrounding it with the Three Tenors Concert. Although I thought the actual concert in Rome was a waste of the potential of these three singers. If someone had said to me, 'You have the three greatest tenors in the world, write a concert for them', I would have exploited them a thousandfold better than they were exploited by alternating tunes or by singing in unison or whatever. I was very pleased for my record company that they bought the rights for the video and they've done very well. So, for me that helps me. And also there is a kind of football masonry. If you have nothing in common—it sounds sort of snooty but isn't and is not John Major's kind of blokeyness—but quite often a point of contact with someone whom you have never met before, whom you have no other point of contact with: you don't know their work, they don't know your work but could be and can be connected through football. It kind of excited me that Pavarotti is a genuine football fan. I actually felt much closer to him than the fact that he's in my business, so to speak. There are other musicians around who parade their football associations. Why don't they just get on with playing their instrument and not try and groupiefy, becoming part of a sporting scene that they're not really part of? And I must say I've never—I've been going to QPR for 22 years, I've always been the bloke on the terraces. I occasionally sit down when I'm feeling tired and old. I've never actually had anything to do with the kind of hierarchy at QPR. I've never tried to pull rank. I have never even said to them, 'Look, I'm a composer, I'd like to write the QPR song'—which I'd love to do. I've been in the Directors' box once, but I've only been to Arsenal twice—and I've been in the Directors' box once at Arsenal. So that shows, out of numerous appearances at QPR, it's been terraces. Or when QPR was turned into an all-seater stadium, I used to sit. And the whole thing about being on the terraces is very crucial. Because, although on the one hand, as I say, I'm an isolated figure in a crowd, there is a kind of communal sense of—you are part of a mass and the mass is kind of all singing, all swaying, all moving or chanting, or gesturing and you actually feel that you're part of that, when you are sitting down, you are a discreet unit sitting in an ordered fashion alongside other discreet units and it's much like going to a concert and you are that much more distant. Also I like watching a match on ground level. I don't like watching it as though you are in a kind of privileged unit, that you are looking through a camera lens basically. It's actually very

> exciting: you can smell players' aftershave, and you can see whether they've shaved or not, and you get lots of little details close up that you never get when you are watching it from the stands.

Nyman, whose own opera is entitled *a.e.t.* (after extra time), even incorporated the soccer chants of fans at QPR (recorded against Newcastle United in season 1994–5) into his music. In his programme notes for a trombone concerto, commissioned by the BBC and played by the BBC Symphony Orchestra at the Royal Festival Hall in London in November 1995, he wrote, referring to quotations from Purcell's Funeral Music for Queen Mary: The second time Purcell's music comes round it is swept away by a football chant-derived metal-sheet pulse'. One classical music critic commented that 'laddism had reached the concert hall at last'!

Paul Morley was also asked in interviews for the programme *The Passion Of Football* about his own soccer fandom, this time at Manchester City:

> INTERVIEWER: What sort of age did you first become passionately interested in football?
>
> PAUL MORLEY: I saw my first match in 1965. It was Manchester City *v.* Crystal Palace. City won 3–1, when they were in the Second Division. I was 7 or 8 years old.
>
> INTERVIEWER: Can you begin to analyse or remember the qualities, the emotions that were aroused in you?
>
> PAUL MORLEY: Well I remember why I went to see City because I used to go to a school in Stockport called North Reddish Primary School and everyone in the playground supported Manchester United. Imprinted on me, even then, was some weird need to be identified with the underdog. So, at that time United were possibly the most famous team in the world. Georgie Best, Denis Law, Bobby Charlton. And I decided to support Manchester City, who were at the bottom of the Second Division. And I remember telling my Dad, who hadn't been to a football match since he moved from London, and who was obviously very disappointed that I had chosen Manchester City. He was obviously waiting for the moment I said I want to go to football. And I came home one day and I said, 'I want to go and see Manchester City play.' And he was desperately disappointed as we took our place amongst the 7,000 sparsely attended crowd, bottom of the Second Division game. United were probably down the road playing Leeds in front of 55,000. But it was a wonderful moment. Harry Dowd in goal. And the fact that City won 3–1, I think that was it. I was stuck. And I've been stuck ever since. And I'll always be stuck. Even if I lived in South Africa or New Zealand, I'll always be a Manchester City fan.

You're held. With that thing. That 7-year-old is responsible for all the ups and downs and the problems and the traumas of being a Manchester City fan through the 60s, 70s, 80s and, indeed, the 90s and no doubt forever more.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think they are a lot more successful now, than the bottom of the Second Division?

PAUL MORLEY: They are, but the great thing about being a Manchester City supporter is that you are doomed. And it probably represents the fact that you are—there's something peculiar about you that you support Manchester City. Because even when they do well, there's something not quite right. I mean, if you look at them now (in 1992), they are fourth. At this moment I'm speaking they are fourth in the First Division and everything seems to be OK. But everybody who goes to see Manchester City knows that something's not quite right. They signed this player called Steve McMahon from Liverpool. Any Manchester City fan would hate Steve McMahon because he's all wrong. But we pretend. We put up with it. And we're going through a phase at the moment, being managed by a guy called Peter Reid, that reminds me of a phase we went through a few years ago, when we were managed by a guy called John Bond. We do quite well, but it's boring football. What Manchester City fans like is when they are managed with a bit of flair by maniacs like Billy McNeil or Malcolm Allison. It's just something about us. Being a Manchester City fan immediately stamps you with a kind of—it's about as glamorous as you can get being a football supporter supporting City. So you kind of put up with it.

INTERVIEWER: They have been associated with certain songs and bananas and things, haven't they?

PAUL MORLEY: Well, over the years, it always comes back to the fact that we have this rival—Manchester United—that everyone associates with being the team you should support. So, you support Manchester City; you're strange, you're an underdog, you are on the side of peculiar inconsistency. Because even when Manchester City are doing well, 50 per cent of the time they play the most awful rubbish you've ever seen. Manchester City, at their very best, play a kind of poetic football that either works very well or it doesn't. Over the years this eccentricity, the fact that you are an underdog, has manifested itself in some really kind of weird aspects: the Banana. The inflatables in the late 80s definitely started at Manchester City. Now my reading of this—there've been many readings—a magazine *The New Statesman* once commissioned me to write an article about inflatables in football. Why people held bananas. And I delivered an article and they were very disappointed with it, because they wanted me to read into this banana situation

> some kind of racist connotation—that people were holding up the bananas as some kind of declaration on the nature of Johnny Barnes or Clyde Best, I think. No it didn't go that far back, but anyway—it was meant to be a comment on black footballers because these 'people' like *The New Statesman*, the Lefties, claim that bananas are being flung, bananas are being held up as some kind of connotation. But my reading of the situation was that a very smashed supporter, one day—mid 80s—wandered along, probably won a Fyfe inflatable banana in a competition or something, and for a long time he was on his own standing on the terraces with this banana. Very slowly a few other smashed Manchester City supporters sort of joined in, so a few bananas happened and there is no good reason for it, and I couldn't explain to *The New Statesman* that it was a representation of the eccentricity of supporting Manchester City. It was nothing deeper than that. And, of course, the inflatable reached its nadir when the Norwich City fans would hold up little canaries, inflatable canaries, which was a shame. Because the best moment: I remember Manchester City playing away at Crystal Palace in the late 80s, and by then they were holding up inflatable swimming pools, inflatable dolphins and that, interestingly enough, was at the moment when everyone was really desperately trying to read some insight into football hooliganism—that it was all done by Estate Agents, and that it was a yuppie thing. And at that time football was in a very good humour, and the inflatable thing was in a good moment and everyone was really trying to enjoy themselves at football matches, and that actually led to me being dismissed from *The Late Show* television programme because I interviewed Alan Yentob, who'd done a programme called *The Firm* about football hooliganism on his channel—football hooligans are actually very smart, they drive BMWs and all that rubbish. And I was more interested in why football fans went to matches holding inflatable bananas. And he thought I was taking the piss out of him.

Although not as internationally successful as their great rivals Manchester United, City have had an even more intense and inventive supporters' culture, especially in the 1980s. As I myself argued in a 'talking head' interview for *The Passion of Football* television programme, the modern teams have usually been so dreadful that the supporters have to work even harder to make it an enjoyable spectacle. The Youth Development Officer at Manchester City FC has also noted:

> For us, football and music have gone together—maybe we're into the music so much because we haven't won anything in ages.

Paul Morley expressed it in a similar vein, though slightly more sceptically:

PAUL MORLEY: Everybody's always trying to read things into these things that happen at football matches. They always want great complicated sociological explanations, and they're often not there. The bananas, the songs that happen. They just happen. I remember the first time I ever heard City fans sing 'Blue Moon'. It was a wonderful moment. A very moving moment. Because again, Manchester City fans are comedians and they like nothing better when they're 4–1 down to sing 'We only sing when we're losing'. There's never much there except the fact that it just happens. Maybe you're looking for the sociological investigation. It's not often there.

INTERVIEWER: But also there's a kind of stereophonic quality to a football match. The kind of choral response, the way things go round the ground?

PAUL MORLEY: When it works, yes. That's why, as I've grown more adult, and apparently sophisticated, I've really liked being a Manchester City fan, because I've noticed all sorts of subtleties about the way fans, as a collective, follow a match. And they are, as a collective, very intelligent fans. A lot of fans that support certain teams are thick, and are not very quick at picking up a response—a call-and-answer response. But Manchester City fans are certainly very alert and enjoy nothing more than developing routines during a match.

This rose-tinted picture of 'these charming fans' highlights a process of musicalisation of soccer culture, a 'rhythm of football' or 'the sound of the stadium'.

7

THESE CHARMING FANS

There certainly have been, as Paul Morley notes, a number of dubious sociological readings of the *words* of British terrace songs, some of which have been collected in more accessible fans' guides (Bulmer and Merrills, 1992; Baldwin, 1994), but that is partly because such literal, modernist (and frequently hostile) readings have taken the words out of the context of what we might call 'the rhythm of soccer'.[1]

RHYTHM OF SOCCER

The 'footballisation' of popular (or pop and rock) music from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s in Conservative Britain is a significant cultural process and, with the reverse connection ('musicalisation of football' as John Bale (1993) has called it), makes up the crossover of two prominent 'low art' forms: pop music and soccer. As Paul Morley notes, New Order's England song 'World in Motion' (radically remixed for Euro '96 in the collection for RCA *The Beautiful Game*) in 1990 was very important but possibly untypical:

INTERVIEWER: I was going to mention New Order's 'World in Motion' record. When that came out, did you think it was something startling, as a football record, compared with things like This Time (We're Going to Get It Right)' or 'Back Home' or whatever?

PAUL MORLEY: It's sad in a way, trying to discuss the difference between the England World Cup Squad 'Back Home' and New Order's 'World in Motion' because it's like those people who try and say that we shouldn't have Jimmy Hill and John Motson any more—they don't represent the way that people feel about football. But in a way they are part of the tackiness that's involved in football. And in a way we expected records like 'Back Home', by the England World Cup Squad, as part of the strangeness of watching football and New Order, in a funny sort of way, does it a bit of a disservice by making such an intelligent record—for the last World Cup. So I

> was thrilled listening to it as a good pop record, but somehow disappointed, because I want to keep football as a certain kind of texture.

Morley's official appreciation of New Order's 'World in Motion' came when Factory Records, prior to going bankrupt, released *Palatine: The Factory Story 1979–1990*, a four-album retrospective of the company's product all the way back to the days when Palatine Road, Didsbury, Manchester was its address. Morley's sleevenote to 'World in Motion' was short and to the point:

> I remember sometimes really loving Factory Records.

A number of other writers were asked to contribute to the sleevenotes of *Palatine*. My own 'pop' aesthetic soccer book—on soccer into pop in the 1990s—(Redhead, 1991b) about contemporary fan culture had just been published in 1991 and I felt able to enthuse about New Order/England's Italia '90 anthem:

> I first got wind of this bizarre collaboration when I was starting to draw up a discography for a book on football, popular music and youth culture since the 1950s just before Italia '90. After all the naff records spawned by England's Mexico hit 'Back Home' I dreaded hearing this. I need not have worried; it's up there on that great dance chart in the sky with all the kicking On-U Sound football tracks, and the video and T-shirt were good too. Wonderful wingman John Barnes 'sang' so much better on this than he played in the World Cup itself and Keith Allen's manic performance on video made Top of The Pops compulsive viewing for weeks.
>
> (Booklet in cover of *Palatine*, 4-album set from Factory Records)

Certainly groups such as The Fall, The Happy Mondays, and New Order all made videos featuring soccer in them, but New Order's soccer single, which sold many hundreds of thousands of copies, became *the* soccer/pop crossover icon. Writer Paul Smith contributed a whole essay in appreciation in a book on rock and pop culture (De Curtis, 1992). New Order's 'World in Motion' was the official FA/England squad's record for the Italia '90 World Cup; this subtle, dancey, electronic anthem was a total break with leaden singalongs by 'lumpen' footballers in blazers which had been the norm for a soccer record (see Appendix 3). In reality though, since at least the mid-1980s but particularly since 1987 or 1988, in Britain soccer had been at the cutting edge of dance floor sounds. One producer, Adrian Sherwood, made a series of extraordinary records with his On-U Sound record label under the deliberately ironic name Barmy Army. The album *(The English Disease)* mixed up recordings—mostly taped on Sony Walkmans inside grounds—of terrace chants and singing, with electronic rhythms

and instrumental improvisation, especially for the famous tribute to Kenny Dalglish 'Sharp As a Needle'. As a footnote to this cultural development, by the mid-1990s it was reported that 'Britpop' guitar bands Blur (supporters of Chelsea) and Oasis (Manchester City fans) were to be asked by the FA to write rival tunes with a view to one of them being the FA's traditional official theme tune for Euro '96, the European Championship tournament hosted by England in 1996. It was also noted in the media that Oasis—being of Irish stock via Burnage, Manchester—would not see it as appropriate to record an anthem for the England team as such! In the event, the FA/England theme tune was written and recorded by the Lightning Seeds (responsible for 'The Life of Riley' used as a theme tune for BBC's *Match of the Day*) and Frank Skinner and David Baddiel, comedians from the *Fantasy Football League* TV show, versions of which appeared with other assorted soccer/music tracks on the official *The Beautiful Game* LP to coincide with Euro '96. No such reticence was demonstrated by Oasis in supporting their local club side at Maine Road however (Bellos, 1995). Apart from three band members appearing free of charge in a magazine advertisement, and the group being introduced to the crowd at a home fixture against Chelsea in the 1995–6 season, Manchester City FC official T-shirts sold in the city's Arndale shopping centre club shop were marketed with Oasis, having been designed by their own collaborator, Mick Peek. The T-shirts proclaimed various media friendly and streetwise soundbites such as 'City: we're from Manchester' (playing on media notions that Manchester United are reputedly supported by a smaller percentage of born and bred Mancunians) and 'City: *the* Manchester club', which in one design stressed the city's night-clubculture. One logo 'city' replaced the word 'Oasis' in the band's own best known T-shirts. *Definitely Manchester!* as another—unofficial—T-shirt had it, parodying Oasis' first LP which was entitled *Definitely Maybe* (and included a picture of a Manchester City player from the 1970s hidden away on cover art work). Oasis played two large sell-out stadium concerts at Maine Road in 1996 and Manchester City fans adapted the band's 'Wonderwall' from the second LP *(What's The Story) Morning Glory* to celebrate 'Alan Ball', then the team manager. Eric Cantona, the Manchester United soccer icon celebrated ubiquitously on all kinds of T-shirts, official and (mostly) unofficial, had a tribute record released for him by Exotica Records in October 1995 including 'Eric The King' alongside such gems as Captain Sensible (of punk band The Damned) setting Cantona's post-Crystal Palace media philosophy to music and the Half-time Oranges' 'Eric (Please Don't Go)'.

The Unit for Law and Popular Culture archived 'soccer into pop' culture, contributing to a special edition of DJ Steve Barker's 'On The Wire' leftfield music and interviews 'local' programme for BBC Radio Lancashire. The following playlist of the main soccer-related popular music owes much to Steve Barker's own extraordinary capacity to discover a 'mix' of football and popular music sometimes straining the link between the two cultural industries to breaking point in finding instances of soccer fandom as a 'low' modernism in the streets.

The albums on the list contain many of the individual tracks. The 'pop' items used in *The Passion Of Football* programme are all included, as is most of the original archived discography compiled in 'pop art' form for a text (Redhead, 1991b) on the postmodern culture of soccer in Britain, or 'post-fandom' as I have referred to it here. The playlist which follows is an update of the guides to the SVITA (Soccer Vibes in the Area) consumers' guide to 'sound and vision' which appeared in the earlier book. The more tenuous links between the two 'low' cultural industries of soccer and popular music since the early 1960s are legion (Redhead, 1991b) and range from a young Terry Venables' (ex-England team manager) player photograph adorning the cover of Morrissey's 'Dagenham Dave' 1995 single, 'shoegazing's' flexi disc 'tribute' to Arsenal goalkeeper David Seaman through to Incognito's use of the Brazilian national soccer team photo circa 1970 for their 'Pieces of a Dream' single sleeve.

PLAYLIST ON 'SOCCER INTO POP'

Alexei Sayle	'Albania Albania' ('alternative' comedian Sayle had a fixation with the Albanian Communist Party and his Liverpudlian humour shines through on this 'spoof soccer record).
Ashor Senator	'The Big Match' (incorporating an old *Match of the Day* theme tune this is reggae's tribute to the idea of an 'all-black' soccer team).
Atari Teenage Riot	The Kids are United' (a 1990s revisit to Jimmy Pursey's (Walton and Her)Sham 69 punk anthem).
Attila The Stockbroker	*Ranting At The Nation*.
Attila The Stockbroker	*Scornflake.*
Attila The Stockbroker	*Donkeys' Years* (Attila as John Baine in 'real' life carried his soccer and music passion from various tracks on these albums through to the founding of the Brighton and Hove Albion Independent Supporters Association).
Barmy Army	'Sharp As a Needle'/'England 2 Yugoslavia 0'.
Barmy Army	'Billy Bonds MBE' on Various Artists: *Pay It All Back Vol. 2*.
Barmy Army	'Blue Moon' on Various Artists: *Pay It All Back Vol. 3*.
Barmy Army	'Devo' on Various Artists: *Pay It All Back Vol. 3;* also on *The English Disease*.
Barmy Army	*The English Disease* (On-U Sound, through Adrian Sherwood, define the soccer/music crossover with this beloved West Ham United high in the mixes). Jorge Ben 'Ponte de Lanca African' on *Belez Tropical* (one of many 'world music' examples of soccer into pop).
Blammo!	'Drastic Plastic' (the proceeds from this flexi disc went to Rock Against ID Cards).
Billy Bragg	'God's Footballer', 'The Few' and 'Moving the

	Goalposts' on *Don't Try This at Home* (Billy Bragg's songs to Peter Knowles, former Wolverhampton Wanderer, and against soccer fascists, are his two soccer related tracks, though soccer references abound in his output).
Cockney Rejects	'I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles' ('Oi' music in parts of Britain in the late 1970s and 1980s was more often associated with right-wing politics).
Colourbox	'Official Colourbox World Cup Theme' (not in reality an official theme at all).
Crucial Robbie	'Afraid to Get Kick Up' (reggae and soccer mix yet again).
Definitive Two	'I'm Stronger Now' (Channel 4's *Football Italia* theme tune in an AC Milan soccer shirt sleeve).
Depth Charge	'Goal' (Soccer into Dance).
The Disco Zombies	'Where Have You Been Lately Tony Hateley?' (Indie tribute to Mark Hateley s father).
The Fall	'Kicker Conspiracy' (the video for this Mark E.Smith shout was made at Burnley's Turf Moor).
The Fans	*The Name of the Game* (European soccer pop).
Fat and Frantic	'Brian' (a tribute to the then Nottingham Forest Manager Brian Clough).
First Offence	'Hooligan (Monitor Mix)' B-side of 'Just Try Me' (Salford lads' street 'wisdom').
Goal to Goal featuring Jazzie J	'Oh No Not Football' (a common sentiment set to music).
Half Man Half Biscuit	*Back in the DHSS.*
Half Man Half Biscuit	*Back in the DHSS Again.*
Half Man Half Biscuit	*The Peel Sessions.*
Half Man Half Biscuit	'Friday Night and the Gates are Low' on *Some Call It Godcore.*
Half Man Half Biscuit	'1966 and All That (Live Version)' B-side of 'No Regrets' (Tranmere Rovers' fans soccer obsession—hence the 'Friday Night' quip since Tranmere have often played on a Friday night to avoid clashing with the attendances of Liverpool and Everton elsewhere on Merseyside).
The Hillsboro Crew (aka Heaven 17)	'Steel City (Move On Up)' (New Pop's paean to Sheffield Wednesday).
I, Ludicrous	'Quite Extraordinary'.
I, Ludicrous	*It's Like Everything Else.*
I, Ludicrous	'We Stand Alone' (Crystal Palace fans' soccer obsession).
Introspec	'The Roger Rap (Rap Version)' b/w.
In General Midfield and the Centre Spots	The Roger Rap (Reggae Version)' (Oldham Athletic and former Manchester City player Roger Palmer fanzine tribute).
James	'Goalie's Ball' on *Seven* EP (James' earlier soccer link before 'Low Low Low').
The K-Stand with Peter Boyle	'Ooh Ah Eric Cantona/Eric the King' (Manchester United fanzine fans' tribute to Eric Cantona).

Lush	'And David Seaman Will Be Very Disappointed About That' (for David Seaman, the Arsenal goalkeeper).
Macka B	'Pam Pam Cameroon' (reggae and soccer).
Match and DJ Bear	'Flashback 66' (remembering 1966 World Cup in England).
New Order	'Best and Marsh' B-side of 'Round and Round'.
New Order/England	'World In Motion' (New Order's high point of soccer into pop).
Pink Floyd	*Meddle* (sampled Anfield Kop terrace chants make this the original soccer into pop track).
Pop Will Eat Itself	'Touched By The Hand of La Cicciolina (Incredi-bull Mix)' (PWEI and the Italian pornography queen).
Primal Scream, Irvine Welsh and On-U Sound	'The Big Man and the Scream Team Meet The Barmy Army Uptown' (Millennial Blues at its best, this 'dub' gem features Irvine Welsh's 'reading'—on DAT originally before Adrian Sherwood cut up, sampled and remixed it—with 'Who are you?' chants and 'You're gonna win fuck all' choruses and heavy drums n bass).
Oo-La-La	'Oo-Ah-Cantona' (Eric Cantona sampled with his Leeds United fans).
Real Sounds of Africa	'Dynamos vs Caps 0–0' on *Harare*.
Real Sounds of Africa	'Tornados vs Dynamos 3–3' on *Wende Zako*.
Real Sounds of Africa	'Soccer Fan' (Real Sounds' African sound of the stadium).
Rotterdam Termination Source	'Feyenoord' (Dutch techno support for one of the Netherlands best known teams).
Saint Etienne	The Official Saint Etienne World Cup Theme' (90s postmodern pop).
The Sect	'Summer Girl' (West Bromwich Albion fans).
Serious Drinking	*Stranger Than Tannadice* (Dundee, Scotland not 'paradise').
Sham '69	*Tell Us The Truth* (Jimmy Pursey's punks).
Frank Sidebottom	*5:9:88* (Altrincham PC's most famous fan).
Shoot and DJ Bear	'Pump Up The Ball' (instead of 'Pump Up The Volume').
Martin Stephenson and the Daintees	'Slaughterman' B-side of 'Boat to Bolivia Single Version (North East folk/pop).
Sportchestra!	*101 Songs About Sport* (dozens of soccer/pop songs from members of The Three Johns, The Mekons and others).
The Surgeon	'D-Pleated' (David Pleat, the manager, is name checked here).
Tackhead	'The Game' (the original Barmy Army Adrian Sherwood product).
Teamwork with Marshall Doctors and Nicky Parker	'Terrace Talk/Sucker for the Game' (soccer/pop).
1300 Drums	'Ooh-Aah-Cantona' (Eric Cantona revered in song again).

Thousand Yard Stare	'0–0 a.e.t' on *Seasonstream* EP (that pre-shoot-out nightmare).
Trespassers W	*Dummy* (Cor Gout's Dutch trespassing).
Trinity	'Football Match' (reggae and soccer).
25th May	'Why' on *Lenin and McCarthy* (indie and soccer).
The Undertones	'My Perfect Cousin' (picture sleeve soccer references from Northern Ireland punks).
Uwarya	'Uwarya' (the soccer chant 'Who are you?' is sung to opposing fans).
Various Artists	*Bananas* (I, Ludicrous 'Moynihan Brings Out The Hooligan In Me' 'tribute' to the former Conservative Government Sports Minister Colin Moynihan and other late 1980s soccer into pop tracks, proceeds to Hillsborough disaster fund, all compiled by Guy Lovelady).
Various Artists	*Flair 1989: The Other World of British Football* (the original soccer and pop trivia collection).
Various Artists	*4–2–4* (soccer and pop trivia).
Various Artists	*Bend It, 91.*
Various Artists	*Bend It, 92.*
Various Artists	*Bend It, 93.*
Various Artists	*Bend It, 94* (Mike Always collections of soccer and pop trivia).
Various Artists	*The Red Album: A Mancunian Fantasy.*
Various Artists	*Football Classics: Manchester United* (Manchester United celebrated).
Various Artists	*Gloryland: World Cup USA 94* (includes James' 'Low Low Low' reworked).
Various Artists	*Cantona: The Album* (Eric Cantona tribute from various performers).
Various Artists	*The Beautiful Game* (includes the New Order 'World in Motion' mid-90s remix plus Black Grape 'England's Irie' with Keith Allen, Massive Attack's millennial blues 'Eurochild Ninety 6', Collapsed Lung 'Beat My Goal' and Primal Scream's censored 'Instrumental' version of the collaboration with Adrian Sherwood and the genuinely funny outtakes of 'Football's Coming Home' by Frank Skinner and David Baddiel).
Nana Vasconselez	'Futebol' (Brazilian soccer pop).
Wall of Orange	'Can We Kick It (No We Can't)' (Holland versus England in 1993 and its aftermath).

Arguments will continue to rage over what should be included in such lists. For example, should the Billy Bragg line 'How can you lie there and think of England when you don't even know who's in the team' force an inclusion of 'Greetings to the New Brunette' from the *Talking With The Taxman* LP in this list? The DJ playlist contains an overwhelming preponderance of examples of the genre from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s; they represent a kind of

last gasp celebration of 'terrace culture'. Lord (Justice) Taylor's reports (Taylor, 1989, 1990) on the Hillsborough disaster (according to Baudrillard, one of the 'tragic annals of safety' as he (1996b) calls it) proclaimed the 'end of the end' by recommending all-seater stadia by the end of the century; football stadia in Britain were largely made legally all-seater. Some other cultural forms—oral histories of fans, players and administrators, for instance, which have begun to be published as terraces 'disappear' (Kelly, 1993a; Watt, 1993, 1995; Ward *et al.*, 1993)—suggest that the 'demise' of the standing areas of the traditional soccer stadium's physical environment, which nurtured such terrace culture, will *inevitably* lead to the 'end of an era' for the culture itself. This environmental determinism is seductive as an explanation of cultural change among spectators, but by no means conclusive. The post-fan soccer culture is simply changing, not dying. The 1980s in Britain was a decade of numerous horrific disasters (rail, tube, ferry, etc.) as public services were deliberately run down and private, market 'solutions' were put in place; unfortunately for the development of soccer as a pop aesthetic, singalong pop records were frequently made to raise money for the victims. Two disasters involved safety at football grounds, Valley Parade in 1985 (Bradford) and Hillsborough (see Ward *et al.*, 1995) in 1989 (Sheffield). Some of the above listed records had proceeds donated to funds for such disasters. Two records were also specifically made to support the disaster funds: these were The Crowd's (Gerry Marsden and friends) 'You'll Never Walk Alone' and The Christians, Paul McCartney, Holly Johnson, Gerry Marsden and Stock, Aitken and Waterman with 'Ferry Cross The Mersey'. However, the undoubted sincerity of the performers and the rightness of the cause contrast with the relative tameness of the records (more in keeping with Appendix 3). Although some of the above listed 'various artists' (including some soccer 'artists') collections comprise football teams' popular music product, they do so with a certain deliberate, knowing irony of the 'they're so bad and ugly they're good' variety. The fact that such material became fashionable—and saleable—is a testament to the media rehabilitation process undergone by soccer culture in the 1990s. There are hundreds of these sorts of 'singalong-a-trax' musical examples from around the world and fans 'coming out' as soccer discophiles as Peter Seddon (1995) has done is by no means rare anymore. The list in Appendix 3 follows on from the various artists collections by companies such as (soccer/music fanatic) Mike Always Exotica Records and explicitly comprises the kind of music that comes under the usual 'male football vocalists' category in the record hits statistical books published by companies like Guinness. The 'Anfield Rap' signalled a move away from earlier team efforts and, in the mid-1990s, Manchester United FC teamed up with rapper 'Stryker' (rather than Status Quo as in the year before) and Everton FC recorded The Farm's 'All Together Now', an anti-war record which was originally released with a soldier (instead of a soccer player) on a 'Subbuteo' plinth in the cover artwork. In 1996, Manchester United FC

plundered dance culture, releasing 'Move Move Move (The Red Tribe)' for the FA Cup Final. One interesting aspect of Appendix 3's playlist is that much of this music has reflected the type of pop blandness (e.g. Queen's 'We Are The Champions' or Tina Turner's 'Simply The Best') played over the sound systems of modern soccer (and other sports) stadia. With the modernisation of the environment at many grounds post-Hillsborough, the sheer sonic power of some of the sound systems (for instance, Old Trafford and Hillsborough—both installed by the same company) is so great that the singing and shouting which (from the early 1960s at least) used to occur *before* and *after* the 90 minutes of play is impossible. Some forms of resistance by crowds still persist however; for example Celtic fans booed their DJ at the playing of every record, an act which eventually persuaded him to stop! The general 'embourgeoisement' of the soccer crowd, too, has encouraged a less vocal and more 'post-tourist' spectator to visit the ground for the match on the way to the club superstore, leaving quieter (smaller) stadiums than in the past century of soccer fan culture.

In this part of the book we have so far documented the two main themes of the research which led to the making of *The Passion Of Football* television film in the context of the art and rhythm/sound of post-fan, post-youth soccer culture. These were on the one hand soccer/music connection, and on the other expression of (mainly male) soccer fandom.

LITERATURISATION OF SOCCER

What is noticeable about the period since the immediate completion of *The Passion of Football* (1992) is that the second theme was explored, increasingly, in a 'literaturisation' of soccer culture in Britain—the province of what has been labelled the 'soccerati' by the media (see 'Among the Soccerati' in Parsons, 1994). The commercial success of *Fever Pitch*, an account of growing up a male soccer fan of Arsenal FC by Nick Hornby (1992) has encouraged some parts of the media and certain cultural writers to proclaim a 'new football writing' in which the 'literati' attempt to rescue the game's reputation, so sullied in Britain by the mid-1980s. A collection of fan essays, edited by Hornby, was published in October 1993 in conjunction with fan magazine *When Saturday Comes* under the title *My Favourite Year* (Hornby, 1993). The media saw it as marking the 'emergence of a new class of soccer fan—cultured and discerning', as the *Observer* put it, emphasised perhaps by Roddy Doyle, Booker prize winner, being one of the contributors to the collection. However, what was obvious was that *all* the contributors were male. Alex Spillius and Harry Lansdown (Spillius and Lansdown, 1990) had spawned this genre in 1990 with a collection which contained similar 'confessional' essays, but includes one lone female contributor. As Paul Morley noted in the interviews for *The Passion Of Football:*

> I'm aware of football matches being a moment when a lot of young boys and young men get together, possibly uniquely, and it can for no good reason become very emotional, and you find yourself doing things together as boys and as males that you don't really often do. So there is definitely that aspect. You'll end up singing songs, you'll end up representing your emotion in peculiarly eccentric ways. It probably transcends analysis really.

For Hornby—and many of his co-contributors, too—soccer fandom is an overwhelmingly masculine pursuit, often explicitly an activity involving father and son. Mark Simpson (1994, chapter 4) has provided a critique of Hornby's account of growing up masculine-based on a reading of Freud. In a book on 'men performing masculinities' and in essays in the magazine *Attitude*—a counter to 'new lad' marketing and aimed at a young gay market—Simpson has written about homosexuality and soccer. For Simpson, Hornby's concentration on the 'overwhelming maleness' of football is a reference to the 'swooning passion for virility' where football 'provides the boy with an answer to the problem of how to reconcile his homoerotic desire, his feminine love of manliness, with his desire to be manly.' As Hornby says in *Fever Pitch:* 'I fell in love with football as I was later to fall in love with women.' For Simpson, 'football is an activity *and* an object which literally mediates between the men, taking the place of 'woman"—in Hornby's narrative of a fan's life, 'football stood in for direct tenderness between father and son'. Hornby's 'New Man' packaging—he readily admits his agent's marketing of his books to women readers, interestingly—is criticised by Simpson for being framed 'heterosexually' and limiting the notion of 'a fan's love for the footballer'. As Oscar Wilde put it in the last century, now recorded for posterity on a Philosophy Football T-shirt:

> Football is all very well as a game for rough girls but it is hardly suitable for delicate boys.

As again underlined by Paul Morley in *The Passion Of Football* interviews, 'male bonding' modes of soccer fandom might be threatened by a rationalising 'modernity':

> INTERVIEWER What would be the qualities that would be lost then, if the style merchants did take over football?
>
> PAUL MORLEY Well it wouldn't be thrillingly what it is. Connected to decades and decades of history, and decades of your father and his father. It would change direction…it's almost a folk tradition. It is certainly, for me, when I was younger—the only thing that connected me with my father emotionally—we went to football. We did nothing else together. We went to football. And watching

> the way that some other people are trying to read more into football sociologically, and make it something else. It would probably be the thing that made it too sophisticated and slowly killed it off, as an experience. It would become too contrived. It would have to be choreographed somehow.

What happened in the 1990s—as in the 1980s pop/soccer crossover in British sport and youth culture, which was also overwhelmingly linked to the production of masculinities as Frank Mort and others have pointed out (see Chapman and Rutherford, 1988)—was that a cultural space for the expression of male sporting culture opened up. Nevertheless, as John Williams and Rogan Taylor state, 'there is nothing intrinsic to football as a sport that excludes women from the enjoyment of watching, or indeed playing the game' (Williams and Taylor, 1994). This is manifestly true for those who have previously embraced and celebrated 'high theory' and forms of high culture, especially literary[2] spheres which have frequently eschewed the slightest contact with the lowest of 'low art' such as soccer culture. Moreover, the idea, which Jeremy Tambling (1990) has attributed to Michel Foucault, of seeing Western man as a 'confessing' animal, seems increasingly relevant as (post-Hillsborough) it is once again culturally legitimate, as one journalist put it, 'to come out of the changing room closet'. Gollancz, the publishers of Hornby's 'smash hit' and the promoters of commodities to the new 'literate football fan' proclaimed in 1993 that 'these days it's okay at a literary party to admit to being a Reading supporter'. Perhaps Hornby's soccer book has enabled thousands of people to 'come out' as Arsenal fans! Catherine Bennett (1995) has presciently pointed out that Hornby fits into a more general 'confessional' culture which drives men to unburden themselves in print in the 1990s, particularly in the non-fiction form. Importantly, Bennett criticises the conservatism of much of this writing:

> It's true that for Hornby and co the personal is not political; the personal is just personal. They're not trying to make a point; they've simply learned to unbosom.
>
> (Bennett, 1995)

In the 1980s, football hooligans' youth cultural confessions were widely touted and rewarded in the media (Ward, 1989; Allan, 1989). In the early to mid-1990s it was 'respectable' fans' turn. In the mid-1990s the focus changed from male confessions of soccer fandom[3] to male confessions of pop music fandom (see Savage, 1994). Chris Roberts (1994) and John Aizlewood (1994) produced confessional male pop anthologies, though one or two such as a study of Smiths' fandom (Gallagher *et al.* 1995) did include male *and* female fans, and interviews featuring female rock and pop performers (e.g. see Raphael, 1995) emerged alongside the ubiquitous

male/band biopic. Hornby successfully published a funny—and much acclaimed—novel (1995) on exactly these themes, as did Barney Hoskyns (1995) and, more autobiographically, Giles Smith (1995)—Smith subsequently wrote sports journalism for newspapers—prompting such press headlines as 'rockerati push soccerati off the publishing pitch'. Hornby himself argued that this media claim was false because 'you can't be committed to pop music in the same way that you can to football.' However, the same process that took soccer from the terraces to the bookshelf 'literaturised' club and dance culture (Geraghty, 1996), in turn producing a spate of readings from authors at nightclubs—Irvine Welsh, for example, toured clubs such as Manchester's Hacienda to promote his (much criticised) best seller *Ecstasy*. The 'moment' of nightlife may be only fleeting (Neate, 1996), but 'commitment' is no less fervent. Sarah Champion's edited collection (1996) of short stories by Irvine Welsh, Jeff Noon, Alan Warner, Martin Millar and others captured 'disco biscuit's' (clubculture slang for the drug Ecstasy/MDMA) connection to hedonism in hard times since the early days of acid house: 'celebrating the tenth anniversary of acid house', this new fiction from the chemical generation portrays the spirit of the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, from illegal raves to corporate dance and club culture. In one of the stories at a warehouse party in 1988 rival soccer hooligans are united by 'E'. Nevertheless, the male dominated 'passion of football' upon which Hornby capitalised is perhaps most clearly expressed by the multitude of soccer—and other sport—fanzines (literally 'fan magazines'),[4] a publishing explosion since the mid-1980s which in many ways is a low 'literaturisation' of soccer culture even extending into electronic publishing on the Internet.[5] Fanzines in general became a significant phenomenon from around the mid-1970s onwards. Punk fanzines, in particular, proliferated in Britain at that time and have set the style for many subsequent fanzines devoted to all kinds of music genres from grunge to riot grrrl, as well as everything from ecopolitics to sci-fi. For a time, in the late 1980s, soccer fanzines displaced purely popular culture music fanzines at the cutting edge of fandom. Certainly, in terms of sheer numbers of fanzines produced (often for a very few issues, admittedly), soccer fanzines outstripped all others formats. Popular music, nevertheless, continued to fuel many of the soccer fanzine titles and saturate much of the content of their pages—from articles on adaptation of pop songs to terrace chants to club songs marketed by, or on behalf of, the fans themselves. A low 'pop' sensibility is never far away in soccer fanzine literature. 'Post-fandom' is well illustrated here by the playfulness and jokey irony (sharp, vitriolic and passionate) of soccer fanzines. The highpoint of its cultural effect, however, as with the music/soccer crossover, is now long since past. Identifiable as the late 1980s/early 1990s 'moment' of low modernism in the streets, this summit inevitably also included—as in the mid-1990s—many examples of soccer fanzine writing which were downright

sexist, racist, homophobic and xenophobic. In 1996, a soccer novel by John King (1996; see also King, 1997), hailed by fellow writer Irvine Welsh as 'the best book…about football and working-class culture in Britain in the nineties', exemplified all these traits in the narrative of fictitious Chelsea hooligan Tom Johnson, unremitting in its portrayal of soccer culture as representing 'men behaving badly'. All of the stereotypes about soccer culture which the fanzine movement reacted against are writ large in King's book as if there had never been a diverse, vibrant and witty fanzine culture to deconstruct the original 1970s and early 1980s myths of football as *only* capable of appealing to the lowest possible cultural denominator. A decade after the Heysel disaster (soccer culture's nadir), it can feature as part of a piece of fiction where 'of course the scousers steamed in, but the dagos who were having a go…should take a bit of the blame'.

8

POST-CULTURE

This book has considered some of the aspects of the post-fan, post-youth, post-culture in which we find ourselves at the end of the millennium. Its stance, however, is less postmodern than 'post-postmodern'. Malcolm Bradbury (1995), mistaking the postmodern as an era, has argued:

> In other words, we are surely post-postmodern; but it will probably take the process of turning the clock of history into another century to make us start seeing what kind of epoch we might be pre.
>
> (Bradbury, 1995:39)

For Bradbury, it is global 'youth' and 'America' at the centre of this 'post-culture':

> the US [is] now the outright purveyor of post-culture to most of the world. Young people world-wide are already deeply invested in the consciousness and the competences of the new technological age. They are accustomed to surfing the Internet and acquiring their myths and imagery from a fast-speed screen-based world. Their alliance with local culture or national heritage is diminishing, and the power of culture as considered expression, or a form of thought, is replaced by its power as embracing visual image. The new technologies are also fundamentally non-elitist and communitarian; they weaken the power of the independent author (hence 'the death of the author' argument), the integrity of the human subject, the print-checked authority of the book.
>
> (1995:38–9)

Writers like Quentin Tarantino—significantly, writing for the cinema screen—have also been construed as 'post-postmodern' themselves (Tarantino, 1995):

> The point is that Tarantino is not so much a post-modern auteur as a post-post-modern one, for he is feverishly interested in pop-cultural artefacts and ideas (television, rock music, comics, and junk food, as well as movies) that themselves spring from earlier incarnations or

> have already been mediated or predigested. Because *Badlands* was made with *They Drive By Night, You Only Live Once, Gun Crazy,* and James Dean in mind, *True Romance* has a double frame of reference. In *Reservoir Dogs*—Tarantino's update on Stanley Kubrick's *The Killing* and/or Larry Cohen's Q—the pre-heist debate about the possible meanings of Madonna's 'Like A Virgin', as implausible as it is funny, is an anti-intellectual demystification of Madonna's much chewed-over status as a post-feminist icon in books like *Madonnarama: Essays on Sex and Popular Culture.* It's not Madonna that concerns Tarantino in this scene—but what Madonna has come to represent.
>
> (Tarantino, 1995:ix)

POST-POSTMODERNISM

The 'pulp theory' which I have developed to analyse the accelerated culture in this book has exuded a fascination not so much with soccer or sporting fan culture *per se,* but what such culture has come to represent in postmodern and hyperreal image-dominated global culture. 'Post'—culture is inextricably bound up with all the seductive debris of pop culture: music, TV, T-shirts, fashion, video, passionate fan journalism. But the 'game', including its history, is itself already mediated and pre-digested in these pop culture products: there is no 'real' unadulterated, directly experienced event or object. This process of representation has a history—albeit an accelerated one—so that, for instance, the 1950s and early 1960s are part of a pre-modern traditional age for the sport (Redhead, 1987) stretching back into the nineteenth century. The transition of 'soccer into pop' culture is symbolised—in Britain at least—by Merseyside 'ditties' from The Beatles and other pop songs chanted on The Kop at Anfield in the early 1960s (Kelly, 1993). A 'modernising' of soccer culture, as this book has demonstrated, is at the heart of the political and legal debates about culture and its 'postmodern' turn. I have conceived 'modernism' as tradition's successor and 'postmodernism' as a founding—and ever present—moment of modernism, *not* a period *after* modernism so, equally, post-postmodern is not meant to signify a 'period' after the postmodern. The evidence of the politics and jurisprudence of soccer culture in Britain is of a politics of a culture of 'defence' (see Haynes, 1995), often relying on calls to 'tradition'—witness the understandable but flawed supporters' campaigns to defend the 'right' to stand on the terraces in the wake of the Hillsborough disaster and the subsequent recommendations on all-seater stadia by Lord (Justice) Taylor (Taylor, 1989, 1990). However, the vociferous and increasingly articulate opponents of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, 1994, in so far as it affected soccer fans, organised on different terms. Football Fans Against the Criminal Justice Act (FFACJA) emerged as a pressure group responding to the taking of liberties previously exercised by law-abiding soccer supporters (see Slocombe, 1995; Osborn

and Greenfield, 1996) designed to fight on the terrain of 'civil rights' and citizenship in the context of modes of governance which exhibit 'panic law' (Redhead, 1995). The Football Supporters' Association (FSA) also moved to counter unjust arrests and stop-and-search infringements of civil liberties. A nation-wide network of solicitors with soccer knowledge in England and Wales was set up to help fans detained under the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, 1994. For the FSA, 'in some areas it seemed that being an away team supporter [was] sufficient grounds for arrest.'

I began an earlier book on post-youth post-fandom (Redhead, 1987) with a commentary—albeit ironic—on Bill Shankly's famous dictum about football and life and death. It is appropriate to include in this current book Shankly's less well known quotation about the politics of soccer culture (which adorns the Philosophy Football T-shirt of the player-manager):

> The socialism I believe in is everyone working for each other, everyone having a share of the rewards. It's the way I see football, it's the way I see life.

Soccer culture is much more often defined in terms of a rampant individualism. Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci argued—as quoted on his T-shirt in the Philosophy Football range—'Football is a model of individualistic society. It demands initiative, competition and conflict. But it is regulated by the unwritten rule of fair play'. In response to growing individualism in the 1990s, two of the icons noted in this present account of post-fan, post-youth culture, Diego Maradona and Eric Cantona, headed the creation in Paris in 1995 of the International Association of Professional Footballers, a world-wide players' union. The existing international organisation, FIFPRO, which includes the Professional Footballers Association (PFA) in England as well as players' associations in Uruguay, Portugal, Greece, Belgium, Holland, France and Italy, was not seen to be sufficiently international or thought likely to be effective enough in countering the growing global power of FIFA. The PFA, chaired by Gordon Taylor who is currently President of FIFPRO, rejoined the British Trades Union Council (TUC) in 1995 after leaving in 1972 after dispute over registration under the 1970–4 Conservative Government's industrial relations legislation. Pat Nevin, described by many in the 1980s (Redhead, 1987) as the first 'postmodern footballer' because of his eclectic, modern tastes in popular music as well as other art forms, was elected to chair the PFA in the mid-1990s. Nevin has been prominent, too, in the PFA sponsored campaign to 'Kick Racism Out of Football', a welcome underlining of the 'Tackle Racism' message in the T-shirt by Planet Football. Eric Cantona's court case was seen by some (Agozino, 1995) as a re-inscribing of racism in soccer culture since Cantona's protagonist had allegedly shouted 'French motherfucker' before the highly publicised kung-fu kick landed.

My account of *Football With Attitude* (Redhead, 1991b) at the beginning of the 1990s consisted of a blend of visual and written documents about the crossover between popular music, youth culture and soccer at the end of the twentieth century. Adorned with a 'pop art' cover, it did for soccer culture what The Beatles' *Sgt Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* did for popular culture in general in 1967. The book focused on the relationship between young supporter styles and pop music subcultures over the past 30 years. The idiosyncratic style of the book, illustrated and underscored by Richard Davis' black and white photographs and my research archive memorabilia, mixed the stream-of-consciousness writing of the Beats, pulp novels and post-punk fanzines with popular cultural theories from deep inside the academy. It drew the (not altogether praiseworthy) label 'a Desmond Morris for the 90s' from one hostile publication. For Dave Hill, author of a gripping account of soccer and racism (1989), it was '[a book] whose affectionate, photomontage design is deliberately consistent with the author's quest to produce a printed product in tune with its subject: the creation and consumption of a "culture of postmodern football". Science meets art in a veritable end-to-end read! Anecdote and analysis fight it out in an absorbing, high scoring draw! In the words of the song by I, Ludicrous: 'quite extraordinary'. One to slip through the turnstiles for.' For Jim McClellan in *i-D*, the author knew 'so much more…about the current state of play and the E-fuelled crossover between football and dance pop. Following pop theorists the Vermorels, his aim here is to write a book which reflects the fact that the fans are the most interesting participants in today's football culture.' Sarah Champion reviewing the book in the *Guardian* pointed out that:

> Youth cults need time and space to evolve. During the eighties, the terraces were the perfect place, the last place anyone thought to look. What better rebellion against the yuppie decade than scruffy laddishness: an unashamed celebration of sheer ugliness and low art, with cheap jeans, ridiculous sun hats, raw northern accents and loopy music…the book's main theme is that football is not only a sport, consumer product and political issue, but is also a lifestyle.

I quote these reviews not for self-aggrandisement (who really wants to be a Desmond Morris for the 90s?), but to stress the way in which academic (high) and low culture barriers have broken down. The publishers of *Football With Attitude* were unashamedly part of the 'trade' part of book publishing, having previously produced Champion's own pop account of how 'God created Manchester' music. Academic publishing, even by the time of Italia '90, was suspicious of the Popular Cultural Studies claim that soccer violence was not the only concomitant of soccer culture. Image-dominated, pulp cultural writing (full of lists, jokes, irony and polemic) was also an anathema to 'serious' publishing and news media, which was the very reason fanzine

culture started in the first place, especially in soccer. Inevitably, the academic system of referencing and copious footnotes were jettisoned in the pitching of *Football With Attitude* to Wordsmith's chosen target audience and media 'pluggers'.

What *Football With Attitude* markedly pointed out was the lasting influence of soccer casual culture. For Bea Campbell (1993), 'according to Steve Redhead, a passionate writer on football's fashions and popular culture, the phenomenon [of teenagers wearing designer casuals] is consumer-led not designer-led…the most important thing that the clothes were saying was "if you can't beat 'em, look as if you can"'. This 'new mod' sensibility in soccer fashions has been important since at least the late 1970s and achieved its nadir of connection to 'hardcore' hooligan violence in the mid-1980s (Redhead and McLaughlin, 1985). A supposed (largely) 'autobiographical' book on 'the shocking truth behind football violence' published in the mid-1990s (Brimson and Brimson, 1996a) named in a long list of hooligan soccer club based 'firms' many of those myself and others (Redhead, 1987; Redhead and McLaughlin, 1985) identified in the mid-1980s:

- Arsenal's Gooners
- Cambridge United's Cambridge Casuals
- Chelsea's Headhunters
- Leeds United's Service Crew
- Leicester City's Baby Squad
- Manchester City's Maine Line Service Crew and Guv'nors
- Manchester United's Inter-City Jibbers and Cockney Reds
- Millwall's Bushwackers and Treatment
- Portsmouth's 6:57 Crew
- Sheffield United's Blades Business Crew
- West Ham United's Inter-City Firm

Moreover, soccer casual rivalry is central to the dark and compelling portrayal of 1990s Edinburgh drugs, sex and violence youth culture in the writing of Irvine Welsh (Welsh, 1993, 1994, 1995). Interestingly, Welsh, who Vocally' collaborated with Primal Scream on the celebrated track from *The Beautiful Game* (the official various artists Euro '96 album released by RCA in May 1996), has admitted in interview (Hodge, 1996) that 'if you're being pedantic about it, you could say that it was set in Edinburgh between 1982 and 1988'. Welsh's own Hibernian FC fandom ('a fucking Hibee') led to him being arrested and jailed for the night in Glasgow in January 1996 at Partick Thistle's fixture with Hibernian. The cult film of Welsh's first novel (1993) features the iconography of Hibernian throughout. The book has myriad 'casual' asides about Hibs versus Hearts 'battles' and exhibits an ambivalent fascination about football talk, 'the international male language ay fitba'. Similarly, in his later collection of novella and short, nasty and brutish stories (1994) and,

particularly, his second novel (1995), Scottish soccer casual culture keeps recurring, especially in a chapter entitled 'Casuals'. It even finds its way into a 'science fiction' short story (Williamson, 1996) and *A Fault on the Line* in a collection of 'new Scottish writing' (Ritchie, 1996). In *Marabou Stork Nightmares*, Welsh writes ethnographically about the casualness of soccer casual hooliganism:

> I first met Lexo on the train from Glasgow Central to Motherwell. I was sitting with Dexy and Willie, out the road fae the top table and the top boys. This was my first away run with the cashies and I was determined to make an impression.
>
> Dexy and Willie had been running with the boys for a while, rising from the baby crew… I got intrigued enough to check out some of the vibes at the home games where you had a substantial casual visiting support, and this was only really games against Aberdeen and I became hooked on the adrenalin.
>
> It was when Aberdeen were down with a huge crew that I was first bitten…. Lexo went around the train giving a pep-talk.—Mind, nae cunt better shite oot. Remember, a cunt that messes is a cunt that dies. We're the hardest crew in Europe. We dinnae fuckin run. Mind. We dinnae fuckin run.
>
> (Welsh, 1995:133)

These are still 'Thatcher's boys' as Popular Cultural Studies has christened them elsewhere (Redhead, 1987, 1997a). Pop writer and cultural critic Jon Savage (1996) notes, in the context of the heroin (ab)users who populate the writings of Irvine Welsh, what is obvious to the reader is 'the headlong rush to self-obliteration and self-interest of Welsh's opportunistic, high consumption junkie scum—children of Thatcher all'. The 'authoritative guides' to such youth culture are now overwhelmingly novels and films rather than sociological treatises (see Redhead, 1995, especially chapter 6), although as Savage says 'the history of youth culture—whether teds, beats, mods, hippies, skins, punks, ravers—is bound in with criminology'.

Certainly, as noted in Chapter 1 of this book, discourses on soccer hooliganism have proliferated at the very time that the phenomenon itself appeared to have disappeared from public (media) view at least in Britain, if not in other parts of continental Europe (Redhead, 1991a). Prior to the 1996 European Championships in England, Pearson New Entertainment, makers of an earlier video called *Trouble on the Terraces*, controversially released a video on 'soccer rowdies' entitled *Hooligan* 96. After earlier suspension of the production of the video, the company claimed its footage of hooligan flash-points over the last two decades would be seen as 'a balanced, intelligent documentary which explores the issues of European soccer hooliganism'.

Its critics launched an attack on the video makers for claiming that the battle for supremacy between European hooligans for the title of 'top firm of the tournament' would be the major focus of the event. The 'cultural' aspects of the wider context of hooliganism which the first chapter introduced have indeed become increasingly global and intertwined with a postmodernising tendency to mediatise, eroticise and aestheticise events and social practices—especially sport, youth culture and fandom.

MILLENNIAL MEN

The complex set of constructions and divisions on the domain and the terrain of soccer culture are just as likely to be sexual as social. Anthony King has argued (1995) that 'normal' (male) fans are distinguished in chants/songs from the 'abnormal' fans who are 'homosexuals and masturbators'; gay culture retaliates that (soccer) hooligans are almost exclusively heterosexual (as Peter Tatchell, gay rights campaigner, argued in a letter to the *Guardian* in 1995). Ecstasy use, as Mark Gilman argues (in Saunders, 1995), undoubtedly contributed to a mellowing of soccer supporter culture (Redhead, 1991b) in the early 1990s, although a swing 'back to alcohol and, for the first time, cocaine' by the mid-1990s meant potentially a return to trouble because 'coke's a selfish drug and alcohol goes with violence'. The waning effects of Ecstasy culture on soccer violence (less pure Ecstasy on the streets, individual user 'overuse' causing a search for polydrug experiences, and so on) have coincided with the rise and rise of 'New Lad' and 'Ladette' (Moore, 1996) or 'Babe' culture. 'Ladworld' shuns feminism and homosexuality like the plague. It is a world constructed around 'men talking about things they like ("tits, beer and football") which for a while in the mid-1980s they weren't allowed to', according to David Baddiel along with fellow comedian, Frank Skinner, presenter of the New Lad television show *Fantasy Football League* (Redding, 1995). Suzanne Moore (1996) in an article on the problems of 'Babes with Attitude' stresses the 'fantasy' element in lad culture:

> The girls in your class may be cleverer than you, the prospect of employment may be shrinking but you can still get it up even if you can't get a job.

The rise of the New Lad—or 'Millennium Man'[1]—as a figment of the advertising, marketing and popular culture industry's overactive imagination is a significant factor in the 1990s. British television is awash with 'laddish' programmes: *Never Mind the Buzzcocks* and *They think It's All Over* (music and sports quiz programmes) and sitcoms like *Men Behaving Badly*, for instance. 'New Laddism'—whether new or not—is certainly connected both to the changing, wider context of soccer hooliganism as well as various diverse fans' resistance movements. The process of modernity is integrally

related to a changing gender identity. Soccer culture, especially in Britain, is one of the last bastions of masculinity and the advertising of the game to the 'New Woman' (Lindsey, 1996) is a mere scratching of its surface. As Emma Lindsey has argued:

> Although football has cleaned up its act in the past 10 years—getting rid of its hooligans and installing ladies lavs—it's not enough for the thinking woman. A visit to the West Ham United ground affords a view of uncensored maleness. In great droves they stream down the thoroughfare to Upton Park, tanked up with chips or a 'hot vindi'. It's like primate bonding on a massive scale—an army of football soldiers bound by the pack spirit. 'Iron John' could have been written here, where you could see man at his most Neanderthal. The stench of fried onions, mingled with a faint whiff of urine, heralds one of the last bastions of masculinity. 'It's all changed now, of course,' said one bloke. 'In the old days you would wet yourself where you stood rather than fight your way through the terraces to get to the loo.' Well, that's progress.

In post-culture, Foucault's notion of sexuality as a domain in modernity is surpassed. We are 'post-sexual' in this sense; sexuality has traversed its own boundaries. As Richard Collier (1996) points out in an era when 'the behaviour of "straight white men" has been increasingly problematised', we are increasingly probing the contours of 'post-heterosexuality', looking at the responses of men to the challenges of 'feminist, gay, lesbian and queer critiques of heterosexuality'. In post-culture, everything is sexualised, eroticised and desired. 'Normal'/'Queer' divisions have to some extent collapsed. As Mark Simpson argues, 'homosexuality is such a preoccupation of the 1990s because heterosexuality is in such a bad way'. For Simpson, 'homosexuality has left its closet, but instead of the streets it has headed straight for the media' and the 'system of prohibitions and proscriptions that cluster around heterosexuality no longer provides people with the reassurances they expected in return for obedience'. 'New Laddism' is for Simpson a counter-part to 'lesbian chic' for men in Britain:

> The fashion for celebrating manliness, which began in the late eighties as a masculinist reaction to the female-dominated, wimpish 'new man' (usually pictured holding babies), has unwittingly blurred the distinction, as important as it was incoherent, between an interest in manly things and an interest in men. Just as lesbian chic was used by straight women to celebrate a female sexuality independent of men, New Lad celebrates a male sexuality not dependent on women (unless they are decorative 'babes' who look like transsexuals).
>
> (Simpson, 1994:8)

Further, Simpson adds:

> In an era of New Lad chic, football features in men's style magazines extolling the aestheticism of the game and televised national cry-ins over the death of football heroes like Matt Busby, the Beautiful Game is simultaneously—alarmingly now and reassuringly yesterday—a masculine fashion accessory and a return to a better, more authentic time when 'men were men' and they became 'legends'…the marvellous irony in all this is that 'real' football no longer exists—football is just an apparition of images controlled by TV companies…. Like the game they follow, the 'real' fan and the 'old' lad are anachronisms. Even the grounds are now being turned into living rooms: all-seater covered stadia are soon to be the norm.
>
> (Simpson, 1994:8)

The fact is that, for Simpson, popular culture in general is increasingly 'father' to the man:

> Gay or straight, more and more boys are being 'fathered' by popular culture—the telly, cinema, video games, pop music—and look for their masculine identity not through imitating Dad but in wearing commodities advertised through that medium that 'accessorise' masculinity: Nike trainers as worn by Ryan Giggs, jeans as worn by James Dean.
>
> (Simpson, 1994:11–12)

Soccer in image-dominated popular culture, particularly the massively expanding soccer-related media, is 'somewhere masculine for men to escape to and the sight of men doing manly things together—all from the comfort of their armchair'. However, in Simpson's reactionary, sexist view it is 'at least one thing women will never be able to do properly—or likely to want to'. Sport is certainly an arena for sexist culture in the 1990s as never before. Former American basketball player Mariah Burton Nelson (speaking about American football especially) claims with some legitimacy that 'the stronger women get, the more men love football' (Nelson, 1996). Undoubtedly, too, (association) football is more and more the 'man's game', despite the number of girls and women taking up the sport as participants. Fan surveys constantly emphasise the dominance of white males as fans despite increasing evidence of women attending matches. Women writers and researchers into soccer culture are still a tiny minority and frequently marginalised. Even though women have written for—and edited—fanzines and soccer magazines, the vast majority of *Match of the Day*, *4–2–4*, *Total Football*, *Goal* and the thousands of soccer fanzines (see Appendix 1) are written by men for men.

NEXT CENTURY'S MODEL

What is it then that soccer, law and (post-)fandom can tell us about the regulation of post-youth, post-culture? Two previous models of regulation are undoubtedly flawed. The first is the juridic model, where law—as an instrument of power—regulates (in fact, represses) popular culture. This model is that effectively criticised by Foucault. Foucault, applying law to sexuality, dismisses the 'repressive hypothesis' in favour of an 'incitement to discourse'. This disciplinary model has sexuality as a domain whose contours are policed or 'disciplined' by law and other forms of regulation. In replacing 'sexuality' with 'popular culture' in this disciplinary model in earlier work, I have suggested a framework for the understanding of legal and social regulation of youth and popular culture. In later work (Redhead, 1995) and the present book, I have explored the implications of some of the writings of Baudrillard (and Virilio) which teach us to 'forget Foucault'. The implications of this for the earlier two models, the juridic and the disciplinary, are that they are both redundant. A third possibility arises which may be more fruitful (Redhead, 1995), where legal and other regulation of popular culture as a domain is complemented—through the tendency for law to disappear into popular culture—by popular cultural regulation of law. Soccer hooliganism, for one recent textbook on crime, media and post-modernism:

> is of course one of these spirals that seem to have no limit to the forms of media spin available, oddly enough for such a minority activity it has been extensively analysed by academics and itself forms a subspecies of crime and media theory…the analysis of football hooliganism has reached epidemic proportions. There have been at least nine books published since mid-1994 in Britain, these relating to a problem that involves a few thousand individuals (males) at most. But media coverage, because it is already established as a discourse of paranoia, constantly amplifies the events.
>
> (Kidd-Hewitt and Osborne, 1995:41–7)

Soccer hooliganism, of course, is an excellent example for writers on crime and postmodernism to cite. Even formally there is no such thing as 'real' soccer hooliganism. As I have stressed forcefully elsewhere (Redhead, 1991a), soccer hooliganism is the foremost instance of a 'label' (like 'mugging', for example) which has no innate content, and is in any case used to refer to such disparate categories of transgressions against criminal law codes, sporting authority administrative rules and social conventions that it is hardly capable of referring to a 'referent' at all. By surfing the 1990s post-culture—DJ playlists, Italia '90 and USA '94 global sports events, the proliferation of soccer fanzines, clubcultures and litpop' and the soccerati—this book has gone further to chart the disappearance of soccer hooliganism into popular fan and media

culture. The accounts in this book show that the millennial blues is a late twentieth-century cultural condition where the media is more and more 'real'(istic)—hyperreal or post-real—and yet there seems to be less and less a 'real' referent to which it refers. It refers (self-referentially) to itself as if 'media culture' is all that there is. Hopefully, this book also demonstrates that that this is not quite (yet) completely the case.

APPENDIX 1

A–Z OF SOCCER FANZINES

Before Heysel in the 1984–1985 season, when *Sing When You're Winning* (Redhead, 1987)—echoing the 'Heysel, Hesyel 85' chant and the fascination with violence in media hyperreality—was written, there were a mere handful of fanzines in the soccer fan field. It is now possible to list thousands of sports-related fanzines (mainly soccer and almost all emanating from Britain and Ireland) which have existed at one time or another. In many ways, it is the very existence of soccer fanzines on such a scale and involving such diverse viewpoints which is noteworthy. The alphabetical list which constitutes this Appendix is a master list of all soccer fanzines so far (mid-1990s) produced, many now defunct. Just reading the titles should be enough to convince the reader that something different is going on, but the idea of a list is itself important as it has been used to create and sustain a post-youth, post-fan culture around soccer for the last decade. As the *Guardian* put it in November 1995: 'the various zine titles are still better shop windows of creativity…than the blind-spot obsessiveness of the contributors'. This list is the most up-to-date and most comprehensive at the time of writing compiled from the Unit for Law and Popular Culture regulation of fandom research, including as it does past and present publications and, as Peter Seddon (1995) notes, helps to underline the popularisation of 'the term fandom as a description of the cult and culture of supportership and its crossover with other elements of modern society'. For extracts from the 'best of the soccer fanzines each year, see *Survival of the Fattest* published by Red Card Publishing, London. As an example of accelerated popular culture, new fanzines will already have been produced (and quite possibly come to an end) since the compilation of this A-Z list and its printing by the publisher.

The Abbey Rabbit (Cambridge United)
The Absolute Game (general Scottish soccer)
Addickted (Charlton Athletic)
Against The Tide (women and football)
Alas Smith and Smith (Sunderland and Newcastle)
The Albion Chronicle (West Bromwich Albion)

Alive and Kicking (soccer in the USA)
The Alive and Kicking Fanzine (general soccer)
Alk Echo (German soccer)
All Day and All of the Night (Liverpool)
All Ears (radio sport, especially BBC Radio 5)
All Stoked Up (Stoke City)
Allez Allez (French soccer)
The Almighty Brian (Nottingham Forest)
Almost a Chance (West Bromwich Albion)
Alotta Balls (general Scottish soccer)
ALS (independent Sunderland supporters magazine)
Alternative Kilbowie Komment (Clydebank fans)
Alternative Mansfield Matters (Mansfield fans)
Alternative Queen's Speech (Queen of the South)
The Alternative Supporter (Sutton United)
The Alternative Ulster (general Northern Ireland soccer)
Alternative Uxbridge (Uxbridge)
Always Look on the Bright Side (general London soccer)
Always See Him in the Lamb on a Saturday Night (Colchester United)
Always The Bridesmaid (Hearts)
The Amber and Black (Wokingham Town)
And Now You're Gonna Believe Us (Mo Johnston)
And Smith Must Score! (Brighton and Hove Albion)
And Then There Was One (Pontlottyn Blast Furnace)
Andy The Aardvark's Pub Guide to Norwich (pub guide to Norwich)
Andyana Jones and the Valley Crusade (Charlton Athletic)
Another Kind of Blues (Inverness Caledonians)
Another Wasted Corner (Liverpool)
Any Old Iron? (Scunthorpe United)
Archie! Archie! What's The Score? (general Scottish soccer)
Arconada… Armstrong (Northern Ireland)
Are You Sitting Comfortably? (soccer in the South East)
Arsenal Echo Echo (Arsenal)
Arsenal in the Eighties (Arsenal)
Ashby Anecdotes (Lincoln United)
At The Near Post (Supermarine)
Attack (Enfield) *Attack!* (Norwich City)
The Attacker (Hibs)
Aussie Bees Review (Brentford)
Avon Calling (Avon area Football Supporters Association)
Avon Soccerworld (soccer in Avon)
AWOL (Meadowbank Thistle)
Aye Aye Rhubarb Pie (Bradford Park Avenue)
Aye Monotonous (Hibs)
Aye Ready (Rangers)
Ayresome Angel (Middlesbrough)
The Back Page (Fantasy football)
BAD (Birmingham City)
Bailey is Back-Again (Fareham Town)
Balls (general soccer)
Bamber's Right Foot (Torquay United)
Banging With Manning (Slough Town)

The Banker (Lincoln City)
The Barber's Pole (Accrington Stanley)
The Barnet Buzz (Barnet)
BASIL (Blackpool)
Bayview Bulletin (East Fife)
Beachy's Head (Tunbridge Wells)
The Beanos (Stirling Albion)
Beat About the Bush (Queen's Park Rangers)
Beaunanza (Birmingham City)
Beau's Bulletin (Birmingham City)
The Beautiful Barclay (Norwich City)
Bee-Line (Basildon United)
Bee-sotted (Brentford)
The Beloved (Dundee)
Bernard of the Bantams (Bradford City and general soccer)
Bert Trautmann's Helmet (Manchester City)
The Better Half (Notts County)
Better Red Than Dead (Portadown)
Better Than Sex (Swansea City)
Between The Lions (Aston Villa)
Beyond the Boundary (Oldham Athletic)
Beyond The 843 (Scarborough)
Big One Hans! (Wimbledon)
Billy's Boots (Chelmsford City)
Bishop, 3–1 (Witton Albion)
Black and Red All Over (Manchester United)
Black and White (Newcastle United)
Blackburn Reds (Manchester United)
The Blades (Sheffield United district supporters club)
Blaue Stunde (Greek soccer)
Blazing Saddlers (Walsall)
Bloomer Shoots, Shilton Saves (Derby County history)
Blow Football (general soccer)
The Blue and White (Isle of Wight Pompey supporters club magazine)
The Blue and White Wizard (Sheffield Wednesday)
Blue and Whites Telegraph (Blackburn Rovers)
Blue and Wight (Portsmouth)
The Blue Arrow (Ipswich Town)
The Blue Brazilian (Cowdenbeath)
The Blue Eagle (Colchester United)
Blue: for the Love of Ipswich (Ipswich Town)
Blue For You (Linfield)
Blue News 'n' Views (Cardiff City)
Blue Print (Linfield)
Blue Print (Manchester City)
Blue Wail (Everton)
Bluebird Jones (Cardiff City)
The Bluebird Magazine (Cardiff City)
The Blues Brothers (Chelsea, Linfield and Rangers)
Blues News (Croydon)
Blues News (Southend United)
Bluesman (Frickley Athletic)

Boardbuster (Newcastle United)
Bobbing Along (Cardiff City)
Bob's Finger (Subbuteo)
Boddle, Taking The Wednesday Into Insanity (Sheffield Wednesday)
The Boleyn Scorcher (West Ham United)
The Banker (merged with *Deranged Ferret,* Lincoln City)
Born Kicking ('Women who love football')
Bossa Nova Baby (Millwall)
Boundary Bulletin (Oldham Athletic)
The Boys Done Well (Hearts)
Boy's Own (soccer and music clubs)
Brandyballs (Derry City)
Bread 'n' Boro (Middlesbrough)
The Brecon Road Beat (Merthyr Tydfil)
Brentford Supporter (Brentford)
Brian Moore's Head Looks Uncannily Like London Planetarium(Gillingham and general Kent soccer)
Bring Back The Green (South Tyneside soccer)
Bring On A Sub (Telford United)
Bring The Noise (Swindon Town)
Bristol Soccerworld (Bristol and Avon soccer)
The Brown Bottle (Bangor)
The Brunton Roar (Carlisle United)
The Buffie (Kilwinning Rangers)
The Bugle (Morton)
Bullseye (Hereford United)
Bully's Boots, Beers and Burgers (Wolverhampton Wanderers)
BUM (Birmingham soccer)
The Bumpkin Report (Bristol City)
The Bureau (non-League soccer)
The Butcher's Apron (Ards)
Buzztalk (Barnet)
By Far The Greatest Team (Fanzine reviews)
By The Swords United (Manchester United)
C-Stander (Derby County)
The Cage To The Jungle (Celtic and Cliftonville)
Calling All Comrades (Ballyclare Comrades)
Can I Bring My Dog? (Dundee United)
(Can You Hear Us) On The Box (Arsenal)
The Canary (Norwich City)
Capital Canaries (Norwich City)
Capital Gills (Gillingham)
Capital Soccer Review (London area soccer)
The Cappielow Bugle (Morton)
The Cardinal Sin (Woking)
Carefree (Chelsea)
Carlton, Carlton (Wimbledon)
The Casbah (Cliftonville)
CAT (Sunderland)
The Celt (Celtic)
Celtic United News (Celtic and Manchester United)
Central Heating (Plymouth Argyle)

Chairboys Gas (Wycombe Wanderers)
Champion (general soccer)
Champion Hill Street Blues (Dulwich Hamlet)
The Champions (Elgin City)
Cheat! (Sheffield Wednesday)
Cheers (Meadowbank Thistle)
Chelsea Blue (Chelsea)
Chelsea Calling (Chelsea)
Chelsea Chat (Chelsea)
Chelsea Collector (Chelsea)
Chelsea Independent (Chelsea)
The Chelsea Reports (Chelsea)
Cherries In Portugal (Bournemouth)
The Chess Set (Chesham United)
The Chimes (Portsmouth)
China's (Dalry Thistle)
Chirp! (Hitchin town)
Christmas Something (Matlock Town)
The Citizen (Norwich City)
City Gent (Bradford City)
City Life (Salisbury City)
The City Set (Manchester City)
The Cityzen (Norwich City)
The Cityzen (Manchester City)
Clap Your Hands Stamp Your Feet (Watford)
Claret and Blue Review (Burnley)
Claret and Booze (Colwyn Bay)
Claret Whine (Chelmsford City)
A Close Shave (Bangor)
Club Chat (Hitchin Town)
Club Soccer (non-League)
Clyde-o-scope (Clyde)
The Clyde Underground (Clyde)
Clydebank Historian (Clydebank)
Clydebank Monthly (Clydebank)
Cock-a-doodle-do: Lilywhite and Blue (Spurs)
The Cockney Latic (Wigan Athletic)
Cockney Rebel (Chelsea)
The Codhead (Fleetwood Town)
Combinations Reserved (Chelsea)
Come Back Bill Asprey (Stoke City)
Come On Dagenham Use Your Forwards! (Dagenham)
Come On Feel The Wanderers (Bolton Wanderers)
Come On You Rovers (Tranmere Rovers)
Come On You Yellows! (Warrington Town)
Corpus Christie (Morecambe)
The Cottager (Fulham)
County Calling! (Stockport County)
A Couple Of Pints and a Sing Song (Birmingham City)
Cover The Grange (Cardiff City)
Cowshed Blues (Billericay Town)
Cray Chatter (Cray Wanderers)

Crazy Home (general soccer)
The Crooked Spireite (Chesterfield)
Cross Rhodes (Bishop Stortford)
Crossbar (Leeds United)
Crown Jewels (Accrington Stanley)
Crying Time Again (Hamilton Academicals)
Cula Review (Manchester United and Celtic)
The Cumberland Sausage (Carlisle United)
CUSC News (Carlisle United)
The Dagger (Dagenham)
The Dagger Magazine (Dagenham)
The Dalymount Road (Bohemian)
The Dark Blues (Rochdale)
Das World Cup Zine (1990 World Cup)
Dead Ball (Hearts)
Dear John (Partick Thistle)
Deepdale Digested (Preston North End)
Deepdale Rudge (Preston North End)
Dens Scene (Dundee)
De-Pleated (Luton Town)
Derry Rumba (Dundee)
Devalued (Southampton)
Diable Rouge (Belgian soccer)
Dial M For Merthyr (Merthyr Tydfil)
A Different Corner (Gateshead)
Do The Ayatollah (Cardiff City)
The Donkey's Tale (Gillingham)
Dons Outlook (Wimbledon)
Don't Get Sucked In (Sunday League)
Don't Just Stand There (general East Midlands soccer)
Don't Panic (general London soccer)
Don't You Point At Me (Runcorn)
The Donut (Leyton Orient)
Doon By Gorgie (Hearts)
Dover Soul (Dover Athletic)
Down The Lane (Bromley)
Down The Pan (Worcester City)
Down The Park (Portsmouth)
Down The Slope (Hibs)
A Dream Too Far? (North Allerton Town)
Dreaming of An Eric Twigg Pukka Pie (Rotherham United)
The Dribble (Scottish soccer)
Dribble (Ipswich Town)
Drink Up ye Cider (Yeovil Town)
The Drop (Charlton Athletic and Crystal Palace)
The Dud (Swansea City)
The Duffle (Stenhousemuir)
Dully Misses Again (Shelbourne)
Dwy Droed Chwith (general Welsh language soccer)
Dynamo's News (Worthing)
Each Game As It Comes (general soccer)
Eagle Eye (Crystal Palace)

East End Bounce (Dunfermline Athletic)
East End Connection (West Ham United)
Eastern Eagles Fanzine (Crystal Palace)
Echoes From Old Trafford (Manchester United)
Editors Foot (Tonbridge)
*Eh Mind O'Gillie (*Dundee)
Eighteen Hours From Rotterdam (Manchester United)
Electric Blue (Manchester City)
Elfmeter (general German soccer)
Ellis Out! (Aston Villa)
Elm Park Disease (Reading)
Elm Park News (Reading)
The Elmslie Ender (Wealdstone)
The End (general soccer and music)
End 2 End (non-League)
End To End (National Federation of Supporters Clubs)
Enigma (Aldershot)
Erin Go Bragh (Republic of Ireland)
The Escaped Horse (Thornton Dale)
The Ethnics (Moor Green)
European Football (general European soccer)
The Evergreen (Plymouth)
The Evertonian (Everton)
Every Man A Football Artist (Kilkenny City)
The Exe-Directory (Exeter City)
Exiled! (Bournemouth)
The Exploding Latics Inevitable (Oldham Athletic)
The Expression She Pulled (general soccer and music)
The Eyes of the Kop (Sheffield Wednesday)
F Stands for Linfield (Linfield)
Faithful Through and Through (Celtic)
Falkirk and District Newsletter (Dundee United)
The Falkirk Unofficial Fanzine (Falkirk)
The Famous Number Nine (Newcastle United)
Fanseye (general soccer)
Fan Treff (German soccer)
Fanzine Classics (general soccer)
Fanzine Collector (fanzine collection)
Fanzine Monthly (fanzines)
Far From A Madding Crowd (Shildon)
Farewell To (Dagenham)
Fearful Symmetry (Hull City)
Feetham's Fanfare (Darlington)
Ferry Cross the Wensum (Norwich City)
Field of Dreams (Herne Bay)
53 Miles West of Venus (Preston North End)
Fightback! (Bradford Park Avenue)
Filbo Fever (Leicester City)
A Fine City (Norwich City)
The Final Hurdle (Dundee United)
Fingerpost (West Bromwich Albion)
Fired Up For The 90s (Clapton)

Five Jam Parts (Hearts)
5573 (Sunderland)
Five to Three (general soccer, especially Welsh clubs)
Flair's Back in Fashion (England)
Flashing Blade (Sheffield United)
Fleck Again (Norwich City)
Flickin and Kickin (Notts County and Subbuteo)
Flippin' Heck Ref, That Was A Foul Surely (Waterlooville)
Floodlight (Colchester United)
Floodlight (Weymouth)
The Floppy Dick (West Bromwich Albion Strollers)
Fly Me To The Moon (Middlesbrough)
The Flying Magpie (Newcastle United)
Follow Follow (Rangers)
Follow The Yellow Brick Road (Mansfield)
Follow Your Instinct (Halesowen Town)
Fools Gold (Maidstone United)
Foot and Mouth (soccer catering)
Football and Fiesta (general European soccer)
Football Krazy (general humour)
The Football Liar (Scottish soccer in the 1950s)
Football Magazine (soccer history)
Football North (Northern England soccer)
The Football Pink (gay and lesbian football supporters)
Football Supporter (general soccer, Football Supporters Association)
Football Utopia (general South East London soccer)
Footie (general soccer)
For Ever and Ever (Glentoran)
Forever and the Day (Burnley)
For Fox Sake (Carlisle United)
For Fox Sake (Leicester City)
For It's A Grand Old Team (Coleraine)
Forest Forever (Nottingham Forest)
The Forest Tree (Nottingham Forest)
The Forester (Nottingham Forest)
Forever Amber (Boston United)
Fortune's Always Hiding (West Ham United)
Forza! (Italian soccer)
Foul (general soccer)
Foul (incorporating *The Mousse*, Waterlooville)
The Foundation Stone (Maidstone United)
400 Yards (Nottingham Forest and Notts County)
4000 Holes (Blackburn Rovers)
4–1 (Ayr United)
The Fox (Leicester City)
The Foxy Ferret (Carlisle United)
Frankly Speaking (Leyton Orient)
Frattonize (Portsmouth)
Freakscene (Dundee United)
Friday Night Fever (Tranmere Rovers)
From Behind Your Fences (Boston United)
From Berwick to Dumfries (general Scottish soccer)

From Home to Home (Shellbourne)
From Hull To Eternity (Hull City)
From London to Manchester (general soccer)
From The Grove to the Harrow (Berwick Rangers)
From The Nursery (Celtic)
Fulton 1–0 (Pollock Juniors)
Further Too (general soccer and music)
Furz (German soccer)
Gaaaarrgghh! (general soccer)
Game For a LAFF (Librarians As Football Fans)
Gandermonium (Sutton United)
Garibaldi (Nottingham Forest)
The Gashead (Bristol Rovers)
Gatecrashing (Margate)
Get A Grip (Teesside Football Supporters Association)
Get A Grip Ref (Scunthorpe United)
Get Into Them (general soccer)
Get Laurence On! (Basingstoke Town)
The Ghost of United (Hastings Town)
The Giant Awakes (Newcastle United)
The Gibbering Clairvoyant (Dumbarton)
Gifts Is Up (Stevenage Borough)
Give 'Em Beans! (Barrow)
Give Us an R (Tranmere Rovers)
Glasgow Arab News Rag (Dundee United)
Glass Routes (Stourbridge)
Glenmalure Gazette (Shamrock Rovers)
The Glentoran Gazette (Glentoran)
The Globe (general soccer and music)
The Globe (Cambridge United)
Go Away (Gillingham)
Go, Jo, Go! (Wimbledon)
Goal (general Scottish soccer in the 1960s)
Goalden Cockerel (Spurs)
Going It Alone (Football League)
Going Up? (Morecambe)
Golden Days (Maidstone United)
The Goldstone Road (Brighton and Hove Albion)
Gone To The Dogs (Canterbury City)
Gonzo (Preston North End)
The Good, the Bad and the Ugly (Hearts)
Goodbye Horse (Charlton Athletic)
The Goodison Roar (Everton)
The Gooner (Arsenal)
Gorgie Granite News (Hearts)
The Gorgie View (Hearts)
Gorgie Wave (Hearts)
Gradi Rag (Crewe Alexandra)
The Granite Kipper (Aberdeen)
Grapevine (Wimbledon)
Grass Is Always Greener (Sittingbourne)
Grassroots (non-League)

The Gravedigger (Hearts)
The Greasy Chip Buttie (Sheffield United)
The Greatest City (Portsmouth)
Green and White (St Patricks)
The Green Piece (Plymouth Argyle)
Griffin News (Brentford)
Groin Strain (general London soccer)
Grorty Dick (West Bromwich Albion)
Ground Hopper (non-League)
The Groundhopper's Journal (non-League)
Grow Up Greavsie (general soccer)
Guide to Non Member Areas (Football Supporters Association)
The Gullible Gull Post (Torquay United)
The Gull's Cry (Torquay United)
Gull's Ear (Brighton and Hove Albion)
Gull's Eye (Brighton and Hove Albion)
A Gull's View (Weston Super Mare)
Gunflash (Arsenal)
The Gunner's Post (Arsenal)
Gwladys Sings The Blues (Everton)
The Gypsy (Bohemians)
Hail Hail (Celtic)
Hailstones (Maidstone United)
Halb Zeit (German soccer)
Half Mag Half Biscuit (Newcastle United)
Half Magpie Half Biscuit (Newcastle United)
Half Past Four and We're Two-Nil Down (Dundee)
The Hand of God (England)
Hang 'Em Up (Macclesfield Town)
Hang Loose (general soccer)
Hanging on the Telephone (Huddersfield Town)
The Hanging Sheep (Leeds United)
The Happy Haddock (Fraserburgh)
The Harbour Rat (Larne)
Hard Lines (general Scottish soccer in the 1980s)
Hardaker Rides Again (general soccer)
HASH (Hamilton Academical)
The Hatter (Luton Town)
Head Lions (Transport Lions)
Head The Ball (general Irish soccer)
Heartbeat (Hearts)
Hearts Review (Hearts)
Hearts (Stat) Attack (Hearts)
The Hearts Supporter (Hearts)
The Heathen (Birmingham City)
Hefty Challenge (general soccer)
Hell Fire Club (Manchester United)
Hello Albert (Chester City)
Here We Go Again (Bolton Wanderers)
Hereford Bull (Hereford United)
Heroes and Villains (Aston Villa)
He's Not Danny Grady (Crewe Alexandra)

Hey Big Spender (Derby County)
Hibby Hippies Greatest Hits (Hibs)
Hibees Here, Hibees There (Hibs)
The Hibernian (Hibs)
Hibs Kids (Hibs)
Hibs Monthly (Hibs)
Hibs OK? (Hibs)
The Highbury Wizard (Arsenal)
The Hill (Ferryhill Athletic)
Hit The Bar (general soccer, especially North West)
The Holy Trinity (Aston Villa)
Home Alone (West Ham United)
The Home of Football (Arthurlie)
Homeward Bound (Newport)
The Honest Truth (Ayr United)
Hoof The Ball Up? (Wimbledon)
Hoops Supporters Club Newsletter (Shamrock Rovers)
Hoops Upside Your Head (Shamrock Rovers)
Hopper Tunities (non-League)
The Horn (Watford)
The Hornet Express (Watford)
The Hornet News (Watford)
Hotshots (Aldershot)
Huish Roar (Yeovil Town)
Hull, Hell and Happiness (Hull City)
Hyde Hyde What's The Score? (Preston North End)
IASA News (Arsenal)
I Can Drive A Tractor (Norwich City)
If Things Were Perfect (Aberdeen)
An Imperfect Match (Arsenal and general European soccer)
Imps Supporters Club Official Magazine (Lincoln City)
In At The Deep End (Poole Town)
In Black and White (Stafford Rangers)
In Defence (Enfield)
Independent View (Manchester United)
In Exile (Exeter City)
In League with The Devils (Manchester United)
Interesting Very Interesting (Derby County)
In The City (York City)
In The Loft (Queen's Park Rangers)
Intifada (Cardiff City)
In Touch (North Wales and West Cheshire Football Supporters Association)
The Irish Roar (Celtic and Ireland)
Iron Filings (Scunthorpe United)
Is It Red (general soccer)
It's a Thinking Man's Game (football quizzes)
It's an Easy One for Norman (Sunderland)
It's Grim Up North (general soccer)
It's Not Unusual (general Welsh soccer)
It's Spartans v Arsenal If (Blyth Spartans)
The Ivor Thirst Good Pub Guide Vol 1 (where to drink on footballing travels: the Midlands)

The Ivor Thirst Good Pub Guide Vol 2 (where to drink on footballing travels: the North West)
The Jack (Swansea City)
Jackmail (Swansea City)
The Jag Mag (East Kilbride Thistle)
The Jagazine (Partick Thistle)
The Jam Piece (Hearts) *Jambo* (Hearts)
Japan Soccer (Japanese J League)
Jesus Was A Windsor Fan (Windsor and Eton)
Jibberer (Huntsmann Inn)
Jihad (general soccer)
Jim's Bald Heed (Newcastle United)
John Wickens on the Wagon (Margate)
The Johnny Flood Experience (Partick Thistle)
The Jolly Green Giant Armchair Fanzine (general soccer)
The Jolly Green Giants (Runcorn)
The Jolly Potter (Stoke City)
Journey to the Unknown (Billingham Synthonia)
Jungle Drums (Celtic)
Junior Blues News (Manchester City)
The Junior Martyr (Merthyr Tydfil)
Junk Mail (Southampton)
Just a Quick Word Lads Please (Leeds United)
The Just After Christmas Cracker (Hednesford Town)
Just Another Wednesday (Sheffield Wednesday)
The K Stand (Manchester United)
Keep Off The Fence (Matlock Town)
Kick Bollock and Bite (Leyton Wingate)
Kick Off (women and soccer)
Kick 0ff (Drogheda United)
A Kick Up the R's (Queen's Park Rangers)
Killie Ken (Kilmarnock)
King of the Kippax (Manchester City)
Kleeblatt Spezial (general German soccer)
The Kopite (Liverpool)
Krooner Zine (Camberley Town)
Lacey's Ledger (Dudley Town)
The Lad Done Brilliant (general Soccer)
Lambs to The Slaughter (Hendon)
The Lancaster Town and City Historian (Lancaster City)
A Large Scotch (Shrewsbury Town)
The Last Line of Defence (Elgin City)
The Last Minute Corner (general soccer)
Last Train to Rolfe Street (West Bromwich Albion)
Late And Lost (Bilston Town)
The Latic Fanatic (Wigan Athletic)
Le Chic (Clydebank)
Lennie Lawrence (Charlton Athletic)
Les Bence-Manager's Notes (general humour)
Let's Get Talking (non-League)
Leyton Orientear (Leyton Orient)
Libero (general Italian soccer)

Light At The End of The Tunnel (Dartford)
The Lilywhite (Spurs)
Limerick You're a Lady (Limerick United)
The Lion Roars (Millwall)
The Little Red (Cliftonville)
Liverpool Are On The Tele Again (Norwich City)
A Load of Bull (Wolves)
A Load of Cobbolds (Ipswich Town)
A Load of Locks (Willenhall Town)
Loadsamoney (Blackburn Rovers)
London and District Newsletter (Manchester United)
London and District Supporters Magazine (Manchester United)
London Area Newsletter (Everton)
London Branch Bulletin (Meadowbank Thistle)
London Branch Newsletter (Leicester City)
London Branch Newsletter (Sunderland)
London Fan Club Newsletter (Manchester United)
London FSA Newsletter (London Football Supporters Association)
London Lions (Aston Villa)
London Magpie (Newcastle United)
The London Owl (Sheffield Wednesday)
London Saints Newsletter (Southampton)
London Supporters Club News (Aberdeen)
The London Swan (Sawnsea City)
The London Swans Newsletter (Swansea City)
The Long Ball (Irish soccer)
Long Ball Down The Middle (Wealdstone)
Look Back in Amber (Hull City)
Look For Floodlights (Wivenhoe Town)
The Loonatic (Forfar Athletic)
The Looville Rag (Waterlooville)
A Lot to Answer For (Swansea City)
Loud (general soccer)
Love, Peace and Swansea City (Swansea City)
Love Street Syndrome (Saint Mirren)
A Love Supreme (Sunderland)
Loyal Supporter (Greater Manchester Football Supporters Association)
Loyal Supporters Association Newsletter (Queen's Park Rangers)
LYAL (Limerick) *Mabbs Ahoy* (Spurs)
Mad As A Hatter (Luton Town)
The Mad Axeman (Lancaster City)
The Mag (Newcastle United)
Magic News (general German soccer)
The Magic Sponge (general soccer)
Main Stand View (Manchester City)
Manchester North of England (general Manchester music and soccer)
The Manchester Swan (Swansea City)
Manchester Wolves (Wolverhampton Wanderers)
Manor News (Hearts)
Man U Magic (Manchester United)
Many Miles From Home (Blackburn Rovers)
Marching Altogether (Leeds United)

The Mariners Magazine (Grimsby Town)
Marlon's Gloves (Burnley)
Maybe Its Because (London Football Supporters Association)
Medalion Atkinson (Sheffield Wednesday)
Mellow and Dry (Bishops Stortford)
Membership or Registration? (Football Supporters Association)
The Memoirs ofSeth Bottomley (Port Vale)
Memories Are Made of This (Charlton Athletic)
Middle of The Road (Shoreham)
Mighty Quinn (Newcastle United)
The Mill on the Maun (Mansfield Town)
Millerntor Roar (St Pauli)
A Miller's Tale (Fareham Town)
Missing Sid (Aston Villa)
Mission Impossible (Torquay United)
Mission Impossible (Darlington)
Mission Terminated (Torquay United)
Mi Whippet's Dead (Rotherham United)
Mo Mo Super Mo (Montrose)
Monkey Business (Hartlepool United)
Monthly Review (Parsley Celtic)
The Moon (Leicester City)
Moor's Code (Moor Green)
More Money Than Sense (Portsmouth)
More Tea Vicar (Watford)
More Than a Game (general soccer)
The Morning After (Dundee)
Moulin Rouge (Rotherham United)
*Mouth of the Humber (*Easington United)
Moving Swiftly On (Walsall)
Mr Bismarck's Electric Pickelhaube
(Meadowbank Thistle)
Mud, Sweat and Beers (Watford)
Munchen Rulps (Munich soccer)
Murphy's Frog (non-League)
Murphy's Mob (Cheltenham Town)
The Mutton Mutineer (Derby County)
My Eyes Have Seen The Glory (Spurs)
My Love is Blue (Cardiff City)
National Pastime (general soccer)
National Supporters Club Newsletter (Barrow)
Nay Need to Hide the Heid (Motherwell)
Netstretcher (non-League)
Never Loved Ellis and Never Sung the Blues (Aston Villa)
Never Mind The Bluemen (Glentoran)
Never Mind The Boleyn (West Ham United)
Never Mind The Boys End (Middlesbrough)
Never Mind The Danger (Norwich City)
Never Say Dai (AFC Newport)
New Frontiers (York City)
The New Lilywhite (Spurs)
News from Paradise (Celtic)

News Of The Blues (Ipswich Town)
NHS No Home Stadium (Kingstonian)
A Nightmare on Dee Street (Glentoran)
Nightmare on Lodge Road (Yate Town)
Nightmare on Terregles Street (Queen of the South)
9 1/2 Months (Bristol Rovers)
Nine-Nil (Brighton and Hove Albion)
99% Of Gargoyles Look Like Perry Groves (Cowes Sports)
NI Soccer (general Northern Ireland soccer)
The 92nd Club (Rochdale)
No Idea (Gravesend and Northfleet)
No Idle Talk (Hearts)
No More Pie In The Sky (Notts County)
No More Plastic Pitches (Cork City)
No Nay Never (Burnley)
No One Likes Us (Millwall)
No Sheep at Infer (Larne)
No Way Referee (Bray Wanderers)
Nobody Will Ever Know (Swansea City)
Non-League Football Fanfare (non-League)
Non-League Football Focus (non-League)
Non-League North West (non-League)
Non-League Traveller (non-League)
The Normid Nomad (Bolton Wanderers)
The North East Hibernian (Hibs)
North East Programme Club Magazine (soccer programmes)
The North End Melon (Preston North End)
North of Watford South of Heaven (Carlisle United)
The North Stand Blues (Chorley)
Northern Blues News (Portsmouth)
Northern Exposure (Manchester United)
The Northern Light (Aberdeen)
The Norwegian Mag (Newcastle United)
The Norwegian They (Accrington Stanley)
Not Far from Hollywood (Romford)
Not in the Same League (Northwich Victoria)
Not the Albion Review (Witton Albion)
Not the 8502 (Bournemouth)
Not the View (Celtic)
Nothing Borough Park's Team (Workington)
A Novel School of Thought (general soccer)
Now We Have to Sit (general soccer)
Now We Want Pele (Bolton Wanderers)
Now with Wings (Bangor City)
The Number Nine (Newcastle United)
The Number 9 (Sunderland)
Number One (Rangers)
O Bluebird of Happiness (Cardiff City)
The Oakwell News (Barnsley)
The Oatcake (Stoke City)
The Occasional Terrorist (Tooting and Mitcham)
Offside Trap (general soccer)

Off the Ball (general soccer)
Off the Ball (Queen's Park)
Off the Junction (Aston Villa)
Off the Shelf (Spurs)
Offside Trap (general soccer)
Oh Yes This Boy Can Wait (general music and soccer)
Old McDiarmid had a Farm (St Johnstone)
Ole Ole Ole (Republic of Ireland)
(On a) Life Support Machine (Caledonia)
On a Mission From God (West Ham United)
On a Wing and a Prayer (Welling United)
On Cloud Seven (Hull City)
On Suicide Bridge (Abingdon Town)
Once a Tim (Celtic)
Once Upon a Tyne (Newcastle United)
The One and Only (general soccer)
One for the Road (Thetford Town)
One Man and his Dog (general Scottish junior soccer)
One Minute to Go (Liverpool)
One More Point (Crystal Palace)
1–0 County (Stockport County)
One—Nil Down Two—One Up (Arsenal)
One Step From Heaven (Vauxhall Conference League)
One Team in Bristol (Bristol City)
One Team in Dundee (Dundee United)
One Team in Glasgow (Partick Thistle)
One Team in Sussex (Crawley)
One Team in Ulster (Linfield)
The Onion Bag (general soccer)
The Onion Bag (Chester City and Dee Rangers)
Only Fools and Horses (Bohemians)
Only the Lonely (Aidrieonians)
Onside (Newbury soccer)
On the Ball (Norwich City)
On the Slope (Margate)
On the Terraces (West Ham United)
On Top Form (Bangor City)
Ooh Gary Gary (Gary Lineker)
Ooh I Think It's my Groin (Queen's Park Rangers)
Oot The Windae (Elgin City)
Orne Blikket (Crystal Palace)
Our Day Will Come (Manchester United and Celtic)
Our Days Are Numbered (Liverpool)
Our Flag's Been to Wembley (Braintree Town)
Out of Court (Bournemouth)
Out of The Blue (Colchester United)
Out of The Blues (Manchester City)
The Oval Ball (Caernarfon Town)
Over and Over (Celtic)
Over Land and Sea (West Ham United)
Over the Gate (Bristol City)
Over the Moon (general soccer)

Over the Turnstile (Elgin City)
Over the Wall (Albion Rovers)
Palace Echo (Crystal Palace)
Pandamonium (Leyton Orient)
Paper Roses (Kilmarnock)
Paper Tiger (Aberdeen)
Par Trek (Dunfermline Athletic)
Parallel Lines (Dunfermline Athletic)
Past the Post (Dundee)
Pasty News (Plymouth Argyle)
The Peacock News (Leeds United)
Periscope (Marine)
Peter Hick's Wig (St Austell)
The Peterborough Effect (Peterborough United)
Pheep! (Bolton Wanderers)
Phil of Frizinghall (Bradford City)
The Pie (Notts County)
Pie in the Sky (Nentori Padwits)
The Pies Were Cold (Telford United)
The Pirate News (general Swedish soccer)
The Pit Pony Express (Ashington)
The Pits (Hednesford Town)
Pittodrie Profile (Aberdeen)
Planet Football (soccer and art)
Play Fair (Hayling United)
The Playboy (Elgin City)
The PNE View (Preston North End)
The Pompey Chimes (Portsmouth)
Pool Newsround (Bromley)
Poppies at the Gates of Dawn (Kettering Town)
The Posse Review (Yate Town)
Potters Monthly (Stoke City)
Power Echo (German second division soccer)
The Prentonian (Tranmere Rovers)
Preston Pie Muncher (Preston North End)
Preston's Pride and Joy (Preston North End)
Pretty in Pink (Brighton and Hove Albion)
Pride and Passion (Republic of Ireland)
Pride of the South (general soccer, especially South of England)
Priest field Press (Gillingham)
Programme Collector Review (Derby County)
Programme Monthly (soccer programmes)
Proper Shaped Balls (general Welsh soccer)
Psycho Arab (Dundee United)
Punt (general Scottish soccer)
The Punter (general Scottish soccer)
Purple Reign (Manchester City)
Put The Boot In (general Irish soccer)
Pyramid Football (non-League)
Pyramuddle (Newport)
QPR Crudentials (Queen's Park Rangers)
QueSera Sera (Scotland)

Raging Bull (Oxford United)
Rah! Rah! Rah! (Cambridge United)
The Railwaymen of Gresty Road (Crewe Alexandra)
Raise The Roof (Doncaster Rovers)
Raise Your Game (Dagenham and Redbridge)
The Ram Magazine (Ramsgate)
Ramlines (Derby County)
Randy Robin (Swindon Town)
Rangers Historian (Rangers)
Rangers Roar (Queen's Park Rangers)
Rave On! (Stirling Albion)
The Real Shed Review (Witney Town)
Rebels Without a Clue (Slough Town)
Reclaim the Game (original national newsletter of Football Supporters Association)
The Red and White Rokerite (Sunderland)
The Red Army (Brann)
Red Attitude (Manchester United)
The Red Card (Chelsea)
The Red Final (Aberdeen)
Red Issue (Manchester United)
Red News (Manchester United)
Red Raw (Osset Town)
Red Stripe (Southampton)
Reds Review (Workington)
Relegation Times (Bradford City)
Reliant Robin (Wrexham)
Remember Remember the 5th of December (Charlton Athletic)
Remember the Shots (Aldershot Town)
Resign Roberts Re-Sign (Northwich Victoria)
Resurrecting the Shots (Aldershot Town)
Revenge of the Killer Penguin II (Bath City)
The Reverend's Sermon (Barnsley)
Rhodes Boyson, Oo's Ee Play For? (Dover Athletic)
Rhodes Review (Bishops Stortford)
Rigore (general Italian soccer)
A River Runs Through It (Nottingham soccer)
The Roaring Meg (Stevenage Borough)
The Robin (Cheltenham Town)
Robins Monthly Journal (Cheltenham Town)
Robins Report (Charlton Athletic)
Rodney Rodney (general soccer, especially the North West)
Roger Connells Beard (Wimbledon)
Rojo, Blanco y Azul (general Spanish soccer)
Roker Raw (Sunderland)
Roker Roar (Sunderland)
Roll on 4:40 (Meadowbank Thistle)
Roobarb Roobarb (Wycombe Wanderers)
Roots Hall Ramblings (Southend United)
Roots Hall Roar (Southend United)
The Rovers Return (Stroud)
Rub of the Greens (Plymouth Argyle)
Rupert's Roar (Falkirk)

Russians Roulette (Rushden Town)
The Rusty Staple (soccer programmes)
Saddle Sore (Walsall)
SAFCSA Newsletter (Sunderland)
The Saints Supporters Club Magazine (St Albans City)
SAM (Maidstone United)
The Sassenach Saintee (St Johnstone)
Saturday Afternoon/Sunday Morning (Nottingham Forest and Notts County)
Saturday Night and Sunday Morning (Shamblers)
Scana News (Cheshire and North Staffordshire Football Supporters Association)
Scandinavia Newsletter (Hartlepool United)
Scandinavian Bubbles (West Ham United)
Scarborough Warning (Scarborough)
Schwarz auf Weis (Wiener Sport Club)
Schwaben Echo (general German soccer)
Scorcher (Crawley)
Scottish Football Historian (general Scottish soccer)
Scottish Non-League Review (non-League in Scotland)
Scottish 'Zine Scene (general fanzines)
Scour (general soccer and music in Paisley)
The Scrap Book (Rotherham United)
The Searcher (Kingstonian)
The Seasider (Southend United)
The Seadog Bites Back (Scarborough)
Seasons of Missed Opportunities (Brighton and Hove Albion)
The Second of May (Bristol Rovers)
Seeing Red (Cliftonville)
75/76 (Nairn County)
SFS Bolletinen (Swedish soccer statistics)
The Shagging Magpies (Maidenhead United)
Shall We Dance (West Ham United)
The Shamrock (Celtic)
The Shankill Skinhead (Manchester United)
The Sharp End (Football Supporters Association)
She Fell Over (Yeovil Town)
The Sheep (Derby County)
Sheep Shaggers (soccer in Western England)
Sheep Shaggers Monthly (Bedford Town)
The Sheeping Giant (Wrexham)
Sheer Bliss (Brentford)
Shinwag (Portslade Athletic)
Shippo Shout (York City)
Shots In the Dark (Aldershot)
Show Me the Way to Go Home (Maidstone United)
Shrimper's Review (Harwich and Parkstone)
Shrimps Report (Morecambe)
Sick as a Parrot (general Scottish soccer)
Sick in the Basin (Partick Thistle)
Sick Over a Parrot (general humour)
The Silence of the Bann-shees (Glenavon)
Silk Yarns (Macclesfield Town)
Simon's Haircut (Farnborough Town)

Sing When We're Fishing (Grimsby Town)
Sing When We're Ploughing (Norwich City)
Singing the Blues (Manchester City)
Sir John Who? (general soccer)
Sitting in the Lounge of the Bay (Whitley Bay)
6 Leagues Under (Kent soccer)
Six Tame Sides (general Tameside soccer)
The 69er (Swindon Town)
Size 10 1/2 Boots (Mansfield Town)
Sky Blue Army (Coventry City)
Sky Blue Special (Coventry City)
SLAG (general soccer)
The Sleeping Giant (Dundee)
The Sleeping Giant (Hendon)
The Sleeping Giant (Preston North End)
Smelly Fleet (Purfleet) *The Snotty Pest* (Liverpool soccer)
So Glad You're Mine (Crystal Palace)
So Jack Ashurst, Where's My Shirt? (Carlisle United)
Soccer Essex (Essex soccer)
Soccer Hene (general African soccer)
Soccer Info (general European soccer)
Soccer Scene (Banbury soccer)
Soccer Talk Magazine (Central Wales soccer)
Some Ecstasy (Shamrock Rovers)
Someone Likes Us (Millwall)
Somerton Blues (Newport County)
The Sound of the Crowd (general Scottish soccer)
The Sound of the Shay (Halifax Town)
The Soup (Kidderminster Harriers)
Sour Grapes (Wimbledon)
The South (South Liverpool)
The South East Enders (South East London soccer)
South ofMorfa (Swansea City)
South Riding (Barnsley)
Southender (South Liverpool)
Southern Branch Supporters Club Newsletter (Chester City)
Southern Supporters Newsletter (Hull City)
Speke from the Harbour (Everton)
Spirit of '62 (Bangor City)
Spirit of London Road (Maidstone United)
The Sports Historian (Historical research)
Spud International (Norwich City)
The Spur (Spurs)
Spur (Spurs)
Spur of the Moment (Spurs)
The Spurs Historiette (Spurs)
The Spurs Reports (Spurs)
Spurs Review (Spurs)
Spurs Screws (Spurs)
The Square Ball (Leeds United)
St Helens Town Fanzine (St Helens)
Standing Room Only (Galway United)

Stark's Bark (Raith Rovers)
Stark's Bark—The Sequel (Raith Rovers)
Start! (general music and Lancashire soccer)
Still Mustn't Grumble (Hearts)
Stimme der Reichshaupstadt (general German soccer)
The Stockholmian (general Swedish soccer)
Stormer (general soccer)
Storming with Menace (general soccer, especially Plymouth Argyle)
Stour View (Stourbridge)
The Strange Boutique (Brentford)
Stranger on Rangers (Rangers)
Stud (general soccer)
Stuffed Like A (Mossley)
Suffer Little Children (Crystal Palace)
Suffolk Punchline (Ipswich Town)
The Sunderland Newsletter (Sunderland)
Super Dario Land (Crewe Alexandra)
Super Darlo Land (Darlington)
The Superhoop (Queen's Park Rangers)
Superhoops (Queen's Park Rangers)
Superhoopsah! (Queen's Park Rangers)
The Supporter (Leyton Wingate)
The Supporter (Newcastle United Supporters Association)
The Supporter (Oxford United)
The Supporter (Watford)
Supporter Mag (West Ham United)
Supporters' Angle (AP Leamington)
Supporters' Club Magazine (Aldershot Town)
Supporters' Club Magazine (Bolton Wanderers)
Supporters' Club Magazine (Colchester United)
Supporters' Club Magazine (Crystal Palace)
Supporters' Club Magazine (Oxford United)
Supporters' Club News (Barrytown)
Supporters' Club News and Views (Darlington)
Supporters' Club Newsletter (Cardiff City)
Supporters' Club Newsletter (Workington)
Supporters' Club Outlook (Southend United)
Supporters' Club Review (Burnley)
Supporters' Club Review (York City)
Supporters' Mag (Manchester City)
Supporters' United Newsletter (Supporters United)
Supporterunionens Handbook (Scandinavian soccer)
SW6 (Chelsea)
The Swan (Swansea City)
Swanning Around London (Swansea City)
Swedish Football for English Readers (general Swedish soccer)
Sweet FA (general humour)
Swimming in Swansea Bay (Swansea City)
Swindon Town Telegraph (Swindon Town)
The T-ender (Gloucester City)
Ta Blues (Chesham United)
The Tackler! (general humour)

Take Your Seats (Bristol City)
Taking the Biscuit (Reading)
Taking the Peacock (Leeds United)
Tales from the River Bank (Merseyside Football Supporters Association)
Tales from the Potting Shed (Preston North End)
Talking Bull (Hereford United)
Talk of the Toon (Newcastle United)
Talk of the Town (Aldershot)
Talk of the Town (Aldershot Town)
Talk of the Town End (Enfield)
Talk of the Tyne (Newcastle United)
Talk Us Through It, Ray (general soccer)
TANEHSH (Hibs)
Tangerine Dream (Dundee United)
Tartan Esercito (Scotland)
Tayside Football Review (general Scottish soccer)
TBS (Linfield)
The Tea Party (Stockport County)
Team (Spurs)
The Teddy Bear (Rangers)
Tenant's Extra (Wimbledon)
The Terrace (Cheltenham Town)
Terrace Talk (general German soccer)
Terrace Talk (York City)
Terrace Toughs (York City)
Terrarising (Weymouth)
There Ain't No Red in Reading or Tottenham (Reading)
There is a Rat In the Camp (Brighton and Hove Albion)
There's a Store Where the Creatures Meet (St Mirren)
There's Only One F in Fulham (Fulham)
There's Only One Mark Dziadulewicz (Wimbledon)
There's Only One Reggie Harris! (Aveley)
There's Only One United (Manchester United)
There's Villa's Ground (Barnet)
They Looked Good In The Bar (Dagenham)
The Thin Blue Line (Cardiff City)
The Thin Yellow Stripe (Notts County)
Third Division (Rangers)
A 30 Point Weekend (Fantasy League)
This Charming Fan (Manchester City)
This Way Up (general Scottish soccer)
The Thistle (Meadowbank Thistle)
Thorne In The Side (Brentford)
Those Were The Days (Ipswich Town)
Three D Mark II (English and Scottish second and third divisions)
Three In A Row (Auchinleck Talbot)
Three Men in a Boat (Tranmere Rovers)
3,526: The Score Against Swansea City (Swansea City)
The Throstle (West Bromwich Albion)
Through the Wind and Rain (Liverpool)
Tiger Roar (Gloucester City)
Tigers Eye (Hull City)

Till the World Stops (Leeds United)
TILT (Torquay United)
A Tint of Yellow (Norwich City)
Tiny Taff's Adventures (Merthyr Tydfil)
Tiocfaidh Ar La! (Celtic)
Tiocfaidh Ar La (Celtic and Manchester United)
Tired and Weary (Birmingham City)
Title Reports 92/93 (Manchester United)
Titter Ye Not (AFC Nay)
To Be a Yokel (Yeovil Town)
To Be a Yokel (York City)
To Be a Frank (Chelmsford City)
To the Manor Reborn (Nuneaton Borough)
To Work Upon the Railway (Crewe Alexandra)
Tom, Dick and Harry (fanzines)
Tomato Soup and Lentils (Leeds United and Arbroath)
Tommy Who? (Preston North End)
Too Sexy By Far (general Welsh soccer)
The Toothless Tiger (Worksop)
Tooting Tearaways (Tooting and Mitcham)
Top Banana (Clevedon Town)
Tottenham Supporteren (Spurs)
Touchliner (Sutton United)
Town (Luton Town)
Townsfolk (Ipswich Town)
Traveller's Guide to Football in Luxembourg (general Luxembourg soccer)
Traveller's Guide to Greek Football (general Greek soccer)
The Trent Times (Nottingham Forest)
The Tricky Tree (Nottingham Forest)
Tripe 'n' Trotters (Bolton Wanderers)
The Trotter (Bolton Wanderers)
Trout Rising (Tunbridge Wells)
True Blue (Bishops Stortford)
True Blue (Chelsea)
True Blue (Manchester City)
True Blue (Rangers)
True Blues Magazine (Southend United)
True Faith (St Johnstone)
Trumpton Times (Bristol Rovers)
Twenty Four Nil (Thornton Dale Reserves)
The 29th (Burnley)
Twlltin Pob (general Welsh soccer)
Two For Joy (Chorley)
Two Left Feet (general Welsh soccer)
2052 (Grantham Town)
Two Together (Barnet)
Two Under Par (Bedford Town)
Two Up Two Down (Rotherham United)
The Ugly Duckling (Aylesbury)
The Ugly Inside (Southampton)
Ultra! (Bristol City)
Ultra Voice (general German soccer)

Under The Moon (Larne)
Under The Wires (soccer and trainspotting)
United Review (Dundee United)
United Supporteren (Manchester United)
Utd United (West Ham United and Dundee United)
United We Stand (Manchester United)
Up (Arsenal)
Up For Grabs Now (Birmingham University Football Supporters Association)
Up Front (Burton Albion)
Up Sandy! (Huntly)
Up The Arse (Arsenal)
Up The Blues (Shrewsbury Town)
Up The Work Rate (Irvine Meadow)
U's News (Colchester United)
Valiants (Port Vale)
Valiants Viewpoint (Charlton Athletic)
The Victoria Voice (Stoke City)
View from the East Bank (Sheffield Wednesday)
View from the Piggeries (Chelston)
View from the Rock (Dumbarton)
View from the Shelf (Spurs)
View from the Tower (Blackpool)
Villa Bugle (Aston Villa)
Villa Meets Beaunanza! (Aston Villa and Birmingham City)
The Villan (Aston Villa)
Villazine (Aston Villa)
Voice of the Beehive (Brentford)
Voice of the Valley (Charlton Athletic)
Voice of the Vetch (Swansea City)
Voices from the Devil (Manchester United)
Voll Daneben (general German soccer)
Waiting for the Great Leap Forward (Motherwell)
Walking Down the Halbeath Road (Dunfermline Athletic)
Walking Down the Tandragee Road (Glenavon)
Walking Down the Warwick Road (WDWR) (Manchester United)
WALOC What A Load of Cobblers (Northampton Town)
Walter Zenga's Right Buttock (WZRB) (general USA soccer and music)
Wanderers Worldwide (Bolton Wanderers)
Wandering Hans (Wimbledon)
War of the Monster Trucks (Sheffield Wednesday)
Watch the Bluebirds Fly (Cardiff City)
Watching from the Warwick (Carlisle United)
Watford Book of Soccer (Watford)
Way Out West (Plymouth Argyle)
We Are Leeds (Leeds United)
We Are Rhyl (Rhyl)
We Ate All the Pies (West Ham United)
We Hate Jimmy Hill (general Scottish soccer)
We Will Follow the Tottenham (Spurs)
Wear All Going to Wembley (Sunderland)
The Web (Queens Park)
The Wee Red (Cliftonville)

Weekend Affair (Dorking)
Welcome to Gates head (Newport)
Welcome to the Resurrection (Aldershot Town)
We'll Be Back in '91 (Derby County)
We'll Score Again (Exeter City)
Welsh Football (general Welsh soccer)
The Welsh Footballer (general Welsh soccer)
Wendy Who? (St Johnstone)
We're All Going Down to Davy Lee's (Ards)
West Country Football (general West of England soccer)
West Middlesex Review (non-League)
Westanders (Chelsea)
The Westender (Coventry City)
We've Won the Kop Choir Too (Rotherham United)
What a Sensation (Partick Thistle)
What About Dante? (Wimbledon)
What Have I Done to Deserve This? (Nuneaton Borough)
What W (Congleton Town)
What's the Score? (general Merseyside soccer)
What's the Score? (WTS) (general soccer)
The Wheelbarrow (Notts County)
When Domenica Comes (general Italian soccer)
When The Hoodoo Comes (Dundee United)
When Skies Are Grey (Everton)
When Saturday Comes (general soccer)
When Sunday Comes (Liverpool)
When You're Smiling (Leicester City)
Where Cornerboys Collect (Crusaders)
Where's ARA (Fulham)
Where's the Number on Your Back? (Barnet)
Where's the Money Gone? (Leicester City)
Where's the Tunnel? (East Fife)
Wherever You May Be (Motherwell)
Where Were You at the Shay? (Bury)
The Whingeing Donkey (Queen's Park Rangers)
White Army (Bolton Wanderers)
White Ball in The Net (Kettering Town)
White Magic (Tranmere Rovers)
Who Are These People? (Weston-super-Mare)
Who Ate All the Pies? (Burnley)
Who Do We Put Up Front (general soccer)
Who Is Dougie Henry? (East Stirling)
Who Wants to Be in Division One Anyway? (Newcastle United)
Whoosh! (Woodbridge Town)
Who's He on Loan from? (Northwich Victoria)
Who's Neil Warnock? (Scarborough)
Why is Custard Yellow? (Cambridge United)
The Wild Rover (Raith Rovers)
Windy and Dusty (Rotherham United)
Win, Lose or Draw (York City)
Win on the Plastic (Preston North End)
Windsor Roar (Linfield)

Winger (general British soccer)
Wings of a Sparrow (Bradford Park Avenue)
Wings Review (Welling United)
Winning Isn't Everything (Welling United)
Winston Churchill Picked an Army (Grantham Town)
Wise Men Say (Sunderland)
Without a Care in the World (Ipswich Town)
Witton Wag (Aston Villa)
Witton Wisdom (Aston Villa)
The Wolf (Wolverhampton Wanderers)
Woodcutter's (Nottingham Forest)
World Shut Your Mouth! (Rangers)
Worse Than East Fife (Partick Thistle)
The Wright's Pie (Port Vale)
Wubble Yoo (Woking)
Yellow Fever (Maidstone United)
Yellow Peril (Southport)
Yeltz News (Halesowen Town)
Yidaho! (Wimbledon)
You Cheating Bastard! (Mason Arms)
You Lion Gets! (Holywell Lions)
You Lion Gets! (Red Lions)
You Wot! (Sunderland)
You Wot! (Torquay United)
You'll Never Walk Alone (Liverpool)
York City Supporters Club Review (York City)
Zico Was a Punk Rocker (general soccer and music)
Zigger (Barrow)
Zoot Skazine (general music and soccer)

APPENDIX 2

GOAL! GOAL! GOAL!
DIARY OF USA ’94

Diaries, as well as lists, feature prominently in popular cultural marketing, fandom and its analysis and study. One possible chronology of the most hyperreal soccer World Cup so far—USA ’94—is constructed through the fragments from my own research diary for the months of June and July 1994; reproduced here.

Friday, 17 June

Germany 1 Bolivia 0, Soldier Field, Chicago

A-boring start (as usual) to the World Cup finals on a sweltering Chicago green field with overlong grass. A Bolivian, Marco Antonio Etcheverry, shortly after coming on as a substitute, is the first player to receive a red card in the tournament as the current champions begin less than convincingly. (My own maverick tip of Bolivia as South American dark horse outsiders for USA ’94 is shown, inevitably, to be plain silly!)

Spain 2 South Korea 2, The Cotton Bowl, Dallas

With Spain seemingly coasting to a 2–0 victory, South Korea score two late goals to draw.

Saturday, 18 June

USA 1 Switzerland 1, Pontiac Silverdome, Detroit

Two superbly struck free kicks ensure an honourable draw in the first game in a World Cup finals played in a fully covered indoor stadium.

Italy 0 Ireland 1, Giants Stadium, New York

Ray Houghton’s goal sets up one of the surprises of the finals.

Colombia 1 Romania 3, The Rose Bowl, Los Angeles

Another upset as one of the pre-tournament good outside bets crashes to Gheorghe Hagi's impressive looking outfit.

Sunday, 19 June

Belgium 1 Morocco 0, Florida Citrus Bowl, Orlando

Belgium begin the tournament looking strong but fail to overwhelm Morocco despite many scoring chances.

Norway 1 Mexico 0, RFK Memorial Stadium, Washington

Mexico are pipped at the post (literally) after failing to score in an incredible goalmouth melee. Norway had already gone ahead late in the game against the run of play.

Cameroon 2 Sweden 2, The Rose Bowl, Los Angeles

Cameroon, plagued by disputes over wages and whether or not to play Roger Milla, are a shadow of the exciting 1990 team, but manage even so to claw back a 1–0 deficit and wind up with a draw against a lively Swedish side.

Monday, 20 June

Brazil 2 Russia 0, Stanford Stadium, San Francisco

Brazil show a style so far missing from the World Cup and become tournament favourites with many armchair spectators and critics.

Holland 2 Saudi Arabia 1, RFK Memorial Stadium, Washington

The Dutch—minus Ruud Gullit and the injured Marco Van Basten—still start with a win.

Tuesday, 21 June

Argentina 4 Greece 0, Foxboro Stadium, Boston

The losing finalists in 1990 mercilessly dismiss Greece. Maradona passes sharply half a dozen times and also scores with a majestic left foot shot, after which he dashes—dervishly—to the touchline cameras with a face from hell. Mine's a half of whatever he's on!

Germany 1 Spain 1, Soldier Field, Chicago

Stuttering Germany, winners in 1990 and losing finalists in 1982 and 1986, find Spain a handful.

Nigeria 3 Bulgaria 0, The Cotton Bowl, Dallas

Africa's great black hopes, Nigeria, start with a thrilling, stylish victory.

Wednesday, 22 June

Romania 1 Switzerland 4, Pontiac Silverdome, Detroit

Romania are surprisingly floored by the Swiss.

USA 2 Colombia 1, The Rose Bowl, Los Angeles

The hosts put another nail into Colombia's coffin—literally in the case of Andres Escobar who put through his own goal in the game and is found murdered in Colombia several days later following the team's return home. The 27-year-old full back's killers reportedly shout 'Goal! Goal! Goal!' (a chillingly ironic echo of James' re-write of 'Low, Low, Low') after firing each of the six (or 12 depending on which story you believe) bullets they used to execute the Colombian player. Escobar's sin had apparently been to accidentally score the own goal evidently costing some heavy duty Colombian gamblers serious money. Another media echo from USA '94 in the killing is the celebration of Argentinian sportscaster Andres Cantor who exclaimed 'Gooooaaaallll! Gooooaaaallll! Gooooaaaallll!' after each goal scored in matches which he commentated on.

Thursday, 23 June

Italy 1 Norway 0, Giants Stadium, New York

In a bizarre but fascinating encounter, Italy have their goalkeeper, Gianluca Pagliuca, sent off early on which leads to the substitution of Robert Baggio in order to strengthen the midfield of the 10-man team. They recover their composure to win. Armchair fans take note and start to fancy Italy for (at least) the semi-finals.

South Korea 0 Bolivia 0, Foxboro Stadium, Boston

A scoreless draw for two teams seemingly on their way home already.

APPENDIX 2

Friday, 24 June

Mexico 2 Ireland 1, Florida Citrus Bowl, Orlando

Ireland are outplayed in the heat of Florida and are grateful for a late John Aldridge goal which makes the score more respectable than it might have been.

Brazil 3 Cameroon 0, Stanford Stadium, San Francisco

Cameroon are completely overrun by a Brazil side who look as if they have not really been tested in the competition at this point. Brazil certainly look good, but nothing like as innovative or dominant as the 1978, 1982 or even 1986 teams.

Sweden 3 Russia 1, Pontiac Silverdome, Detroit

Sweden are beginning to impress as a side who can score goals but also defend strongly.

Saturday, 25 June

Belgium 1 Holland 0, Florida Citrus Bowl, Orlando

The battle of the close European neighbours ends in a narrow victory for Belgium. Perhaps the Dutch lack the inspiration of a truly world class player to take them into the semi-finals, despite the promise of their neat and constructive soccer. Belgium meanwhile march on towards the second stage.

Saudi Arabia 2 Morocco 1, Giants Stadium, New York

Saudi Arabia win the war of the unfancied teams in Group F to give themselves a slim chance of going through.

Argentina 2 Nigeria 1, Foxboro Stadium, Boston

After Nigeria take the lead with a beautifully chipped opening goal, defensive lapses let in Argentina's deadly finishers. Again, Maradona's incisive short passes prove to be the key to success.

Sunday, 26 June

Bulgaria 4 Greece 0, Soldier Field, Chicago

Bulgaria thrash a Greek team who look very weak and destined for bottom place in Group D.

USA 0 Romania 1, The Rose Bowl, Los Angeles

The USA lose their first game in Group A to a determined and skilful Romania.

Switzerland 0 Colombia 2, Stanford Stadium, San Francisco

Colombia find their feet far too late and finish bottom of Group A despite this victory.

Monday, 27 June

Bolivia 1 Spain 3, Soldier Field, Chicago

Spain usher Bolivia out of the World Cup, thus strengthening the growing European dominance in the tournament.

Germany 3 South Korea 2, The Cotton Bowl, Dallas

Germany win Group C with this victory and remain, ominously, unbeaten.

Tuesday, 28 June

Ireland 0 Norway 0, Giants Stadium, New York

Ireland, after beginning so well against an increasingly strong Italy, are grateful for a draw against negative Norway, who go home because of their lack of goals.

Italy 1 Mexico 1, RFK Memorial Stadium, Washington

The two best footballing sides in Group E produce a score draw which is enough to see both through to the second stage, despite all four teams in the Group finishing on the same number of points. In Mexico City, two men die and dozens are injured during a celebration of the Mexican team's result. The sale of liquor is banned in Mexico City during the team's next World Cup match, supposedly in order to avoid a repeat of the melee.

Russia 6 Cameroon 1, Stanford Stadium, San Francisco

Russia, hardly the best team at USA '94, confirm how poor this year's Cameroon team have been.

Brazil 1 Sweden 1, Pontiac Silverdome, Detroit

Brazil and Sweden remain unbeaten and go through as the top two teams in Group B.

Wednesday, 29 June

Morocco 1 Holland 2, Florida Citrus Bowl, Orlando

Holland scrape a victory thanks to Bryan Roy's second-half goal and progress nervously onwards. The Moroccans are pointless, bottom of Group F and out. As with so many days at USA '94, the weather was a major factor. The sun was scorching, making breathing alone difficult. The venue officials said that the temperature was 105 degrees on the field of play, but a thermometer shown on American television read 118 degrees.

Belgium 0 Saudi Arabia 1, RFK Memorial Stadium, Washington

The Saudis, by virtue of this win against a Belgium side seemingly set to continue their proud progress in World Cup finals, become the first team from the World Cup's Asian region to advance beyond the opening stage for 28 years and the first ever from the Middle East to do so. Saeed Owairan scores one of the best individual goals so far in the Finals.

Thursday, 30 June

Greece 0 Nigeria 2, Foxboro Stadium, Boston

Greece take no points from their first taste of the World Cup finals and Nigeria progress to the second stage confirming their status as the best soccer team currently playing in Africa.

Argentina 0 Bulgaria 2, The Cotton Bowl, Dallas

Sensationally, Maradona has to be withdrawn from the Bulgarian fixture after results of a drug test following the previous game against Nigeria are made known. A prohibited substance—ephedrine—along with others is discovered and an immediate ban on Maradona is imposed by FIFA. The President of the Argentina Football Federation says it was in a nasal spray not prescribed by the team doctor. Maradona announces two weeks later that he is giving up soccer and taking up basketball. Perhaps it was not the 'hand of God' that beat Peter Shilton in Mexico in 1986 when Argentina beat England by virtue of the best dribble ever seen in a World Cup Finals! A Maradona-less Argentina suddenly lose their confidence (and the match) whilst Hristo Stoitchkov and the rest of the Bulgarians seem to improve with every game. Maradona had already been banned by FIFA for 15 months in 1991 for cocaine abuse whilst playing in Serie A in Italy. About 20,000

Bangladeshis take to the streets of Dhaka after Maradona's drug ban at USA '94 in protest at the football authorities' decision.

Saturday, 2 July

Germany 3 Belgium 2, Soldier Field, Chicago

Two goals from that old war-horse of international soccer, Rudi Voeller, see Germany into the quarter-finals (even more ominously in view of their achievements in the World Cup, especially since defeat in 1966).

Spain 3 Switzerland 0, RFK Memorial Stadium, Washington

Spain charge on towards the quarter-finals eliminating the less than convincing Swiss.

Sunday, 3 July

Saudi Arabia 1 Sweden 3, The Cotton Bowl, Dallas

The Saudi World Cup dream ends as Sweden score their ninth goal of the tournament and remain unbeaten.

Romania 3 Argentina 2, The Rose Bowl, Los Angeles

Argentina lose again and go out to a Romania side apparently set on course for the semi-finals.

Monday, 4 July

Holland 2 Ireland 0, Florida Citrus Bowl, Orlando

Two elementary mistakes by goalkeeper Pat Bonner and full back Terry Phelan eliminate Ireland, who go home with only one win, albeit against Italy, and a tournament total of 2 goals. Riots break out in The Hague where people break windows, loot stores and set cars ablaze. The police in the Dutch capital are flat-footed by the outbreak of lawlessness and explain that nobody expected the disorder because the Dutch side had won, not lost.

Brazil 1 USA 0, Stanford Stadium, San Francisco

Appropriately on the Fourth of July, the hosts play the team who are emerging as more than adequate USA '94 favourites. USA lose to a late goal as Brazilian Leonardo

is sent off for elbowing Tab Ramos, who winds up in hospital with a fractured skull. Leonardo is suspended for four games (effectively ending his participation in the competition) and fined $8,000.

Tuesday, 5 July

Nigeria 1 Italy 2, Foxboro Stadium, Boston

Roberto Baggio scores both goals—though Gianfranco Zola is sent off—as the Italians start to believe that they can go all the way to the final.

Mexico 1 Bulgaria 1, Giants Stadium, New York, (Bulgaria win on penalties)

A draw after extra time, the tournament's first penalty 'shoot-out' ends in a Bulgarian triumph.

Saturday, 9 July

Italy 2 Spain 1, Foxboro Stadium, Boston

A great shot by Dino Baggio gives Italy the lead, but Spain equalise deservedly just before the hour with a deflection. Roberto Baggio scores a superb winner in the last few minutes.

Holland 2 Brazil 3, The Cotton Bowl, Dallas

Brazil explode into life at the beginning of the second half with goals by Romario and Bebeto. Holland complain bitterly that Romario was offside (perhaps he was!) before Bebeto ran through to score the second. Dennis Bergkamp immediately glides through to reduce the deficit and Aron Winter's header equalises. However, just before the end, Branco's wickedly swerving free kick wins it for Brazil. A single world class player (Ruud Gullit?) would probably have swung it for Holland at 2–2 and Brazil can count themselves a little lucky to be in the semi-finals after riding their good fortune and exposing so many defensive frailties.

Sunday, 10 July

Bulgaria 2 Germany 1, Giants Stadium, New York

An almost unbelievable result as Germany, 1–0 up after scoring from a penalty, lose two goals in quick succession to put Bulgaria in the semi-finals for the first time.

Romania 2 Sweden 2, Stanford Stadium, San Francisco, (Sweden win on penalties)

Sweden hit the post early on and do eventually take the lead into the second half. Two minutes from time, Romania equalise then go ahead in extra time. Sweden come back from the dead to level it at 2–2 as OJ Simpson lookalike, Martin Dahlin, is taken off injured and then win an exciting penalty shoot-out that goes into sudden death.

Wednesday, 13 July

Bulgaria 1 Italy 2, Giants Stadium, New York

In fierce heat, Italy come at Bulgaria in waves and Roberto Baggio seizes the 'star striker of USA '94' crown from Romario (for a couple of hours) as Italy go 2–0 up. Hristo Stoitchkov scores from a penalty late in the first half, but there are no more goals and Italy are in the final for the first time since their last World Cup tournament win in 1982.

Sweden 0 Brazil 1, The Rose Bowl, Los Angeles

Brazil's Romario scores the only goal of the game as Swedish captain Jonas Tern is sent off. He and Baggio (Roberto, the man with *three* bad haircuts or 'the divine pigtail/il divino codino') both have five goals now. Although not the 1994 tournament high at this point, rarely can there have been two quicker finishers, skilled at working in minimum space in the penalty area, as these two world class stars. Eric Cantona, working as a television commentator, got into an argument over his seating allocation, scuffled with an official and was briefly arrested at this game.

Saturday, 16 July

Bulgaria 0 Sweden 4, The Rose Bowl, Los Angeles

There is no question that the two best teams qualified for the final, but Bulgaria and Sweden were probably no better, or worse, than a dozen (at least) of the other teams in the competition. Who cares who comes third or fourth? Certainly Sweden belatedly find the momentum in this game which had built up in the earlier matches and then come to an abrupt end against Brazil in the semi-final defeat.

Sunday, 17 July

Italy 0 Brazil 0, The Rose Bowl, Los Angeles, (Brazil win on penalties)

In a repeat of the Italy versus Brazil 1970 final, the 52nd game ends 0–0 after extra time. For the first time in World Cup soccer history, a dramatic penalty shoot-out follows. Baresi misses the first for Italy, Pagliuca saves the next from Marcio Santos and Albertini puts Italy one up. Then suddenly Brazil are 3–2 ahead after a crucial save by Taffarel, and Roberto Baggio steps up to level for Italy. 'Forza Buddha' ('Let's

go Buddha') as the Italian papers have been headlining, referring to Baggio's professed religious preference, unusual to say the least for a footballer. He misses, shooting over the bar. Zen and the art of penalty taking! Romario outscores 'R.Baggio'—no relation to 'D.Baggio' (as his No. 10 shirt proclaimed)—for the tournament of USA '94 because he converts one of Brazil's penalties. Brazil have won a bitterly disappointing final which does scant justice to the sometimes excellent soccer of the previous 51 games. The law enforcement authorities announce 'good fan behaviour' at the World Cup USA '94 and congratulate FIFA, stating that they usually have more trouble with basketball and American football crowds. Official statistics claim only 400 arrests at the 52 matches, involving a total of over 3.5 million fans. The total number of people tuning in to the World Cup final and closing ceremonies telecast live from the Rose Bowl in Pasadena, California, is estimated to be two billion people, similar to the figure for 'Live Aid' in 1985.

APPENDIX 3

SOCCER PLAYERS' POP SONGS

The only criteria for present inclusion in this list is merely that the recording made the Top 100 UK chart. Other reference texts—see especially the book by Peter Seddon (1995)—contain full lists of soccer players' pop songs which did not gain even such minimal commercial success but are undoubtedly dear to the hearts of those fanatical consumers who bought them. There are many soccer players' pop songs collected on compilations like the *Bend It* series, *Flair* and *4–2–4* LPs mentioned in the 'soccer into pop' list in Chapter 7. For the importance of lists in general, see Appendix 1.

Arsenal FC	'Good Old Arsenal'
Arsenal FC	'Shouting For The Gunners'
Brighton and Hove Albion FC	'The Boys in the Old Brighton Blue'
Chelsea FC	'Blue is the Colour'
Brian Clough and J.J.Barrie	'You Can't Win 'Em All'
Cockerel Chorus (aka Tottenham Hotspur FC)	'Nice One Cyril'
Coventry City FC	'Go for It'
England	'Back Home'
England	'This Time (We'll Get It Right)/We'll Fly The Flag'
England	'We Got the Whole World at our Feet/ When We Are Far from Home'
England	'All The Way'
England	*This Time*
Everton FC	'Here We Go'
Everton FC	'All Together Now'
Paul Gascoigne with Lindisfarne	'Fog On The Tyne (Revisited)'
Paul Gascoigne (and friends)	*Let's Have A Party*
Glenn and Chris (Hoddle and Waddle)	'Diamond Lights'
Vinnie Jones	'Wooly Bully'
Kevin Keegan	'Head Over Heels in Love'
Leeds United FC	'Leeds United'
Liverpool FC	*We Can Do It* EP, containing 'We Can Do

	It/Liverpool Lou/We Shall Not Be Moved/ You'll Never Walk Alone'
Liverpool FC	'Liverpool'
Liverpool FC	'Sitting On Top Of The World'
Liverpool FC	'Anfield Rap (Red Machine in Full Effect)'
Liverpool FC	'Pass and Move'
Manchester United FC	'Manchester United'
Manchester United FC	'Glory Glory Man United'
Manchester United FC	'We All Follow Man United'
Manchester United FC	'United (We Love You)'
Manchester United FC (with Status Quo)	'Come On You Reds'
Manchester United FC (with Stryker)	'We're Gonna Do It Again'
Manchester United FC	'Move Move Move'
Manchester City FC	'The Boys in Blue'
Nottingham Forest FC and Paper Lace	'We've Got the Whole World in Our Hands'
Scotland	'Easy Easy'
Scotland	'We Have a Dream'
Scotland and Rod Stewart	'Ole, Ola (Muhler Brasileira)'
Peter Shilton and Ray Clemence	'Side by Side'
Tottenham Hotspur FC	'Tottenham Tottenham'
Tottenham Hotspur FC	'Hot Shot Tottenham'
Tottenham Hotspur FC	'Ossie's Dream'
West Ham United FC	'I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles'
Ian Wright	'Do the Right Thing'

NOTES

1 POST-YOUTH

1 In actual fact, the two albums *Trainspotting* and *The Beautiful Game* exhibit an uncanny mix of two supposedly opposite genres: 'Britpop' and 'dance'. The divide is not as firm as Parsons' dichotomy would have us believe. Oasis, for instance, may have removed the dance groove associated with the late 1980s rock/dance of one of their major influences, the Stone Roses, but the drum sounds are prominent in the mix in their music, clubculture was important as they were developing, both musically and personally, and they probably captured the post-rave British 'collective' pop moment as well as any of the excellent 'dance' outfits such as Underworld, Chemical Brothers or The Prodigy.

2 Hear Goldie's jungle and drum 'n' bass followers best on the *Breakbeat Science* 2-CD collection (with 120-page booklet edited by writer Sarah Champion), produced by the makers of Volume.

3 *Pulp Culture* is also the title of a book on the 'pulp fiction' of writers like Jim Thompson, Charles Williams and Raymond Chandler (see Haut, 1995). *Pulp Theory* is part of the subtitle *(Popular Reading and Pulp Theory)* of a book by Clive Bloom (1996) and refers to the 'end of pulp' and the 'end of theory'.

2 POST(REALIST)-REALISM

1 Witness the contrast between self-confessed hooligan biographies Colin Ward (1989) and Jay Allan (1989) of the late 1980s, and Ward's subsequent reflections on the '8 years' (roughly 1988 to 1996) in which he says there was an 'all quiet on the hooligan front' in Britain (1996).

3 POST-FANDOM AND HYPERLEGALITY

1 Books about 'sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll' in soccer culture (Williams, 1996; Campbell *et al.*, 1996) and violence among players (Thompson, 1996) subsequently appeared, peeling back the covers which had tended to hide the face of 'modern' soccer since the early 1960s when its first clashes with pop and media culture became apparent.

2 Mark Perryman (1996), in an editorial introduction to a wide-ranging collection of essays on Tony Blair and 'New Labour', suggests that the British Labour Party has

something of a contemptuous attitude to popular (and youth) culture, despite Tony Blair's appearance at successive party conferences with Kevin Keegan (ex-manager of Newcastle United) and Alex Ferguson (Manager of Manchester United) and the coining of the phrase 'Labour's Coming Home', based on the Skinner/Baddiel/Lightning Seeds (Ian Broudie) anthem for Euro '96, 'Football's Coming Home'.

3 For a good account of the concept of fandom and its place in Popular Cultural Studies contributions to analysis of sport and youth culture, see Blake (1996).

4 HYPERREALITY BYTES

1 There are many histories of the soccer World Cup Finals. For one very comprehensive and readable volume, updated and reissued, see Glanville (1993).
2 For a thorough discussion of Baudrillard's large body of work in the context of this debate about postmodernism, see Gane (1991a, b). All three of Gane's books on Baudrillard make out an extremely good case for regarding Baudrillard as anti-modernist *and* anti-postmodernist.
3 See Rojek and Turner (1993, introduction).
4 For a satirical account of the youth cultural context of the Heysel disaster (where 39 Italian fans died) and the New Right cultural politics and the 'tabloidised' British mass media which provided its overall background, see Redhead (1987). Profusely illustrated and notable for Ray Lowry's original cartoons, the book was written in 1984/5 and has been out of print for a number of years.
5 See Chapter 1. For a history and outline of the possible field designated by the label 'Popular Cultural Studies' and how it might be seen to grow out of—but also differ from—previous formulations such as 'Contemporary Cultural Studies', see Redhead (1995, 1997a) and especially the editorial introduction to Redhead with Wynne and O'Connor (1997b).
6 Baudrillard's view in 'America' is that 'you are born modern, you do not become so'. See, in stark contrast, for a 1990s Marxist-oriented sociology of '(post-)modern' America, Woodiwiss (1992). Woodiwiss sees postmodernism (which he defines to incorporate the work of Baudrillard) as having made a contribution to a more adequate sociology without being convinced about the onset of a qualitatively different and new 'postmodern' world which has replaced a pre-existing condition of modernity. He is sceptical about the generalisation of hyperreality/postmodernity 'amongst even the advanced capitalist nations of the world' and specifically rejects 'post-Marxist' contentions.
7 See Rojek and Turner (1993, especially chapters 3 and 8).
8 The idea of the 'last' is deliberately jokey. In a sense it is literal: the last World Cup to take place. It does not suggest that there will in fact be no new World Cup Finals after USA '94. There is, though, a serious implication of such a phrase as 'the last'. In the subtitle to Redhead (1987) *(The Last Football Book),* it drew attention to three important issues. One is the specific historical deterioration in the genre of 'traditional' soccer writing, which did in due course, subsequent to my own book's publication, give way to what has been labelled the 'new soccer writing' of Pete Davies (1991, 1994), Nick Hornby (1992, 1993), Don Watson (1994), Harry Pearson (1994) and others. The second is the decline in the World Cup as a global spectacle—witness the comparison between the style of the final of 1970 between Brazil and Italy and the 'replay' in 1994. Third, I wanted to draw attention to the more philosophical idea of the 'end of…', which in itself is illusory as Baudrillard has demonstrated (1994). See Kroker and Kroker (1993) for

a similar use in the different context of 'end of the millennium' sexuality. In fact, my earlier use of the 'last' *has* often been taken too literally (see Giulianotti *et at.*, 1994, chapter 1) as readers have been misled by the inclusion of the words 'Football Final!' on the cover of *Sing When You're Winning*, lifted from the shrill, and chilling (if your team has lost) cries of local paper sellers early on a Saturday night selling the *Football Pink* (or other equivalents) after the match.

9 Baudrillard's articles about the Gulf War and hyperreality, eventually collected together in a book in the French language in 1991, were translated into English at the Power Institute of Arts, Sydney, Australia by Paul Patton (Baudrillard, 1995a). For a book of essays using this phrase of Baudrillard's as a title, though in fact critical of its use, see Walsh *et al.* (1995). An English version of one of the articles was published at the time by Baudrillard (1991).

10 Baudrillard's arch critic, Douglas Kellner (1992) has written a book about the Persian Gulf TV War which, surprisingly (in view of all Kellner's arguments with various texts of Baudrillard—see, for instance, Kellner, 1994), fails to reference Baudrillard's writings, even in a critical fashion, on the same subject (see Baudrillard (1995a) which was only available fully in French at the time of Kellner's book's publication). Kellner's account of the Persian Gulf War is a very thorough, but strictly conventional 'communications studies' or materialist 'media studies' analysis of the interests of power and class behind the biased media coverage of the 1991 conflict. Baudrillard's thrust was much more that the television screen became the battlefield as never before. Baudrillard's focus, essentially, was on a development of his earlier claim that 'TV is the world', part throwaway soundbite, part profound comment. As one version of Billy Bragg's song 'Waiting For The Greap Leap Forward' has it: The Third World War is live on CNN'.

11 A section of this part of the book is a rewritten version of a paper given to the annual meeting of the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport (NASSS) in Ottawa, Canada, November 1993. The original paper is published by SUNY Press, New York, in the eventual and much delayed collection of some of the papers and presentations from the 1993 conference edited by Genevieve Rail and Jean Harvey under the title *Sport and Postmodern Times* (Harvey and Rail, 1997). Another version is published as the conclusion to Tomlinson and Sugden (1994). I am grateful to the participants at NASSS for their constructively critical comments and suggestions regarding the paper. The original paper focused on the World Cup in the USA before it actually took place. As with Baudrillard's analysis of hyperreality and the Gulf War, Chapter 4 of this book represents a sequel to the earlier conference papers and was written after World Cup USA '94 as a global media event occurred. Richard Giulianotti (1995b) takes me to task in criticism of this earlier work for not yet having provided a coherent theory of youth/sport/soccer in the so-called 'postmodern condition'. Hopefully, the present book goes some way towards such an enterprise.

12 The consensus of various pundits in Britain in the immediate aftermath of USA '94 was that the staging of the World Cup Finals in the USA in 1994 had been a success, and furthermore had contributed to a renewal of belief in the 'greatest show on earth'. For a captain/player's view, see Townsend (1994); for a manager's view, see Charlton (1994); for a soccer consultant's view, see Fynn and Guest (1994, chapter 17); for a reporter's view, see Downey (1995); for a fanzine view, see *WSC* (1994); for a social historian's view, see Mason (1995, chapter 9); and for a 'new football writing' view, see Watson (1994). The publicity for *WSC* (1994) said that the book 'brings together a unique and largely unpublished selection of photos that tell the story of how soccer not only survived its four-week journey

across the USA, but produced the best tournament since 1970'. For a more critical view, see Wagg (1995) and Horton (1995).

13 Simon Kuper's award-winning book (1995) has been credited by critics with creating the new sub-genre of 'football fans' travel writing'.

5 (CHANNEL) SURFIN' USA

1 The Cantona quotations in the Ringpull book edited by Michael Robinson were the subject of a publishing dispute with the eventual outcome being the withdrawal of *La Philosophic de Cantona* and the takeover of other output of Ringpull Press—brought down by the conflict—by Fourth Estate. Cantona s own copyright book is translated from the French *Un Rève Modeste et Fou* into *Cantona: My Story* (Cantona, 1994). Cantona's quotations are frequently used in advertising; e.g. Nike and Eurostar in Britain.

2 The early and mid-1990s North American rave scene tended to be sited in the mid-West and West coast, including western Canada.

3 Photocopies of this rare fanzine are available for researchers to study in an archive which is now kept in an office at the Institute for Popular Culture in the Department of Sociology and Inter Disciplinary Studies at the Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, England, where there is a unique collection of thousands of popular cultural fanzines (literally, fan magazines) and other periodicals and memorabilia including Granada TV's *The Passion of Football* film. The archive began in the mid-1980s as part of a post-doctoral research project on sporting culture and its legal and social regulation, and constituted the Unit For Law and Popular Culture archive in the Department of Law at Manchester Polytechnic (now the School of Law at the Manchester Metropolitan University) when that research centre was created in 1990. Between 1992 and 1995, it became part of the Inter-Faculty Manchester Institute for Popular Culture. See, further, Seddon (1995) for an excellent, thoughtful, fan-sensitive and comprehensive guide to the literature of Association Football. Appendix 1 in the present book has the most comprehensive A—Z list of soccer fanzines, past and present, with annotations, yet published.

6 THE SOUND OF THE STADIUM

1 See Redhead (1991b); the quotation comes from Pele's reaction to seeing a Marco Van Basten goal for AC Milan in 1990. Another more famous quotation from Pele—'football: it's the beautiful game'—adorns one of the Philosophy Football T-shirts. All of the Philosophy Football T-shirts mentioned in the book are available by mail order from 28 Wargrave Avenue, London N15 6UD, UK.

7 THESE CHARMING FANS

1 Simon Frith (1996) has argued that the tradition of analysing the words (out of context of the sound) is generally problematic in popular music studies.

2 *Granta*, the literary magazine, edited until 1995 by Bill Buford, author of a seriously misleading (and misled) book about soccer hooliganism (Buford, 1991), published Nick Hornby's cultural essay called 'Fourteen and After'—a piece which later formed the basis for Hornby's first novel (Hornby, 1995)—about his own young

male angst focusing on relations with adolescent and post-adolescent females he had known. Also included in the same issue of *Granta* (No. 45) was poet and philosopher Ian Hamilton's 'Gazza Agonistes', a literary appreciation of proletarian footballer, Paul Gascoigne, later updated in book form (Hamilton, 1994). Hamilton had earlier edited *The Faber Book of Football* (Hamilton, 1992), an anthology which included pieces by 'literati' like Martin Amis and academics like Karl Miller. Miller's piece was a short 'literary' view of Gascoigne and England at Italia '90 originally penned in the *London Review of Books*. Miller also subsequently intervened in the Cantona debate, coming out unequivocally on the side of the 'romantic individualist' French artist (Miller, 1995). However, another of the writers, Martin Amis, notoriously, wrote a review of Buford's book in The *Independent on Sunday* in 1991 in which he wrote scathingly of soccer fans as having the 'complexion and body scent of cheese and onion crisps, and the eyes of pit bulls' and as a 'solid mass of swearing, sweating, retching, belching sub-humanity'. Ian Hamilton's anthology has two of Amis' pieces, but not this one! By the time of USA '94, Amis was quoted in newspapers claiming an undying love of soccer. Interestingly, Buford himself labels Hornby *et al.*'s 'blokeish narrative' genre as 'lad literature'. Hornby also contributed a piece to *The Modern Review* in 1993 on 'America's Own Goal', about the hosting of the 1994 World Cup in the USA. In 1996, a collection of short stories about soccer (Royle, 1996)—including such eminent authors as Irvine Welsh, Geoff Dyer and Iain Sinclair—was published, further adding fuel to the 'soccerati' debate.

3 *Loaded*, the men's magazine launched in 1994, self-consciously marketed itself to 'intelligent new lads, the sort who identify with Nick Hornby'. Jon Savage (1994) noted after interviewing him that Hornby himself was ambivalent about 'Lad Culture', though he did express a dislike *of Loaded*. As Marek Kohn (1995) emphasises, however, this 'licensing of the lad' has encouraged a confessional form of another kind, from 'men who hate football'.

4 The title of this chapter is inspired by the Manchester City soccer fanzine *This Charming Fan*, itself plucked from The Smiths' song 'This Charming Man' from 1983. For a list of 1980s and early 1990s sports-related fanzines, see Redhead (1991). For a later, shorter list, see Haynes (1995), and for the most informative listing and cross-referenced bibliography yet produced, see Seddon (1995). The fanzine *When Saturday Comes* and Scotland's *The Absolute Game* provide regular updates and lists of new soccer fanzines, and Sportspages Bookshops (London and Manchester) sell many of them.

5 For instance, 'Goal Net' is a site on the Internet which includes an electronic 'on-line' *When Saturday Comes*. For further discussion on 'surfing' the Internet for international soccer culture, see Duncan (1995).

8 POST-CULTURE

1 Dave Hill (1996) suggests 'post-lad' male youth are being targeted by advertising and marketing as 'millennium men', a mixture of 'new lad' and 'new man'. Soccer, especially, is the medium for this targeting and any age group (as young as five or six, as well as over 30) can be included in the era of the new 'adman'.

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