GLOBAL GAME, LOCAL IDENTITY: THE SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF
FOOTBALL SPACE IN LIVERPOOL

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<u>Abstract</u>

Based on participant observation of matches and interviews with key informants in Liverpool, UK, this thesis sets out the situation of the globalized English Premier League and its consequences for football (soccer) fandom in Liverpool. I am looking at both the reliance on and resistance to a tourist based consumption of the game. Using a Lefebvrian theoretical framework I analyze how football space is created in Liverpool and how the supporters' groups of different teams in the city work to both globalize and glocalize the football culture of the city, and are looking to reshape their relationship with football's current economic and cultural space. As Liverpool increasingly relies on a tourist-based economy with sport as its focus, it is altering the relationship between supporters and their clubs, and with other fans. The monitoring of fan performances by both authorities and other fans can be considered through Foucauldian conceptions of power to continuously shift the dynamics between different groups of supporters.

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Chapter One:

INTRODUCTION

This study is partially born out of years spent observing the behaviour of soccer[1] fans at matches that I have attended (Figure 1) or watched on TV or webcasts. I saw that soccer fans engaged in highly participatory activity that went beyond the simple cheers and boos of the popular North American sports: hockey, baseball, basketball and Canadian/American football. There are, of course exceptions to crowd behaviour in North American professional sports, but it is generally seen as a less dynamic crowd (Schoonderwoerd, 2011). The word fan, derived from fanatic, seemed particularly apt to describe the behaviour of soccer fans for the way that they sing through the matches and made outrageous displays of support. In its most extreme form, the *ultras* of many European and South American teams will actually battle *ultras* from other teams and police or security forces (O'Neill, 2005; Kennedy, D., 2013). These turf battles, while not the focus of my study, began to make me think that being a fan was more than about supporting the team on the field, but just as much about supporting a team in the stands and that fan support is manifest in a spatial dimension.

As a North American soccer fan, it is often considered a sport that a fan must 'opt in' to, as the cultural place and popularity of the sport ranks far below that of the major North American sports leagues of the NFL, MLB, NBA, and NHL (Paulsen, 2014). As a result, media coverage of the sport is limited. As such, the nature of soccer fandom in North America is different from

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[1] For this thesis I will generally reserve the use of the term football for the game formally known as Association Football, as that is the usage of the term in my study site. The use of the term soccer will be reserved for any references to the sport in its North American context, as that is how the sport is generally known in Canada and the US.

Figure 1. Toronto FC fans waving their colours versus Impact de Montreal April 27, 2013. (Photograph: D. Evans, 2013).

that of England, where football is the dominant sport almost to the exclusion of others. This is

also reflected in the different class connotations of the sport. North American soccer has two

class connotations as both upper class, because of the emphasis on it being played through school

and university (Wagg, 1995; Goldblatt, 2006), and lower class through its association with

immigrant communities (Wagg, 1995; Molle, 2007). The divided class identity has made the

sport arguably less middle-class, and has until recently limited its potential to become a

dominant national sport in Canada and the US. Meanwhile, English football spectatorship as it is

performed in its weekly consumption is considered an overwhelmingly working class sport

(Millward, 2009; Pearson, 2012; Jeffreys, 2012). Due to its origins in England, it is also seen as a

distinctly "native" sport, with roots that are often traced back to medieval community

celebrations, including a ban of ball games due to noise and disorder in 1314 (Lutz & McCarthy,

2007), and leading to the eventual codification of the modern game taking place in England in 1863 (Goldblatt, 2006).

Since the formalization of the rules of the sport, it has spread to become the world's most popular sport both in terms of participants and audience. The history of the sport itself is a case study of globalization (Foer, 2004; Kuper, 1998; Guilianotti, 2000; Goldblatt, 2006). My own interest in the sport was shaped first by the global broadcasts of the FIFA World Cup, and later by interest in the European leagues because of their availability on Canadian TV. While national team support is commonly tied to heritage, particularly in multi-cultural and soccer-poor Canada (Doyle, J., 2011), my own experiences are in line with academic research on the basis of support origins (Porat, 2010): family support, a favorite player, a particular style of play, or a nice uniform are just some of the reasons that I have encountered with Canadian fans of soccer. Yet within the support for club teams, status is accorded to those that have "been there" – as in attending a game in Europe, or were born into the club, or had supported that particular club for a long time. Switching allegiance is frowned upon, even in North America (Kerr & Emery, 2011), and groups of supporters tend to congregate at particular pubs to watch games (Humphries, pers. com.). The social groupings of the soccer fans in Canada try to replicate some of the behaviours of similar groups in Europe, and the growing popularity of the sport in North America means that many of these new supporters' groups are attempting to bring the participatory supporter culture to games in North America (Doyle, M., 2011).

The global reach of the English Premier League[2] and its new legions of fans have generally been sold by the League as a mark of its own significance (Football Association,

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[2] The top tier of English football is officially known by its sponsor's name: the Barclay's Premier League (BPL, 2014), but will be referred to by its short title: the Premier League throughout this thesis.

2013); that the Premier League has become not just the premier league in England, but that it is now the premier league of the world. Each week millions of fans tune into watch the happenings of a game played in such English cities as Hull, Stoke, or Leicester, and while the focus is the game itself, it is the atmosphere of the crowd in the stands with the constant singing and chanting that intrigue so many foreign viewers. Wanting to be part of that community drives thousands of tourists to England each week to participate in the stands at the game (ENWRS, 2011).

This thesis sets out the situation of the globalized Premier League and its consequences for football fandom in Liverpool, looking at both the reliance on and resistance to a tourist-based consumption of the game. In examining how that resistance is manifest among fans, it is clear that the fans are not rejecting globalization outright, but rather seeking to create an alter-globalization (Pleyers, 2010). By this, I mean that the ultimate goal of these fans is not a simple retrenchment from the global game, but an alternative vision of what that global game can and should be. In challenging the current governance structure of the League and Club, fans are looking to reshape their relationship with football's current economic and cultural space.

What follows will be a synthesis of two major strands of study in geography and football studies today. On the one hand, globalization - particularly as it relates to the English Premier League - has received an increasing amount of attention as the popularity of the League has grown outside of England (see: Giulianotti, 2000; Giulianotti and Robertson, 2009; Millward, 2009; Lovejoy, 2011). At the same time, sociological focus of football scholarship has, in recent years, begun to move away from its focus on hooliganism to include a richer description of how supporters interact with the team (Benkwitz & Molnar, 2012). In this case, by examining how fans interact and participate in the production of their club culture, I will examine how the differential globalization of football clubs on Merseyside has affected the relationships that fans

have not just with the club, but with each other. The tension between different groups of fans and between the fans and the clubs has a spatial manifestation that has led different fans to modify their relationship to the club and others.

Here the growing reliance of Liverpool's economy on football and the performativity of supporter culture intersects with Lefebvre's theorization on the production of space (2001); Liverpool as a space has increasingly seen its *spatial practice* ordered around a neoliberal economic model that has in turn created *representations of space*, the city's built environment, which has focused on the city's economic and cultural reliance on football. But the *representational spaces* of the football fans themselves both support and challenge the organization of this space. They contribute to the very economic model that underpins the consumption of sport, yet simultaneously use these same representations of space – Anfield or Goodison Park – as stages to agitate for a new economic paradigm for their cultural production (Kennedy, P., 2013).

It is these performances of territoriality, the hailing of certain behaviours, the displays of signs, and the singing of songs that give cultural significance to these spaces. The stands are given meaning through how they are lived in and how they are symbolically represented. Furthermore, the valorization of specific places related to the consumption of the sport is tied into how the space itself is conceived – the architecture of the stadium, its location and associated amenities is very much related to Lefebvre's representations of space. This in turn relates to the spatial practices of the wider city and society that have shaped its history, culture and identity that fed into the creation of a football culture and economy. I have reversed Lefebvre here, in that his trialectic of the production of space is described from the perceived, to

conceived, to lived spaces (see Lefebvre, 2001; Topinka, 2010), but my purpose was to work from how the fan lives out to why Liverpool as a place of football culture thrives.

The dynamics of power in these performances of territoriality also draw on Foucauldian ideas of power and surveillance (Foucault, 1995). In addition to the security systems in place at games built specifically to monitor fans, there is an overlapping social monitoring of fans by other fans, that is "subtly inspecting one another and infer[ing] meaning through interpersonal communication and observation" (Dixon, 2014, 424). It is this constant observing and being observed that grants power to fans at games, their collective performances of fandom determine appropriate behaviour and provide a platform for fans to exercise that power.

1.1. Research Objectives

In undertaking this study of the two major Liverpool clubs, I am partially addressing a gap identified by Adam Benkwitz and Gyozo Molnar that, "has received only a small amount of academic interest … how rivalries manifest themselves within the football (sub)culture, or put differently, how a rivalry is actually acted-out and lived-through by fans and fan communities" (2012: 483) not just sociologically, but geographically. While some of the idiosyncrasies of the Merseyside rivalry are specific to the two clubs involved here, what I am demonstrating through this work is that the manifestation of the rivalry is reinforced through the identity formation of the supporters that back their respective clubs. Despite the local nature of this rivalry and its historical basis, there is a curation of club and supporter identity that has incorporated the changes to the teams as they have reached an increasingly global audience, thereby providing supporters with agency and the ability to adapt to the changing circumstances they face at their club.

Underpinning the research questions to be noted below is the central issue faced by many commodified sports in recent decades, one that concerns the tension between the globalization of the sport financially, through the media, in recruiting players, in hiring managers and promoters, and the unalterable fact that the team's identity is local, and so are a substantial number of the most engaged supporters. Financial survival depends upon winning, and winning depends upon having the best players, the best trainers and managers, the best sales staff, the best stadium all of which require that the geographical scale of operations grow from the original local scale up to the global, in so doing seeking out seriously wealthy owners who are prepared to invest on a scale that exceeds local resources. But without the crowd, drawn largely from the local area, this financial edifice would collapse. From a geographical perspective globalization is locally constrained.

In undertaking this study of Liverpool and the fans of its major football clubs I am looking to conceptualize the organization and production of football space in this city. This study will serve as an example of how the globalization of sport affects local spectator culture and how that is expressed in relationship to the teams and other fans. Specifically, I am looking to answer the following questions:

How has the globalization of the Premier League differentially affected the two clubs in Liverpool and how is that manifest spatially in the city? When considering the "winners and losers" of globalization (O'Brien and Leichenko, 2003), not all places benefit equally from the capture of new markets. In sports, this translates to the creation of new legions of foreign fans. With the Premier League becoming one of the most commercially successful leagues at a global scale, how has that success manifest itself in Liverpool – as home to two Premier League clubs? How does a football economy manifest itself in space? While the game itself takes place on a

neatly bounded pitch that clearly marks what is in or out of bounds, the cultural and economic influence of the game extends well beyond the edge of the grass. If the stadium is the heart of the sport, what influence does football have on the surrounding neighbourhood, city and region?

What role do fans/supporters play in the cultural economy of football? The Premier League markets itself on a social experience of viewing a communal event, and its economic viability is dependent on a continual drawing of fans into its spectacle. But do the fans have significant agency in this production? Football fans are an expected part of the performance spectacle at a match, and are not hapless dupes that are content to merely consume the sport spectacle before them. What are the dynamics amongst supporters that shape the spaces for different groups involved with a club? How do supporters interact with different elements of their sporting environment: the team, the club, the other fans, and the city or wider world? As a group, what elements tie supporters together and how do they define what their football space is?

1.2. Plan of the Work

As I discuss in Chapter 2, while there has been a heavy emphasis on the sociology of football fans, there is much less on the spatial relationships that develop from their behaviour. While the initial scope of this project was to focus broadly on the spatial interaction of football fans, the actual observed situation provided a much richer account of football fans and their perception of space than I had initially expected. Rather than simply a struggle for dominance of space in and around the match, with the purpose of influencing the current match, these battles often had deeper causes connected to the wider socio-economic conditions of the city and of England, and as a reaction against the globalization of what many residents saw as "their" game.

In particular, the organization of fans into supporters' groups has given a formal agency to these fans through their collective action. This agency can then be used to either support or

subvert the club, depending on the group involved, and their own agenda. The representational spaces of the supporters for the Liverpool clubs is reshaping the football environment in the city and in some cases is creating an alternative networking of football fans that has the potential to change power dynamics between the sport and its spectators.

Chapter 3 discusses the study site of Liverpool, methodological approaches to the thesis, and sets out how I went about undertaking my observations and analysis of football supporters in Liverpool and Northwest England.

In Chapter 4 I examine the production of football space in Liverpool and how it came to be not just a major leisure activity in the city, but a source of civic pride during difficult economic times and as a means to create a new economy based on the global popularity of the City's teams and the sport in general. I argue that the importance of football to Liverpool is found in the spatial practice of the city losing its former role as a shipping and industrial hub of the British Empire and instead creating a sport and culture based economy capitalizing on the prominence of its teams in the Premier League. This in turn influences the built environment of the city seeking to further exploit a tourism economy.

Continuing with the production of footballing space in Liverpool, Chapter 5 discusses the reaction of fans to this changing football environment. Responses to what fans perceive as changing football consumption has led to different responses. While some fans have chosen to leave the environment, others have sought to reshape their consumption of and participation in the game. The responses are related to group identity and the level of the perceived threat with some going so far as to agitate against other fans, or against the club itself.

Chapter 6 returns to the research questions posed above to theorize the production of football space in Liverpool and elsewhere, and its implications for a broader consideration of how the globalization of sports, and football specifically is manifest in the supporter cultures that are integral to teams and their home. I also indicate directions for future research related to this thesis.

Chapter Two:

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter I consider the performances of football fans in Liverpool as a form of anti-/alter-globalization protest directed less at a specific target, but a more generalized protest against things not seen as local. In so doing, this chapter lays out a brief background in a number of theoretical fields. First, some conception of what globalization is and how it relates to both Liverpool and football is necessary. Following on from that, I recognize that I am not considering just individual fans, but groups of fans, therefore some discussion of collective identity and belonging is included. Building on that, I present a conception of how individuals use and create space and territory. Having built that conception of belonging, I then present a typology of fans encountered during my fieldwork.

2.1 Capital and Football

While the movement of the ball on the field is the focal point of the game of football, it is the movement of capital that drives the economy of the sport. In the simplest terms: athletes are both commodities and labourers, and winning (with the associated trophies and glories) is the product which is packaged and sold as part of the affective spectacle of entertainment (Kennedy & Kennedy, 2010).

To create their product, teams spend great quantities of capital on providing their team with the best available players/labourers, coaches, and facilities; each team with its own infrastructure designed to find and develop talent that can then be channelled into its main squad. Since the Victorian era, there has been a scramble on the part of clubs to find the new talent to provide their team with an edge on the field that will allow them to win (Goldblatt, 2006; Holt

1990). That has driven teams to seek talent further afield, thereby gaining a competitive edge over their opponents. Patterns of labour movement have emerged in the world: with developing nations seeing a steady stream of their best players leaving for European clubs (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009). The capital outlaid for these players is recouped through the various revenues that flow into a club through ticketing, television, merchandising and sponsorships. The biggest clubs in the world are what they are because they invest vast quantities of capital to acquire the best, but (usually) manage to recoup that through the vast incomes that their success on the field provides.

The stability of the richest teams in the world indicates the importance of capital flows to the global football system. All of the world's top 20 richest clubs, what Deloitte (2014) has dubbed the Football Money League, are located in six European countries; despite strong footballing traditions and a wealth of players in Latin America and Africa, none of the clubs in either of those regions comes close to making the top 20. The same dynamics of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2004) that make possible so many other capitalist relations between the developed and developing world operate in the world of sport as well. Although the clubs in developing nations may be compensated for transfers of their players to European clubs, the loss of the ability to compete through these transfers then hampers their ability to compete financially with European clubs. The cycle of transfers concentrates the best players in the top clubs, top clubs then continue to win, serving as a draw for future players and providing them with the resources/revenue stream to acquire more. But this transfer of talent does not need to operate on a global scale – within the Premier League there is a steady flow of players from lower ranked teams to what is sometimes referred to as the big 6: Manchester United, Manchester City, Arsenal, Chelsea, Tottenham, and Liverpool – all of which are members of the Football Money

League. Teams are often coerced to sell their best players to top teams as players want to win the trophies that those top teams win, the demands of players for transfers can then depress the potential price for a transfer, leaving smaller teams without the means to replace their departing top stars.

Running in tandem with this global harvesting of talent is a search for capital. Star players do not just use their labour to produce wins, their labour is also key to the marketing of merchandise and sponsorships that fuel the finances of their clubs. When Manchester United FC claims to have the support of 650 million fans around the world (Ozanian, 2012), it is an expectation that they can draw on the purchasing power of those individuals to fuel the capital required to operate the club.

That Chelsea and Manchester City are now considered big clubs in England is a demonstration of the power of capital. The injection of huge capital investments by their respective club owners has given the two formerly smaller teams an ability to compete on the field, and then convert that into an ability to compete financially off the field. Other teams have looked to find additional capital through alternative financial means such as Manchester United listing itself on the New York Stock Exchange (The Guardian, 2012). Just as the Premier League's search for the best players has grown globally, the search for large-scale capital investment in the clubs is increasingly international – of the big six, only Tottenham Hotspur remains majority English-owned.

The financialization of the clubs has also increased the precarity of football finances. Capital can go as quickly as it comes in and a number of clubs that have enjoyed over a century of financial stability, such as Leeds United FC, Portsmouth FC and Rangers FC (Glasgow), have found themselves threatened with insolvency through various financial crises (Cooper, 2013;

Kennedy & Kennedy, 2010). Liverpool FC also found itself in financial difficulty following the economic crisis in 2008. Already carrying a large debt through the debt-leveraged purchase of the club in the previous year, owners Tom Hicks and George Gillett were unable to secure additional financing for a new stadium and the Royal Bank of Scotland was eventually forced to intervene with the Club's Board of Directors (Williams, 2013). The global flow of capital involved in the English Premier League is just one aspect of the globalized sport, and a more thorough discussion of what globalization is and how it relates to sport is what I will turn to next.

2.2 Globalization and Football

Definitions of globalization vary, and the relative consequences, advantages and drawbacks are debated both in popular literature (see Friedman, 2008; Kuper & Szymanski, 2011) and academia (see Sassen, 2006; Appadurai, 1996). What most of these definitions share or emphasize is that globalization works to compress both space and time in the movement of capital, ideas, people and commodities around the world (Harvey, 1990). Yet it is important to stress that the scale at which these processes operate is not a binary of global or local that is at work here, but a multitude of scalar levels (Brenner, 2001). There is a constant tension between forces of globalization – often seen as homogenizing and overrunning local ideas, cultures and products in favour of a dominant universal versus those of glocalization (Robertson, 1995 in Giulianotti, 2000), where these global ideas and products are then reimagined and adapted to suit local needs. In this understanding, the global and the local are "inextricably and irreversibly bound together through a dynamic relationship" (Urry, 2002: 84). Global events work at local levels and local events can ripple through to global magnitudes. The ability of events to jump scales from micro to macro, or vice versa, leaves the potential that the global can be felt at

intensely personal levels by individuals, and that their personal responses can similarly trigger much larger events (Marston, Jones & Woodward, 2005).

And while the use of the term global is used to invoke a universality, local is a much more difficult word to pin down and define. What and whose local is being considered is critical to the scale of the debate being considered and is often variable depending the context. For example there are multiple scales of local at work on English football fans. At the largest scale, fans expressed concern about foreign ownership of teams, and the ability of English players to find places on the top level teams (BBC Sport, 2013b); these concerns consider local as Britain or even more specifically England. Some fans expressed concerns about the cost of games when travelling to London, striking on a familiar North-South divide in English politics that splits England in two (Giulianotti, 2000). At an even smaller scale, the Scouse identity is invoked dividing the locals of Liverpool from the surrounding Lancashire and Cheshire regions and derogatorily referring to residents of those surrounding regions as "wools" or "woollies". And even at the smallest scales, there are concerns about the local Anfield neighbourhood and its residents, or scales of which section of the stadium one sits in. While not all the examples are explicitly tied to globalization, the progressively more specific definition of "local" means that multiple scales of how globalization is being effected must always be under consideration (Marston, 2000).

Globalization, as a "world characterized by virtual communication, institutional deregulation, and the movement of capital, information, objects and people at great speed across large distances," (Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst, 2005) emphasizes movement, flows and networks. Rather than a system organized around national territories, this globalized world becomes increasingly connected through nodal networks (Sassen, 2006). As such, much

emphasis has been placed on the role of major urban centres, often referred to as world cities (Sassen, 2007; Massey, 2011). As power becomes increasingly concentrated in these world cities, other locations become increasingly marginalized in the global economy and as potential centres of economic, political, social and cultural power. Yet here again the global and local operate in tension, as some of these cities that find themselves increasingly isolated from the major nodes of a global system attempt to find ways to rebrand themselves or market themselves to a global audience by capitalizing on the uniqueness of their locality. (Lee, 2011; Boland, 2010)

One of the major critiques of this push for commodifying localities as a means of economic regeneration is the homogenization of that same said uniqueness through particular cultural spectacles. Richards and Wilson (2004) examined the European Cultural Capital event, which Liverpool later hosted in 2008, and discuss the appropriation of the term culture to have a very restrictive meaning that became associated with specific acceptable activities that were meant to rebrand the city in a particular fashion. Yet despite this, deeper structural elements prevented their study site of Rotterdam from being able to completely remake itself. As the European Cultural Capital shifts from year to year there is a reproduction of common elements in the event's design that rather than highlight the uniqueness of a location, serve to further homogenize that city's culture with other host cities (Boland, 2010).

The reliance of Liverpool on football takes advantage of the sport as an already globalized cultural commodity. Football's spread from the christening of its rules by the Football Association in London in 1863 to the spectacle that will have an estimated audience of 1.1 billion for the FIFA World Cup Final in 2014 (FIFA, 2014) makes the game a prime example of the globalization of sport (Foer, 2004; Giulianotti, 1999; Kuper, 1998). Through its history the

sport has illustrated key trends in the concept of globalization: it is almost universally played around the world; the sport itself is overseen by a supra-national governing body that regulates the game and the global labour market of the sport; and the movement of teams, players, broadcasts and merchandise creates a global flow of products, labour and capital. Yet for all of the elements of the sport that emphasize the triumph of late-capitalist globalization, there is a distinct glocalization of the sport (Andrews & Ritzer, 2007) working not just in territories that have adopted the game, but also at the historical heart of the game in England. That is, certain aspects of the game and its consumption are seen as specifically English in their manner, distinct from other cultural practices associated with the game elsewhere in the world.

Reactions against globalization are often framed as reactions against state actors and protests against transnational organizations. This has frequently been seen occurring in anti-globalization protests at large-scale gatherings such as the World Trade Organization protests in Seattle and Genoa, and at G20 protests in Quebec City (see Lessard-Lachance & Norcliffe, 2011; Pleyers, 2010). Because of their size and intensity of conflict these mega-event protests often attract large-scale media attention, but beyond these conflicts there is the potential for a small-scale anti-globalization protest that can be affected through the performances of everyday life. In contrast to anti-globalization, Geoffrey Pleyers (2010) suggests that the term alter-globalization is perhaps more appropriate to describe a movement that while opposed to a neoliberal model of globalization, does not outright reject the idea of global connectivity. It is a reclaiming of the word globalization from its neoliberal connotations and allowing for the connection of global networks without the homogenization of economies and societies. Both the large- and small-scale protests against the current organization of football that are discussed in this thesis can be seen not just as reactionary, but also as advocating for new forms of globalized football.

Just as the game on the field has been subject to forces of globalization and glocalization, the supporters in the stand are similarly influenced by global and local forces. Dmowski (2013) examined the factors influencing European football rivalries, finding that these were largely based in conflicts that originated off the field and coalesced around separate teams. Dmowski's focus is on the origins due to various forms of ethnic conflict: ethnicity, nationality, religion, language, origin, and territory, but considers the possibility of new rivalries emerging from the increasingly globalized football world. It is far more likely for "super-clubs", such as Manchester United, to play new international rivals, such as FC Barcelona, than their more traditional rivals Leeds United. Indeed, one of the fears of opponents to a European super-league is that traditional local rivalries will be sacrificed to manufacture new rivalries based on club stature rather than local identities (Dmowski, 2013; Millward, 2009).

2.3 Tribalism

While much of this thesis deals with the spaces that are created and maintained by supporters, it is also important to consider the sociological basis under which groups are formed and maintained. Much of this thesis deals with the ideas of belonging and collectivity, in that the fans that are discussed are almost always participating in, talking about, or reflecting on the participation of themselves or others in actions not by individuals, but groups. While some of the feelings are personalized and may vary from each individual, these football supporters have chosen to take part in a collective through their actions, whether this is as formal as joining a supporters' group, or informal as simply attending a match or watching in a pub. Regardless of the intentionality of these associations of fans, their participation creates social systems and social orders that have important implications to others around them. Both Durkheim and Weber use the idea that society is somehow greater than the sum of its individuals (Malesevic and

Haugard, 2002), and that thinking underpins much of sociologic thought today. These social orders, such as support for a particular team or membership in a particular supporters' group create boundaries through the determination of who is or is not a member of that group, a dimension of social organization that can only exist if there are "others" to differentiate from. While these boundaries may not necessarily originate as spatial boundaries, often a spatial differentiation of these social groups is formed or at the very least implied from the ordering of these social groups.

Identifiers to mark themselves as separate from others are often categorized by race, religion, gender, or class. At the Liverpool matches, race and religion are not frequently used to identify supporters, although there are a number of cases in other cities where those categories factor into intense rivalries (see Dmowski, 2013; Giulianotti, 2000; Kuper, 2006; and Wilson, 2012). While gender dynamics in the stands are changing as more women attend games, the change is largely due to changing class dynamics at games and the gentrification of the Premier League (Giulianotti, 2000; King, 1998). It is the performance of class at matches that factors most into others' perceptions of fan authenticity (Dixon, 2014). Football spectatorship has long been considered a working class activity – indeed almost as one of the definitive activities of the British working class (Hornby, 1998; Savage et al., 2005). Class here is not a simply determination of economics, but a social performance, an "interweaving of cultural, ideological and material processes" (Bondi and Christie, 2000: 339) to create a class practice. Within the stands, football spectatorship has always had different performances of class – with the cheapest seats at the ends encouraging one form of class performance, while the expensive midfield seats have created a different class performance; this spatial division of class being just one dimension of class at games.

Here the concepts of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* (Tönnies, 1963) become critical to the conception of what membership in the social order of the football club implies. As football is often compared to religion, it may be useful to use that analogy for a moment to consider what sort of bond it provides between the supporters of a particular club. Religions are less often chosen by their adherents than they are born into them, it is a mechanistic association, *gemeinschaft*, which dictates the social grouping of its adherents almost from birth (Jenkins, 2002). This is remarkably similar to the origin stories of many a football fan, where they entered the world, or at least the world of football, through the affiliation of their parents. In most cases, the sporting faith was determined by group affiliations of family, which is the most common reason for team affiliation (Best, 2013). It is a citizenship of sorts as they are born into and raised to value the club and team as if it were a common aspect of their society. However, the expression of their faith in their team takes on very different forms through how they associate with others that watch the game. The expression of the cult following of fans could be seen as the organic association, *gesellschaft*, of the supporters (Jenkins, 2002). Here, their expression of support for the club may take many forms through who and how they display fandom, and where they choose to do it. This aspect of their social organization, and how they opt into a group is determined not by the intrinsic values of their team association, but by the bonds formed amongst the supporters group that they have chosen to join. The Liverpool supporter's union, Spirit of Shankly, acknowledges this in the Bill Shankly quote on their webpage, "The socialism I believe in is everyone working for each other, everyone sharing in the rewards. It's the way I see football, it's the way I see life" (Spirit of Shankly, n.d.).

This associative fandom unites a group through common purpose, rather than simply their shared characteristic. Members of a supporters' group have found common cause in how

they express their support for the club and their expectations from that same club. A member of LFC Supporters in Toronto has different expectations and expressions of support for the club than a member of *Keep Flags Scouse*, even if they share a common interest in supporting Liverpool FC. It is in that frame that different types of supporters can be examined: with whom and how they associate with their club.

In examining the different associations of fans within one team, this is a departure from many other ethnographies of fans. Much of football literature on the study of rivalries considers each set of fans as a unified whole, using Anderson's (1991) "imagined community," that even without face-to-face interaction of the entire set, they share a common sense of belonging and purpose (Benkwitz & Molnar, 2012; Conner, 2014). Yet at work is a far more complex series of fan motivations that may even work at cross-purposes at times. A typical match is then far from being a binary of two opposing teams and their fans, but also a conflict between different groups of supporters that, while unified in their opposition against the other team, differ in their approaches to that opposition. Notable exceptions to this binary of fans would be Pearson (2012) in his study of away-fan experiences, which includes some of the conflicts between different fan groups led to some of the supporters preferring to attend away games; and Rookwood and Millward's (2011) contrasting of fan perceptions of Liverpool-born players by local and international fans. In both studies, the conflicts between supporters of the same team demonstrate that supporters cannot be viewed as monolithic groups in a binary directed against an opposing team's monolithic supporters.

2.4 Space & Territory

Although space is such an integral part of fans' experience at games, it has not informed much of the discussion around football fans' experiences in the dominantly sociological studies

of the sport (Benkwitz & Molnar, 2012). The most relevant discussion to this study regarding space and the emotional geographies of sport would be John Bale's (1993) use of Yi-Fu Tuan's topophilia and topophobia in relation to football stadia. Bale regards the football stadium as the modern day cathedral and a sacred place. The landscape of the stadium then becomes a sanctified ground. The ritualization of behaviour and the social interaction of sports fans in these places shares many of the sociological characteristics of religious activities (Bale, 1993).

Bale's comparison of the stadium to a cathedral also highlights the importance of the stadium as a third place, one that is neither home nor work and is a site for civic and social engagement. Certainly the stadium and cathedral share some key third place characteristics as conceived by Oldenburg (1991): the space is accessible to all and individuals are not being held there against their will, the socio-economic status of attendees is somewhat leveled, and the space is seen as a home away from home. Much like Putnam's bowling alleys (2000), these third places have served as a place where people can meet, talk and exchange ideas. But beyond the exchange of ideas, both the stadium and cathedral, as massive architectural constructs, serve as symbolic nodes for their congregations. The physical importance of these places and the meanings attached to them then become still larger and become points of pilgrimage to their devotees (Bale, 1993).

Bale, writing in the aftermath of the 1989 Hillsborough Stadium disaster, also noted that fan surveys from the time indicated a number of fan fears associated with away games, attributed in part to the hooligan troubles, but also the penning of fans in the terraces at the time. The emotional geography of travel to a rival team had at the time become associated with a landscape of fear, matched by local resentment over the imposition of the Saturday matches on residents and businesses that were not involved with the football industry (Bale, 1993). Nuisance

associated with football often led to polarization of neighbourhoods around the football grounds, with some older residents deciding to move out of these neighbourhoods due to the regular disturbances; while some fans deliberately relocate to the stadium neighbourhood because of the meanings associated with that place (Hornby, 1998) – the topophilic response.

However, in the City of Liverpool, both teams have long been established at their current sites and form a focus for the community that residents have long since adapted to (Williams, 2011). In fact, it is the talk of leaving the current grounds that often stirs up protests against clubs. As I will discuss later, many of the protests against the two Merseyside clubs have centred on plans for Liverpool FC to build a new stadium in Stanley Park, or to expand Anfield; while Everton FC fans have protested the possible move out of the neighbourhood entirely. The importance of the current locations to supporters of both clubs highlights the attachments to these places that both clubs' fans have, and the symbolic value of the current built environment.

The emotional geographies of individuals in and around the football grounds of Liverpool are influenced by the types of spaces that are produced by others. While the built environment, as discussed above is one aspect of the creation of these spaces, there are other spaces created through social interaction of the people within these settings. Space, according to Henri Lefebvre, is a product, and one that is formed through social relations and practices (Unwin, 2000). Lefebvre lays out a trialectic conception of space[3] (Lefebvre, 2001: 33):

- spatial practice: the production and reproduction of characterized by social formations ensures cohesion and is maintained through performance.

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[3] Lefebvre's trialectic has been widely used in human geography, with its economic dimensions being taken up by David Harvey (2008, 2009) and others, and its symbolic dimensions taken up by Edward Soja (1996) among others. While much of this thesis focuses on the economic dimensions of Lefebvrian space, the symbolic representations of space become more important to how fans live and exist in their space.

- representations of space: the ordering of spatial relations through signs, and codes.

- representational spaces: the embodiment of complex symbolisms through social life and art that is linked to clandestine aspects of social life.

What I am considering as the production of "football space" is how these three elements, as they pertain to sport, influence the situation in Liverpool. Spatial practice operates at a societal scale that produces and reproduces social relations, not simply restricted to the world of football. A neoliberal Britain operates with a particular spatial practice that shapes the post-industrial economy of the city and previously created the social dislocation that has led to a sense of alienation between local residents and the national government. This in turn has influenced how the current Liverpool economy is produced and influenced relationships to social institutions with one example being the football clubs of the city.

Arjun Appadurai (1996) discusses the -*scapes* that shape the cultural dimensions of globalization, another version of spatial practice. Ethnoscapes, financescapes, mediascapes, ideoscapes and technoscapes serve as frameworks for different global cultural flows. As Appadurai states, "the suffix –*scape* indicate[s] that these are not objectively given relations that look the same from every angle of vision but, rather, they are deeply perspectival constructs" (1996, 33). Much like Lefebvre's spatial practice, Appadurai's -*scapes* shape our perceptions of our world and its connectedness. Football and its role in Liverpool is shaped by the perceptions of not just the sport, but how it fits into the wider cultural and economic frame of the city. The centrality of football to Liverpudlian culture is due to the way that the technology, media, finance and identity frame the sport.

In the context of football fans spaces, the representational spaces can then frame discussion of fan performances through the production and contestation of space by the semiotic

meanings that the performances produce. The behaviours of fans produce space, and the integrity of the space is in part determined by the social cohesion of the group in that space. This production of space creates signs and codes that are readily interpreted by the group and others as to what constitutes "their" space.

> *'Human beings' do not stand before, or amidst, social space; they do not relate to the space of society as they might a picture, a show, or a mirror. They know they* have *a space and that they* are *in this space. They do not merely enjoy a vision, a contemplation, a spectacle – for they act and situate themselves in space as active participants. (Lefebvre, 2001: 294 emphasis in original)*

These spaces come to represent aspects of the social experience that the fans are seeking by partaking in watching the game. Even those who do not wish to actively join fan groups are engaged in their own performance of space where the social practices of that space come to be defined by a "non-participatory" set of social practices. By conceptualizing the stadium and its immediate surroundings as an example of a contested geographic space, the rival groups can be seen as reordering their spaces (Topinka, 2010) in resistance to other supporters and authority groups.

The production and reproduction of space is then a constant process in the match day, defined by the social actions of fans from the time they move toward the stadium prior to the game, to the time where they finally return from the game. In fact, it is the transitions prior to and following the game that leads to some of the most fluid spaces produced in the city.

There are then contested spaces around and within the stadium as groupings of fans attempt to establish and assert their own dominance of the spaces around the game, yet the game space itself cannot be directly contested by the fan. This inability of supporters to directly access the pitch is an important demonstration of spatial practice in that the social code of acceptable behavior is far better at preventing the fans from entering the pitch than the actual legal rules

(Premier League, 2013) of the Football Offences and Disorder Act (1999) and the large number of police and stewards on hand at matches; this is made even more clear when a pitch invasion does occur, as it is either rejected by the supporters or fully embraced by them. Production of these spaces is largely governed and contested by the different performances of the fans, from passive observation through to physical confrontation, or hooliganism. This phenomenon is not simply restricted to the contestation of space between the supporters of the two clubs, but of different groups and types of fans that support the same team. These groups, despite supporting the same club, differentiate themselves through behaviours that are coded into each group's identity as to what can be construed as acceptable behaviour.

"Acceptable behaviour" and what constitutes it is somewhat contextual, and based on the degree to which it conforms to the conduct of surrounding fans, the context of the game, and a standard set of rules accepted as part of the entrance to the stadium (Wagg, 2004). There is then a socialized aspect of crowd control, where standards of behaviour and the power of enforcement of that behaviour is diffused not just through security, but through the fans themselves (Dixon, 2014), a self-policing of acceptable behaviour, and manifestation of spatial practice. Therefore, groups with different socialized expectations of behaviour will wish to spatially differentiate themselves from others. This creates a negotiation of space that is established over repeated visits to the stadium, where certain fans will elect to sit where they are most comfortable, and these behaviours are encouraged and reinforced by authorities through differentiated sections for home and visiting fans, family sections, disabled supporters sections, senior sections, youth sections and no alcohol sections. Clubs have also been accused of using the rising ticket prices to displace "undesirable" fans out of the stadium (Pearson, 2012), leading to concerns over the gentrification of the English football experience (Giulianotti, 1999; King, 1998; Goldblatt,

2006). The recent campaign by the League and authorities against pyrotechnics is seen by some supporters as necessary for their continued enjoyment of the game, while others reject it as yet another way that their participatory form of fandom is being marginalized inside the stadium (Dixon, 2014). In contrast, the formation of a "singing section" at Manchester United's Old Trafford[4] (Byrne, 2014) has set out a very specific form of participatory fandom and spatial practice, one that seeks to affectively influence the stadium atmosphere through the creation of crowd noise.

2.5 Fans and Affect

The use of song, even more so than the use of signs and banners, is a particularly aggressive means to impose a sense of place and territory on other supporters, "when a crowd sings en masse, those within earshot are also subject to a performance of community strength. Not only are they immediately surrounded, placed within, that constructed place of the crowd, but they are also subject to the physical assault of thousands of voices in unison" (Power, 2011; 107). British MP Andy Burnham discovered the power of chants first hand when he was forced to stop mid-speech during the twentieth anniversary memorial service for the Hillsborough disaster, and that moment is seen by Hillsborough campaigners as the moment when they got the attention of the government in their campaign (Kelly, pers.com). Burnham's address to the Anfield crowd at the Hillsborough 25th anniversary memorial service repeatedly emphasized the emotional effect that the hostility of the crowd had on him (Hunter, 2014). The representational space created by the crowd at that 2009 Hillsborough memorial service demonstrates the power of a massed crowd through affect.

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[4] For a UEFA Champions League Game against Real Sociedad in October 2013, Manchester United introduced a "singing section" in hopes of improving the home atmosphere at their Old Trafford Stadium (Byrne, 2014).

Affect is a much defined term in academic literature, with the difficulty of pinning one simple definition causing some of the debate within academia (Thrift, 2004). It is worth considering some of the most relevant ways in which affect has been used in relation to sport and how it best relates to the experience of Liverpool FC. Nigel Thrift singles out sporting events as one of the potential sites of "roiling maelstroms of affect" that are found in cities. Pointing to "the deafening roar from a sports stadium when a crucial point is scored," (Thrift 2004: 57) as an example of the affective landscape of the city. This sensory response as affect hews to the psychological definitions of affect, as an almost instinctual response to stimuli, before an individual is given time to process the stimuli. It is separate from emotion, which is considered an outward expression of affect, and also a further stimulus that may cause affective responses in others (Thrift, 2004; Ahmed, 2004).

Sara Ahmed (2004), stresses the importance of interaction to affect, comparing it to Marxist capital that through circulation increases in value. Affect does not reside in the stadium seats, or within the ball, but it is the mass of the jubilant crowd and their reaction to the goal that is what registers affectively. It is an affective economy that circulates in the crowd at a football stadium, where the affective value of the exchange is through the constant interplay of signs. Hence the importance of visual and aural stimulation created by supporters. The wearing of colours and the singing of songs surrounds the spectators and imposes a sense of place on fans. The intensity of that feeling is magnified by the sheer number of fans celebrating at that particular moment. This is one of the key aspects in relating sport to affect: the size of the crowd makes for particularly intense affective displays, which in turn reinforces the importance of interaction in the creation of affect. The stadium is then a functioning exchange in an affective economy, with the mood of the each spectator being influenced by and influencing those around

him/her. Erving Goffman considered human behaviour not so much as a text, but as a performance that needed to be read. Social interaction in this case is an interplay of multiple actors performing roles as both actors and audience (Schechner, 2013).

Displays of identity, through jerseys, scarves, banners, songs, cheers, and jeers offer a visual and aural display of mass solidarity, and work to transmit the emotional mood of the crowd onto the players of the match itself. The mood of the stadium is created and imposed onto the game by this circulating affect of the mass of fans – known commonly in the sport as the 12th player. Studies of fan noise at matches have demonstrated affective responses by players and referees that correlate to noise volume and crowd size (Downward & Jones, 2007). The home field advantage is considered such a critical aspect of football that many teams consider a draw a good result for an away game and a home loss becomes disaster (Ewing, 2012). The aim for a visiting team then becomes not just to score a goal, but also to remove the crowd from the game by silencing them with their superior play. Silence alters the affect of the crowd from one that discomfits the visitors to one that rattles the home team; the loss of the 12th player is tantamount to losing an actual player on the field[5].

In the context of Liverpool FC, this is best demonstrated through the use of the anthem "You'll Never Walk Alone." The song, originally written for the musical *Carousel*, was adopted by the club in the 1960s after a recording performed by local band Gerry and the Pacemakers was played at Anfield. It has since become a fixture among the Liverpool fans, with it being sung as the team takes to the field prior to every game, and in the final moments of historic victories or stoic losses (Schoonderwoerd, 2011: 129). The song seems to have taken on additional

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[5] One sanction offered by football governing bodies is the playing of games behind closed doors, which not only imposes a massive financial penalty on teams, but also removes any atmospheric advantage gained by having the game played in front of the home crowd.

meaning following the Hillsborough disaster, as the tribute to the 96 fans killed has literally

made its mark on the club through signs calling for "Justice for the 96" held up during the song

and the words "You'll Never Walk Alone" now inscribed at the entrance gate to Anfield

Stadium.

Visiting fans enter this milieu by attempting to counter the affect of the home crowd

through their performance; in English football, the visiting fans are usually segregated at one end

of the stadium, which helps to manage conflict with home fans by preventing physical

interactions between the opposing groups. At the same time, the separation of home and away

crowds creates a densely populated visiting end where affective displays are concentrated rather

than diffused through the stadium as is common in North American sport (Schoonderwoerd,

2011). While visiting fans can rarely dominate a stadium atmosphere because of limited ticket

allocations, their presence serves as a counter-point to the home fans' performance and in better-

established rivalries can create a dialogue between the two performing groups (Doyle, J., 2011;

Hunter, 2012). David Edgar, a Glasgow Rangers fan describes the pre-match experience at an

away game against Glasgow Celtic:

> *You feel the weight of responsibility that you've got to out-sing the home fans, make*
> *sure that they've [the team] got a hundred per cent backing. There's a sort of military*
> *aspect to it, you feel like part of an invading army and you know you're up against a*
> *significantly bigger force, but you know you're going to box clever. (Wilson, 2012:*
> *86)*

Edgar hints at the weapons employed by fans, while his desire to "box clever" seeks to

have the maximum effect on home fans and players by (usually) pulling out the most offensive

or provocative chants for the away games (Wilson, 2012). While much of the affective intensity

of fan support emerges during the game, the activity of fans outside of the stadium and in the

build-up to the game itself also has an affective quality that fans deliberately use to rattle

opposing teams and fans in the build-up to the match. Edgar's militant quote about being an "invading army" highlights the importance of how affect comes to shape perceptions of space and territory at these matches.

2.6 Placing Football Fans

With an increasingly complex picture of purposes and associations and actions of spectators at matches, I would like to create a typology of supporters from both my own observations and types taken from other studies of football supporters. Initial sociological research on football fans largely focused on hooliganism (Scalia 2009; Benkwitz & Molnar 2012). Giulianotti (2000), in a survey of sociology of football culture found that much of the early research on fans focused on hooliganism due to specific needs in England at the time the studies emerged. Namely, the rise of a hooligan sub-culture that made its presence felt at matches from the 1960s to the 1980s. This phenomenon led to a number of important early studies in hooligan sociology and the rise of the "Leicester School" of football sociology (Giulianotti, 2000; Benkwitz & Molnar, 2012). Although the immediate need of sociological investigation of supporter cultures has changed over time, there is a lingering emphasis on hooliganism due to its exceptionality as a form of fan behaviour and also due to "elitist perceptions of high-low culture" (Benkwitz & Molnar 2012, 480). Hooliganism can instead be
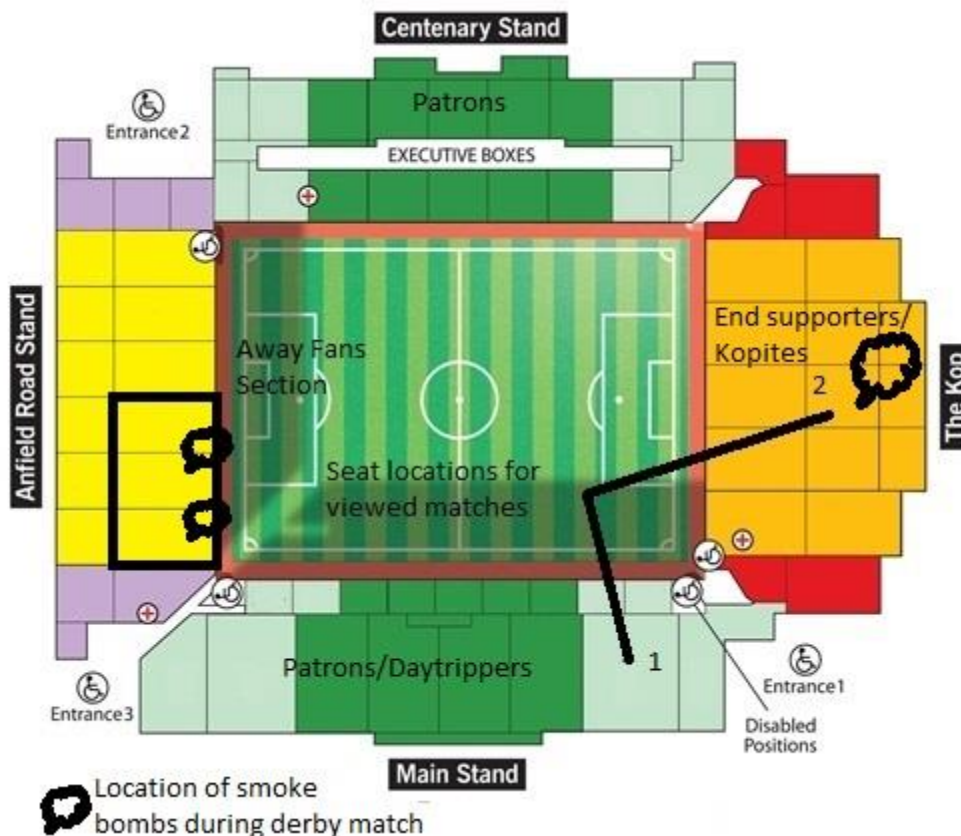
conceived as just one of the manifestations of fan performances that demonstrate territoriality, but at the more extreme end of a continuum of performance. And while security and securitization of the spaces around football matches remains an important debate among supporters, clubs, authorities and scholars, the waning presence of hooliganism in the stands over the past few decades has allowed football sociologists to turn their attention to other forms of participatory spectatorship.

For my purposes, I would like to break down the types of fans into four main groups based not on general demographic traits, but on their approaches to match viewing. First, two forms of regular viewers and season ticket holders (STHs), followed by tourists and away fans. Each of these types seem to have some form of spatial association that is attached to their identity, and

while it may at one level be a generalization about the supporters and their preferences, this spatial arrangement was recognized by Spirit of Shankly in a recent supporter survey that collected data on not just their feeling on season ticket pricing, but also their preferred location in the Anfield stands (Figure 2) (Spirit of Shankly, 2014).

End Supporters

What I will refer to as End Supporters are those STHs who tend to congregate in the home supporter ends, such as the Kop at Anfield or Hillsborough or Gwladys Street at Goodison Park. The selection of the stadium end has much to do with both economics and history, as these seats are usually the cheapest in the grounds and have always been the traditional stands for the most fervent supporters not just in England, but worldwide. These fans are dedicated in their support of the club and most closely identify with the performative aspects of supporter culture. It is these supporters that frequently start chants throughout the game and are generally the noisiest throughout the ninety minutes (Pearson, 2012). The chants, while often familiar through repeated uses, or a history of use, do require work prior to the game; The Park Public House, directly across Walton Breck Road from Anfield (and therefore close to the Kop turnstyles) serves as a rehearsal hall for supporters prior to entry into Anfield.

End Supporters tend to self-identify as working class (even if this is not strictly the case), and while the majority are male, they are not exclusively so (Pearson, 2012, McKenna, pers. com.). The social aspect of the game is very important to them and they will often attend with friends or family in groups, as evidenced by the socializing prior to the game indicates, and that social experience of attendance extends beyond just being at the game. One other potential social means for their participation is through membership in a supporters' group, as this is where the majority of supporters' group members are located (McKenna, pers. com.).

End Supporters purchasing at the stadium tends to be minimal, perhaps a beer or a pie for food and a fanzine or pin as memorabilia (Pearson, 2012), but these tend to make up a large number of the pub-going supporters before and after the game, meaning that more of their expenses tend to take place in the surrounding neighbourhood. During the Hicks and Gillette era of Liverpool ownership, *Reclaim the Kop* (Chapter 5) discouraged tourists from over-purchasing at the Liverpool store and attempted to educate supporters about how to support Liverpool as both club and community by directing spending to nearby businesses (Williams, 2013). While game day purchases are less important for the End Supporter, they have already made a significant long-term investment in the club through their purchase of season tickets, and their brand loyalty often dictates a number of other seasonal purchases of club memorabilia, such as scarves and jerseys (Best, 2013).

Patrons

What I would like to refer to as patrons are potentially the largest group of fans that attend the matches, but view the game in a much more casual way than the End Supporter STHs or hooligans. Patrons watch the game intently and are involved in the celebrations and frustrations of the match, but tend not to initiate songs or chants. The passivity does not mean that they sit inert, but react to the end supporters by taking up chants by following the lead of the end supporters. These patrons tend to congregate in the sideline stands as they still want to be part of the match day experience, without some of the more boisterous behavior of the End Supporters. Jay McKenna, of Spirit of Shankly described the difference as one of a maturing process:

> *[T]he Kop used to be the all standing part of the ground. Traditionally, that was obviously for the people that wanted to stand and sing and be passionate, and then as supporters got a bit older or a little bit less interested in some of that they'd move into*

the Main Stand or to the Centenary Stand and sit down. And there's a traditional view, probably not quite true now, but a traditional view that the people in the Main Stand and Centenary Stand are older people with flasks.

While not every fan follows this trajectory of moving from the boisterous Kop to the calmer Main and Centenary Stands, it does serve to illustrate the perception of the spatial differentiation of stands from the perspective of some of the most dedicated supporters. Not only is this the largest category of supporters, but it is also the most diverse. In stepping back from the most extreme forms of support for the club, these supporters often allow a broader diversity of people to feel included in this group. As such it is harder to make a typical descriptor of patrons through age, gender or race, but instead through their engagement with fan practice.

Day-Trippers

Day-trippers are essentially the opposite of STHs in that day-trippers are the tourists of the football world. Much of the football literature focuses on the sociology of "hard-core" supporters, leaving the exploration of small-scale football tourism a woefully under-examined subject. While there are a number of difficulties with such an ethnography, the chief problem would be the variability in the group that the researcher is wishing to study. With a constant turnover of tourists, and that few will be visiting for more than one or two games, it is difficult to establish any consistency among the supporters or rapport for ethnographies.

In a study of US college (American) football fans by Gibson, Willming and Holdnak (2003), the authors found that sport tourists generally viewed the team they were there to visit as either a part of their identity, or that attending a game was similar to making a pilgrimage to a shrine of their sport/team. These sport tourists tend to be short-term visitors, present only around the days of the game, and that their expenditures tend to be focused around the sport or related establishments. They concluded that the best marketing strategy for hotels, restaurants, and other

facilities was to be as closely tied to the team as possible – through packages, promotions and even prominently displaying affiliation to the team.

Liverpool operates in much the same fashion as a sport tourism destination. The regular matches for Liverpool FC are met with an influx of tourists for the Friday and Saturday. The economy of the Anfield neighbourhood is so reliant on match-day income that many surrounding businesses are closed on non-match days. And while there is still a steady stream of tourists to Anfield during the week to participate in stadium tours, very little of the money from this trickles into the surrounding neighbourhood (Benson, pers. com). The day-trippers remain focused on Liverpool and merely commute from the downtown core to make their pilgrimage to the stadium before returning back downtown.

The derivation of the term day-tripper comes from the slightly derisive label that many Liverpool and Everton fans applied to the tourists that were easily identified by their team store bag, brand new jersey and bi-colour scarf. It was the bi-colour scarf that was singled out as the clearest indicator of a day-tripper as in the opinion of many fans I spoke to, no self-respecting local would wear both teams' colours. I was informed of the significance of the scarves by a number of Liverpool fans who said that it was only the tourists who would ever buy a scarf with both teams on it.

These day-tripper fans do not control territory in such a deliberate fashion as end supporters, it is through their presence in large numbers that they can exert an unintentional dominance of space. With the exception of package tours, there is no common bond between day-trippers to promote any sort of coordinated action. Like passives, they will react to signals from end supporters as to how to react and sing, but even here their reaction may differ from passives. Some day-trippers will join in the chants and attempt to blend in with the other

supporters, while others will use their phones to video any performances of the other fans. This goes to the complaints about tourists as destroying the atmosphere at games because they are too focused on recording the fan performances rather than participating in it themselves.

Away fans

While the preceding types of fans have a very imprecise demarcation of territory and the types of fans frequently mix, leading to some friction between the groups, the away fan is given a clearly defined territory at all Conference (5th and 6th) and higher division English football matches (DCMS, 2008). This is done partly for security reasons as a physical separation of supporters serves to minimize potential conflicts, but it is also largely done for historical reasons as other sports in England, such as rugby and cricket, do not have segregated supporters.

Clubs are obliged to set aside a certain portion of their seating to accommodate away fans provided with tickets by the visiting club. These away fans are often season ticket holders or club members of the visiting club in order to receive access to the allotted tickets. The actual allotment is determined in consultation between the clubs and the local police force and varies depending on the security classification of the match, type of competition (cup matches have fixed percentage allotments), history between the clubs, demand from the visiting team, and day and time of kick-off (DCMS, 2008). As many of these clubs then prioritize the tickets according to some system of attendance at home matches, these away fans tend to be among the more dedicated fans of the club – although nothing prevents them from "touting," or reselling tickets, to other fans, and often these touts are mediated through on-line message boards (Pearson, 2012) or twitter.

While these fans are often limited in number, they attempt to make up for it as Edgar's quote earlier in the chapter indicates. As the invading army, they are concerned with disrupting

the home-field advantage of the other fans and are often receive extra police and security attention both for their history of militancy, and often because they are not local (Football Supporters Federation [FSF], 2014).

2.7 Security and Environment of Control

While all of the above categorization of fans operate in various spaces and to varying degrees around the stadium, there is another actor who works on the environment around the game and the stadium: that is the state and authorities, and in this I would include the club as a form of authority, through stadium design and security services. The increased focus on security at the stadium following the rise of hooliganism has led to most spaces provided by football clubs being highly securitized spaces, and has had the effect of displacing hooligans away from the centre of football related activities. This has meant that the stadium now functions as a relatively safe environment with the confrontations between hooligans being dispersed into areas outside the observation of the match security (O'Neill, 2005).

The stadium itself functions with many of the attributes of Foucault's panoptic gaze (Foucault, 1995). The gaze of the fan is directed to the central playing field – which is one of the only spaces that is not contested by the fan. Pitch invasions are rare and mark the highest form of transgression by spectators, notable not just for the danger involved to the players, but also for the breaking of all social and legal conventions that define stadium behaviour. Outside of the central playing area under observation by the supporters, the crowd sits in a stadium that is intensely monitored by stadium security in the form of match stewards, police and CCTV (O'Neill 2005). The security environment is maintained through both the covert surveillance of fans through the CCTV and plain-clothed police spotters, and through the overt displays of

Figure 3. Stewards (in yellow jackets) line the field prior to kickoff at Goodison Park, Liverpool, May 11, 2013. (Photograph: D. Evans, 2013).

police and security presence through the marshalling of forces (Figure 3 & Figure 4). The

anonymity of the fan is maintained through their conformity with accepted standards of

behaviour at the game, but should their behaviour stand out, they are easily identified by the

security apparatus of the stadium, or their fellow spectators.

It is critical to note that English football fans exist in a police environment that overlays

the general legal environment of the non-football watching citizen. Due to England's long

history with hooliganism and in response to major disturbances of the 1980s, the UK government

has instituted laws specifically aimed at football fans. Specific laws aimed at football fans go

back to the 1985 Control of Alcohol Act, but the 1990s saw the expansion of police powers at

and around matches through the Football Offences Act (1991), Criminal Justice and Public Order

Act (1994), and the Football Disorder Act (2000) (O'Neill, 2005). The large amount of

legislation that targets football supporters highlights not just a fear of the fan by authorities, but
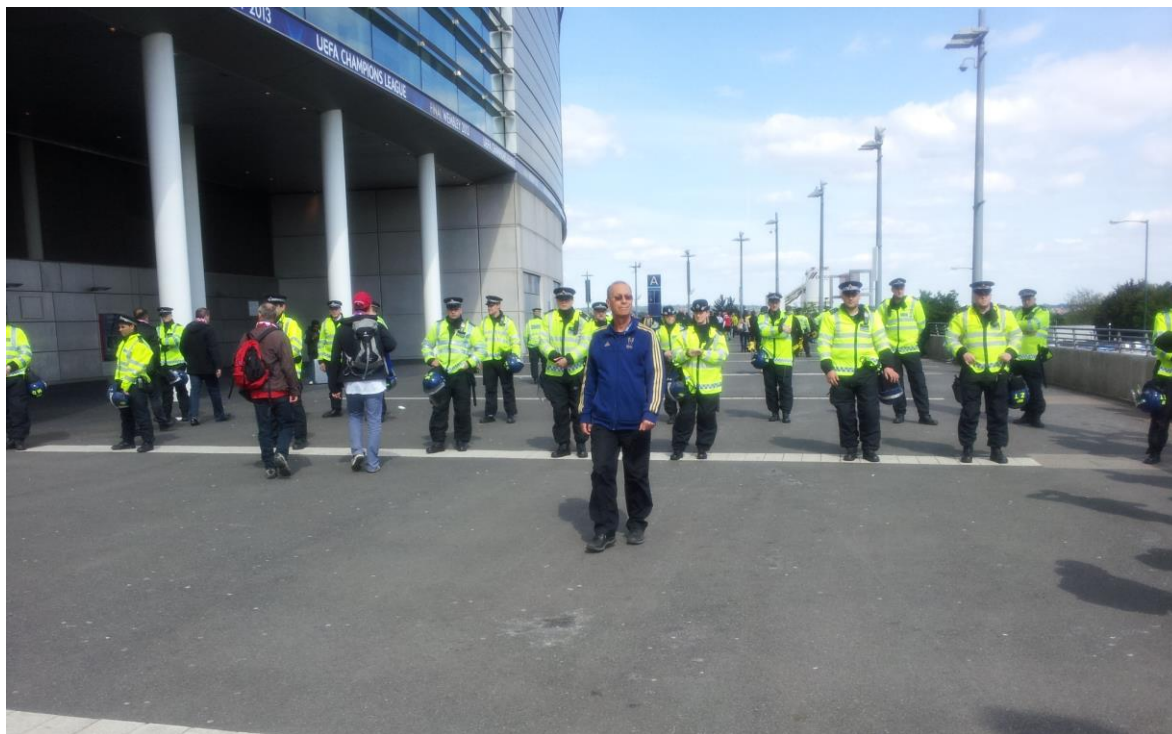
Figure 4. Police line marks the separation of areas designated for supporters of Bayern Munich and Borussia Dortmund at Wembley Stadium, London, May 25, 2013. (Photograph: D. Evans, 2013).

the ability of those authorities to isolate fans through legal means. One of the important roles of

the Football Supporters' Federation is to provide legal advice to supporters about their rights

under football legislation and to advocate for appropriate treatment by authorities (FSF, 2014).

In drawing on Foucauldian ideas of power and discipline I am interested in how the

power is dispersed through the various actors of this study, recognizing that fans also possess a

potential power that can be exercised over others through the operation of social relationships

(Armstrong & Young, 2000). Surveillance is not just conducted by authorities, but as Dixon

(2014) discusses, there is significant policing of behaviour within stands by the audience

themselves. The internal surveillance of fans by other fans becomes the potential source of

conflict at matches; the acceptance or rejection of behaviour goes a long way toward group

dynamics and also leads to situations where authorities may need to intervene. My participant

observation at matches was not invisible, my presence was scrutinized by those around me and

therefore I was being observed almost as much as I was observing. Therefore in the next chapter

will discuss the methodology that underpinned my research and methods through which I

observed different behaviours and fan types.

Chapter Three

RESEARCH

In this chapter I outline the research methods I adopted. First, I briefly describe the reasons that Liverpool was chosen as a study site, followed by a brief geography and history of the city to contextualize the city itself. I will then discuss the methodology of the study and the specific research techniques employed. Lastly, I describe the research participants interviewed during my fieldwork and additional football related events that I was able to attend outside of the matches.

3.1 Liverpool Study Site

The choice of Liverpool as a site of study was influenced in part through the prominence of its clubs in my own perception of the sport, reflective of the global reach of the Premier League and its constituent clubs in North America. I had previously attended a Liverpool FC friendly against Toronto FC at Rogers Centre, Toronto in July, 2012. Yet the final decision to use Liverpool as the basis of my research was largely due to the available fixture list during my proposed field work. By basing myself in Liverpool, in residence at Liverpool University, I would be able to attend three Premier League fixtures, with the additional possibility of attending lower tier fixtures in the nearby vicinity. The visit was timed for the end of the 2012-2013 season in May, 2013, at which time there would be a number of promotion/relegation battles in all leagues and potential playoff matches for lower tier teams. Some research into the active supporters' groups in Liverpool also indicated that the clubs involved would be suitable for the proposed research.

Figure 5. Map of Merseyside and its metropolitan boroughs. Source: D. Evans, using data from UK Ordinance Survey.

The City of Liverpool is one of five metropolitan boroughs in the Merseyside

Metropolitan County (Figure 5). It is the main urban centre of the county with smaller centres in

each of the other four boroughs of Wirral, Knowsley, St Helens and Sefton. The most recent

British Census (2011) places the population of Merseyside at about 1.38 million residents, with

469,700 residents in the City of Liverpool (Office for National Statistics [ONS], 2013). In

addition to the five boroughs of Merseyside, additional nearby towns in Cheshire and Lancashire

are often included in a Greater Merseyside definition that is sometimes used in planning and as part of the local transportation network.

The meanings of Liverpool and Merseyside are therefore related but not entirely synonymous. These identities are then further complicated by the term 'scouse' which can refer to a local stew, the regional dialect, or a 'scouser' as an archetypical Liverpool resident. There is a strong provincial identity among local residents that sometimes identifies as "Scouse not English" (Rookwood and Millward, 2011) and a labelling of others from nearby Lancashire and Cheshire as "wools" or "woolies" possibly in reference to their former role as sheep rearing regions. Even within Merseyside these local identities are often picked up on quickly by locals that can distinguish the accent of Bootle residents from those in Liverpool proper. This strong local identity at times means that much of their relationship with the surrounding region ends at the city boundaries or a line roughly defined by the M57 highway that runs along the eastern edge of the city.

Liverpool is and has been a major port city for England since the late 18th century. During its peak in the 19th century, it was England's primary port not just nationally, but globally, granting Liverpool a prominent place in global trade networks, connecting it with the British Empire as well as other major trade centres such as: Buenos Aires, New York, and Shanghai. During World War II, the port of Liverpool was specifically targeted by the Germans in order to cut off the supply of materiel to the British economy and war effort, experiencing a blitz second only to London (Beaven & Griffiths, 1999).

Beyond the economic connections to other major global centres, the cultural exchange between Liverpool and those cities gave the city a place in the global consciousness, and provided the city with a constant flow of cultural influences that shaped the local culture of the

city. The global reach of Liverpool and its function as a leading port also led to a large Chinese community and the first Chinatown in England. The links between Liverpool and its global network remained strong into the mid-20th century, as a number of American styles of clothing and music first entered Britain through Liverpool (Meegan, 2002). It is this rich globally connected history of Liverpool that has contributed to the global prominence of the city and allowed the city to develop its own cultural significance through its mediation of cultural influences that have passed through it (Gallagher, pers. com).

Beginning in the early post-war era, Liverpool began to experience an economic decline that was part of a wider British economic decline, Liverpool perhaps suffered more as many of the principle reasons for using the port began to disappear and/or relocated elsewhere. While this process began as early as the 1930s when the population of the city peaked, it accelerated in the 1960s and later as the UK joined the EEC which shifted national trade patterns toward the European continent and left Liverpool on the wrong side of the island. Trade at the Port of Liverpool declined from 31,683 KTonnes in 1965 to a low of 9,800 KTonnes in 1982 (Department for Transport [DFT], 2013). Already suffering from a shrinking population and economy, the socio-economic situation in Liverpool was then exacerbated by the austerity policies of the Thatcher government in the 1980s. In particular, the deregulation of a number of industries and the loss of manufacturing jobs hurt the general Northwest England, but austerity measures and declining social support led to widespread unrest in the region as demonstrated through a number of violent strikes, protests and riots against the government (Meegan, 2002). Relations between Liverpool and the government were so low that at one point it was suggested that Liverpool go through a "managed decline" (Travis, 2011). Labour disruptions continued into the 1990s as dockers were still being laid off through changing labour demands at the port

(Harris, 1997). Now focused on the less labour intensive containers and Roll-On/Roll-Off cargo, and oil at the Tranmere terminal, the shipping tonnage returned to 1965 levels of 32,924 KTonnes in 2012 (DFT, 2013). Also significant in the new shipping economy of Liverpool is that 75% of the port tonnage is inbound, meaning that only 7,541 KTonnes are export products (DFT, 2013), further emphasizing the loss of manufacturing in the wider English economy and the Northwest region specifically.

Yet despite this attempt at "managed decline" Liverpool survived. It is a city that has been forced to reinvent itself after the loss of many of the industries that created it. Its most significant rebranding is through its development of arts and culture. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, the designation of the City as the European Culture Capital in 2008 was used as many of the other host cities have done, to shift the perception of the host city away from the stories of declining industry to a story of a thriving arts scene (Richards & Wilson, 2004), bearing all the resemblance of a willful and deliberate version of Richard Florida's (2012) creative capital model of arts-led redevelopment.

3.2 Methods

This study blends rigorous political economy (in the form of the globalization of football) with semiotics and social analysis (treating the team as a cultural form), and therefore bridges the quantitative-qualitative divide. For this reason it employs a mix of research techniques and different research collection methods. One part of the study consisted of participant observation through attending football matches, with a second aspect of the study done through interviewing key subjects involved in Merseyside football. This was supplemented by additional archival and internet research to gain a broader understanding of specific issues that arose during the field study. My intention in combining two different techniques was both to observe specific

phenomena related to the creation of spaces on match days, and to gain additional context for those observations through interviews with various key match day actors.

The qualitative data in this particular study consists of observations related to fan activities at the matches, and also an autoethnographic examination of my own participation in the activities (Butz and Bessio, 2009). The goal is to understand and analyze the subjects of my study by being able to empathize with them through our shared experiences at the match. By participating in the events and acting with the research subjects it is impossible for a researcher to completely maintain his or her objectivity. As part of the large crowd around me and having discussed aspects of their team and their feelings toward the game, I found myself swept up in the emotions of a goal celebration even when under normal circumstances I would not likely cheer for that particular team due to my own team allegiance[6]. The balance between subjectivity and objectivity is not always necessary or possible in the field, but more so in the later analysis of what the researcher experienced through their participation. In looking over my own notes, and even my own feelings about my experiences at matches, I know my attitudes towards the fans and their clubs have shifted because of my research, in that I am more likely to cheer or feel some affinity for the teams involved. It is as though my research has created a bond between me and the clubs under study. I am sympathetic to the clubs that are the subject of my study because the research investment has also created an emotional investment. The shift in my perception of the teams and their fans is a confirmation of the affective power of the stadium fans. Complete objectivity in my analysis would not be possible either, as even prior to undertaking this study, my understanding of fan dynamics had lead me to form *a priori* assumptions about the people

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[6] My team allegiance has been with Arsenal since I began following English Football in in 2002/2003. I began following the team largely due to their style of play and their star players Dennis Bergkamp and Thierry Henri. I've stuck with the team ever since, not wanting to appear disloyal.

and situations I would be observing (Millward, 2009), and my own enjoyment of the game is in part what led me to my interest in this subject.

As for my own entrance into this study, it was sparked by my observations of soccer fans in Canada, and football fans globally through the media over several years of following the game. I therefore have a wealth of experiences that have informed my approach to this study. My previous experiences of soccer crowd dynamics, including a Toronto-Montreal Canadian Championship[7] game as a test of field methods prior to my departure, necessarily influenced my observation and interpretation of the phenomena observed for this study. My understanding of football crowd dynamics already had a number of underlying assumptions that impact my observation and interpretation of match events. It is likely that through my previous observations of matches I was better able to understand and make sense of what I was observing; yet at the same time it is possible that having set expectations of what would be found I potentially minimized aspects that did not fit into my schema.

3.2.1 Match Day Observations

The Match Day observation of fan interactions was done through participant observation, and by attending the matches and fan activities prior to the game and after the game I was able to observe the activities of fans at these games. All matches were observed during the month of May 2013, and consisted of a number of different teams in three leagues in Northwest England. The matches attended (Table 1) consisted of: AFC Liverpool (home) versus Squires Gate (away), in the Northwest Counties Premier League [NWCPL] (9th tier), May 1; Liverpool FC versus Everton FC, in the English Premier League (1st tier), May 5; Everton FC versus West Ham

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[7] Nutrilife Canadian Championship (Voyageurs Cup) Semi-Final first leg at BMO Field, Toronto, Apr. 27, 2013. Toronto FC 2 – 0 Impact de Montreal, attendance 11,043.

United FC, May 12; and Liverpool FC versus Queen's Park Rangers, May 18. While undertaking this fieldwork, I also attended a match in Sheffield, Sheffield Wednesday versus Middlesbrough, in the English Championship (2nd tier), on May 4, and I was present for the ingress and egress phases of the Champions League Final between Borussia Dortmund and Bayern Munich in London on May 25, but observed the actual match with Dortmund fans in a bar adjacent to the stadium.

The games outside Liverpool, while clearly not specific to the match day experience in Liverpool, almost function as a control group study as they do provide some observations about general match day behaviour that shows some consistency in the territorial behaviour of supporters, and concerns about the cultural economy of clubs that is not simply restricted to Liverpool. The manifestations of territoriality may be different with each country, city, team, or supporter group, but were clearly there to be observed at all the matches. As Millward (2009) argues, there may be no 'typical' club due to the intricacies of each club, but that the study of individual clubs may demonstrate processes that are applicable through the field.

Of the games observed for this study, the Premier League and Championship games were most similar in observed crowd behaviour due to crowd origins and sizes. Both Liverpool and Sheffield are in the Northwest of England and have very deep footballing roots, the crowds were of similar sizes, and there was a similar general level of civic focus on the matches. This differed greatly from the AFC Liverpool home game, which was sparsely attended and barely registered with the public of Liverpool on the day of the match. At the other end, the Champions League Final was a massive spectacle, but fans were largely of foreign origin because of the teams playing and the magnitude of the event, yet outside the local Wembley neighbourhood, the game did not dominate the local consciousness on the day of the final. Yet through all of the

Table 1. Matches attended during fieldwork

Date	League	Location	Home	Away	Attendance (Capacity)	Score
01-May	NWCPL (9th tier)	Valerie Park, Prescot	AFC Liverpool	Squires Gate	82 (3200)	1-0
04-May	Championship (2nd tier)	Hillsborough Stadium, Sheffield	Sheffield Wednesday FC	Middlesborough FC	31,375 (39,812)	2-0
05-May	Premiership (1st tier)	Anfield Stadium, Liverpool	Liverpool FC	Everton FC	44,991 (45,522)	0-0
12-May	Premiership (1st tier)	Goodison Park, Liverpool	Everton FC	West Ham United FC	39,475 (40,221)	2-0
18-May	Premiership (1st tier)	Anfield Stadium, Liverpool	Liverpool FC	Queen's Park Rangers	44,792 (45,522)	1-0
25-May	UEFA Champions League Final	Wembley Stadium, London	Bayern Munich (GER)	Borussia Dortmund (GER)	86,298 (90,000)	2-1

differences of scale and location some underlying similarities in football supporter culture could be observed.

I expected to find that there is a carefully choreographed, yet seemingly chaotic routine amongst fans and officials that I hoped to observe and consider how the various groups manoeuver in their spatial interactions, and to some degree that is what I found. Some of the sport and its spectatorship is about ritual, and so while standing in the midst of thousands of individuals, certain points of the performance are set to a schedule of the fans' repertoires. Fans need only a cue, often just a few lines sung by a group in the Kop, a particular time in the game, or the appearance of a player (or manager) to burst into song and the chants are then quickly taken up through the stadium. Even the movement of people into, out of, and through the stadium has a particularly set pattern that police and stewards rely on in their marshalling of resources and anticipation or reaction to potential problems (O'Neill, 2005; King, 1998; Pearson, 2012). Police and stewards themselves maintain routines set to game times, and their displays of force or strength are most present at transitional moments, where spectators are given opportunities to move or circulate. There is then in this research, an element of pattern identification, in recording events and analyzing actions and consequences either in the moment or on reflection afterward, that utilized the techniques discussed below.

3.2.2   Research Techniques

Specific techniques involved in participant observation were based on Megan O'Neill (2005) and her study of policing at football matches. While O'Neill expressed concern about taking field notes and the possibility of being mistaken for a police spotter, I managed to find a workable compromise between her use of mnemonic devices and the recording of field notes. Mnemonic devices were useful for relating particular events to the game time, particularly chants

and songs or dramatic changes in behaviour of fans. During the match phase of observations, the use of the game clock served as a mental anchor to relate events to, and these could later be recorded and typed up. In addition to this I was able to take a rough sketch of notes from the games on my Samsung Galaxy phone, such as times of events and a brief descriptor of the event that would assist in the creation of more thorough notes after the game. It was necessary to do these notes quickly so as to not miss other events during the match, but I felt that typing on the phone keyboard would be faster than recording the same information by pen. The use of an electronic device is not even questioned by fans who will assume that, like many other participants around me, I am texting a friend about the game. Additionally, this allowed me to photograph and record a number of moments of the game that had some significance, as this activity too was seen as normal by many of the fans around me. As I will discuss later, this may have marked me as a particular type of fan through my engagement at the match with electronics. This electronic note taking is far less obtrusive then than using pen and paper and serves as a valuable tool to the researcher in this sort of ethnographic study (Hein, Donohoe and Ryan, 2011).

Outside of match times (pre- and post-game), I again was able to record notes on my phone during free moments. However, this activity was also limited in the presence of others that I was socializing with, as I did not want to miss details by putting my head down to record information, alter their behaviour or damage my rapport with them by making them feel that they were being actively observed (Millward, 2009), or leave the impression that my phone was somehow more interesting than them. Instead, notes were taken mentally and written afterward, on my return to my residence.

All match events are broken into three distinct phases, following the same structure as set out by the *Guide to Safety at Sports Grounds 5*th *Ed*. (DCMS, 2008) (frequently referred to by police and clubs as the Green Guide) and procedures of the Merseyside Police Service due to its rather clear and simple usefulness: a pre-match or *ingress* phase lasting several hours as fans arrive at the stadium and surrounding neighbourhood and then proceed into the stadium; a *circulation* phase lasting approximately two hours, or the duration of the match, where events are focused almost exclusively inside the stadium; and a post-match or *egress* phase which is the dispersal of fans out of the stadium and back into the surrounding neighbourhood or city, which can last for several hours and right to pub closing times for key matches.

Supplementary sources of information were found as well. Match reports provided by different media outlets, while not singling out crowd behaviour specifically, did provide timed accounts of on-field incidents and occasionally noted in passing the crowd's reaction to on-field action (O'Neill, 2005). Games that I attended were also supplemented by other videos from spectators uploaded to YouTube that provided alternate angles or managed to capture incidents that I could not see from my seat. While there are also broadcasts available from SkyTV in the case of the Liverpool matches, the fan uploaded videos on YouTube were often more useful for footage of fans and songs as they were focused on the same fan performances that I was looking for, rather than staying exclusively directed on the match itself. I also purchased several fanzines, programs and other materials related to the matches attended that provide information or perspectives from the club or fans' point of view.

3.2.3   Participant Observation

The experience of auto-ethnographic participant observation was immersive and rich in detail as I was able to observe the individuals and their interactions as a group quite closely and

in a natural setting. "Going native" (Pearson, 2012, 32) and partaking in the fan activities

provided me with my own set of experiences that on later reflection could be pieced together

with the experiences that others shared with me (Butz and Besio, 2009).

In undertaking participant observations of football fans on a match day, perhaps the

greatest advantage of this technique is that there are, at the larger games, thousands of

individuals attending these events, allowing me as a researcher to operate very anonymously in

this environment. As Pearson (2012) notes, participant observation at its most effective when the

other participants are completely unaware of the observer. At an event of this size, fans attending

both expect to see unknown others and be seen by unknown others, therefore I did not need to

establish myself within a group or organization to gain access to these activities, I only needed to

buy a ticket. By remaining relatively anonymous, I was reasonably sure that fans were not

'playing up' their behaviour or undertaking activities/avoiding activities because they were being

observed, which is one of the most frequent concerns about participant observation (Millward,

2009; Pearson, 2012; O'Neill, 2005).

It was left to my discretion, whether I needed to identify myself to individuals. While not

actively broadcasting that I was undertaking field research at that moment, I did find that by

disclosing to some selected individuals, in certain instances, that I was researching football fans

led to a number of casual conversations that informed some of my other observations and

pointed me toward phenomena that I otherwise may have missed, particularly outside matches

where I was able to get directions to supporter pubs. While that may have removed the blind of

anonymity from those individuals that I disclose this information to, the sheer number of

individuals, groups and interactions at this event provided me with a wealth of information that

remained untainted by the limited disclosure. Finally, as already discussed in Chapter 2, fans are

quite aware of their own visibility in their performance around match days, and some deliberately seek out the attention of others, whether it be the players, fans or police; and these performative moments can be part of the allure of match day (Pearson, 2012; King, 1998).

One group that I did frequently disclose my position as a researcher to was match stewards who are regular viewers of spectators. Stewards were very useful as sources of information on patterns to watch for, fan behaviours, and relations between stewards and fans. One explained the role of stewards outside the ground during the matches and offered a comparison of his work at both Anfield and Goodison Park, while another explained to me the physical difficulties that disabled supporters experienced through the supporters use of smoke bombs. Others explained the purpose of specific safety or security fences, which pubs were frequented by supporters' groups and where to stand to get a glimpse of players as they entered or left the facility prior to or following the match. These brief interactions took place on the fly and notes were written down later as I often finished my conversation with them and proceeded to check out whatever advice they had provided.

While participant observation provided unexpected and rich analytical opportunities, it also had its drawbacks. One of the main challenges was the size of events I attended. It was impossible for me as a single observer to gain an overall perspective on the actions of the fans at the match. Quite simply, I cannot be in more than one place at a time. Short of teaming up with other researchers or recruiting and training observers, neither of which I was within the scope this study, I was not able to gain data from anywhere outside my immediate surroundings. I attempted to compensate for this to some degree by trying to circulate around the stadium and neighbourhood before and after the matches, but circulation during the match is difficult due to the security measures of the stadium, with various sections being fenced off from each other.

Circulation also makes "thick description" more difficult as the researcher is then merely a *flâneur*, walking and observing, but unable to really focus on a specific event or group unless I were to stop and focus on something (Tester, 1994). Therefore, the caveat on my observations about activities, particularly prior to ingress or after egress, are limited to the paths and groups I chose to follow, and may not be entirely representative of all fan activities that take place around matches. That said, I did my best to balance the need to take in the entirety of activities around the game, and as game traffic dispersed following the event I was able to focus more on specific groups of participants and their activities.

Pearson (2012) discusses the ethics of the need to deceive research participants, and argues that all forms of participant observation necessarily involve some degree of deception, but that the ethical bonds of the researcher are held to the science of their field and not the subjects they are studying. This makes for a potentially blurry line in the conduct of participant observation and one that I found myself skirting on several occasions. In undertaking this study, I was marked by my research subjects as an outsider as soon as I began to speak, and at times this was both a blessing and a curse. On the one hand, being North American (I was frequently assumed to be American), led to the assumption that I was a tourist, or more derisively a 'day-tripper', and I was treated as such on several occasions, both by other fans and locals – leading to one set of match day experiences, as there was no need to correct this assumption on their part. On the other hand, in other situations, being able to disclose that I was researching football fans gave locals the opportunity to test that I was a fan of the team or the sport, and granted me a 'provisional pass' into the local supporter culture because I was seen as more than just a typical foreign fan. Only in certain situations did I feel compelled to lie about my own team allegiance. This was largely due to the sobriety of supporters I was talking to at that moment and that a

wrong answer may have led to a confrontation, or a loss of access to the discussant. It was necessary in these situations to be red with reds (Liverpool FC) and blue with blues (Everton FC).

However, in formal interview situations, I found that disclosing that I am in reality a neutral as far as Merseyside football is concerned (I am actually an Arsenal fan), leant a certain credibility to me as a researcher as I was not simply a 'day tripper' or fan simply trying to chase my favorite team. By being an Arsenal fan (as opposed to a Manchester United fan), it demonstrated to interviewees that I had an understanding of the English game, even if they didn't see eye to eye with me on my team selection. The need to declare my positionality in this study then reached beyond a simple declaration that I am conducting social science research, to include my own allegiance within the subject of study. I found this compulsion remarkably consistent among many other football researchers that I encountered that felt the need to not only introduce themselves as affiliated with a particular academic institution in England[8], but also their club allegiances when presenting academic papers, or in general discussion.

3.2.4   Interviews

My initial plan was to interview a number of supporters who attended on a regular basis, representing different fan groups so as to understand their perception of supporter spaces and how they interacted with other supporter groups. Once in Liverpool I found that this was more difficult than I anticipated as a number of supporters I attempted to interview did not respond to email or phone requests for interviews. Despite those setbacks, I did conduct several interviews

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[8] This did not apply to Scottish academics, as they were reluctant to disclose team allegiances, when asked why, one professor suggested that it was the sectarian nature of Scottish football, and that a declaration of support was equivalent to declaring whether one was Catholic or Protestant.

Table 2. Interview Subjects

Date	Interviewee and Affiliation	Location	Length of Interview	Themes Discussed
1 May, 2013	Chris Stirrup, Chair, AFC Liverpool	Valerie Park, Prescott	35 minutes	Founding of AFC Liverpool, current state of the club, supporters and stewarding, long term plan of the club, and own reason for involvement in the club
6 May, 2013	John Bennett, Liverpool Hope University	Costa Coffee, Liverpool Lime St. Station	56 minutes	Liverpool's red/blue division, difficulty of being neutral or a non-local fan, types of football plays, growth of the football plays as a result of funding decisions, and high vs low art in football and theatre
10 May, 2013	Jay McKenna, President, Spirirt of Shankly	Nero Coffee, 2 Bold St. Liverpool	78 minutes	Personal history of LFC support, formation of SoS, protests against the club, support from the club where interests align, purpose of ticket price protest, and difficulties of working with other teams' supporter groups
14 May, 2013	Paul Gallagher, Curator, Museum of Liverpool	Museum of Liverpool, Liverpool	84 minutes	Place of sport in cultural history, creation of the Wondrous Place Gallery, communication with fan groups, his support for Everton, history of the supporters, and state of the rivalry
14 May, 2013	Feargal McAvoy, Principal Planning Officer, City of Liverpool	City of Liverpool Municipal Building	48 minutes	Current state of Anfield neighbourhood, city mobilizations related to match days, Anfield Stanley Park Plan, and Anfield Regeneration Plan
15 May, 2013	Andrew Sherlock, Playwright	The Quarter Café, Faulkner St., Liverpool	61 minutes	Personal history of Liverpool support, theatre and sport as mass spectacle, sport as theatre, protest as performance, *The Shankly Show,* Liverpool/Scouse identity

Date	Interviewee and Affiliation	Location	Length of Interview	Themes Discussed
20 May, 2013	James Benson, LFCSC Merseyside Representative	Nero Coffee, Catherine St., Liverpool	58 minutes	His personal story of his support, how he came to be involved with LFCSC, structure of the LFCSC, relationship to the club and to other supporters, Anfield neighbourhood and regeneration planning
22 May, 2013	Steve Kelly, Hillsborough Justice Campaign	Private residence, Liverpool	72 minutes	Hillsborough – personal memories and emotional geography of places related to the disaster, involvement with the HJC, use of songs and signs in the campaign, relations between the clubs, and origin of his Everton support
21 Nov., 2013	Mike Humphrey, President, LFC Toronto	Fionn MacCool's, 235 Bloor St. E, Toronto	107 minutes	History of LFC Toronto, why the club has moved over time, club visits to Anfield, relationship to the parent club and the LFCSC, LFC's visit to Toronto in 2012, and personal history of Liverpool support

(Table 2) with representatives of some supporters' organizations in the Liverpool area. The purpose of these interviews was to find out how the actors involved perceive their environment around match day, how they relate to others individually and in groups, and to establish what relationships groups have to each other. Interviews were recorded on a Olympus WS-801 Digital Voice Recorder and transcribed into MS Word files by me on my return to Canada. Transcripts were then manually coded to draw out common responses to question and perceptions of football fandom in Liverpool.

It is not always possible or necessary to get a representative sample of subjects involved in a study, but much of the same information can be achieved through selecting key actors – those with the knowledge that the researcher is attempting to access (Millward, 2009). While I did initially consider surveying fans, the difficulty in obtaining a representative sample and the time that would have taken led me to opt for the key actor approach instead. The selection of key actors was then somewhat planned ahead of time, with a number of interviews set prior to my arrival in Liverpool, but I also allowed for the possibility that these interviews could lead to some additional snowball sampling, as my key actors were able to indicate other key actors that I might find useful. In these formal interviews I approached the questioning through similar themes, using a semi-structured interview technique, the advantage of this approach is that it gave the interviewee a chance to emphasize important issues and to allow for follow-up questions where there was a need to explore a particular issue in more detail (Dixon, 2011).

I was able to interview James Benson, the Merseyside representative of the Liverpool FC Supporters Committee (LFCSC), who often deals with issues relating to supporters attending matches and issues in the neighbourhood around the stadium. The LFCSC, was formed by its parent club in 2012 "to improve communications between the fans and the club itself,"

(Liverpoolfc.com, 2014). LFCSC consists of 18 representatives, each charged with a specific segment of the Liverpool FC fanbase. Committee members may represent geographic areas, such as Merseyside, UK or International fans; or may represent specific demographic groups, such as visible minorities, under-18s, women, or LGBT fans. As these members are tasked as representatives of specific groups, they have an understanding of issues that directly affect their constituent members. With Benson, as the Merseyside representative of LFCSC, we discussed issues around the club's impact on the Anfield-Breckfield neighbourhood, the relationship between the club, LFCSC, and the wider supporter community, and his own relationship with the team. In addition to my interview with James Benson, I have been able to supplement my understanding of the LFCSC and its current role through the use of their meeting minutes, which are posted on the club website.

While LFCSC represents the sanctioned fan interests through their affiliation with the club, I also looked to interview supporters' groups that worked independently from the club, as their perspective and insight would be quite different than a group that works directly with the club. To this end I interviewed Jay McKenna, President of the Spirit of Shankly (SoS), one of the larger Liverpool FC supporter unions. Spirit of Shankly was founded in 2008 largely to protest the club's then ownership by American businessmen Tom Hicks and George Gillette, and their management of the club. While it was initially focused specifically on the issue around the Hicks and Gillette ownership, the members have since found other causes that have provided a reason for existence since the sale of Liverpool FC to Fenway Sports Group (FSG) in 2011. SoS is a society incorporated under the *Industrial and Provident Societies Act*, and is therefore a more formalized fan union than simply a casual supporters' group. While their stated goal is the eventual ownership of LFC, they also are very active in representing their members' interests to

both the LFC board and also, along with other supporters' unions, to the Premier League. McKenna provided a personal history of his relationship with the club, a history of SoS and its relationship with the club, a discussion about the changing relationship between the supporters and the clubs/league and with each other, and an explanation of the strategic objectives that he hoped supporter protests could ultimately lead to.

Upon my return to Toronto, I was also able to interview Mike Humphrey of LFC Supporters Club of Toronto about the experiences of foreign visitors to Liverpool and Anfield. This perspective became crucial in understanding the other side of the dynamic between local fans and their resentment toward football tourists, as I could then incorporate perspective of the football tourist. Mr. Humphrey, as a former Liverpool resident that has been in Canada for almost forty years has a number of experiences as both a local fan and as a visitor to Anfield. Coincidently, Mr. Humphrey attended one of the matches that I was at Anfield for, and we were able to discuss our experiences of sitting in the Kop for that game. He has also been a member of the LFC Supporters Club of Toronto since the beginning and explained much about the clubs own negotiation of space in Toronto in relation to other supporter groups and the interactions of the club. This also gave me the opportunity to watch the LFC Supporters and their performance of support during the Merseyside derby on Nov. 23, 2013, the first meeting of the two clubs since I had attended in May.

In addition to the in-game observations of fan performances and supporter interviews, I also conducted a series of interviews with key actors involved with Liverpool football culture outside of the match day activities. While some of these interviews contributed to an understanding of the match day environment, many of the interviews also focused on the wider context of football in Liverpool. Living in Liverpool for even one month made clear to me that it

is difficult to avoid the topic of football in Liverpool, and many of my interview subjects indicated they felt this way as well. It is a city that is marked by football, through the betting shops, merchandise stores and vendors, museum exhibits existing in the milieu of football, and the stadia themselves. As this became clearer through my stay some of the questioning and even the subjects of my interview moved from supporters themselves to individuals involved in this auxiliary cultural and economic production of football. Many of these individuals were involved in the production or analysis of Liverpool football culture, but they were also fans themselves and so served to further my original line of questioning about match day experiences.

Perhaps the best overview of the importance of football to the culture of the city was provided by Paul Gallagher, a curator at the Museum of Liverpool. As a resident of Liverpool but also a cultural historian, he felt that football was an inescapable and a defining aspect of the city, going so far as to say that Liverpool existed as it does today "because of three things: the Beatles, and the two football clubs." The gallery he curated, *Wondrous Place*, emphasized the importance of music and sport as the defining cultural products of Liverpool, and both the music and the sport sections of the exhibit had short immersive productions that focused on the Beatles or the Everton-Liverpool rivalry. This interview supported a number of observations about visitors to Liverpool and the cultural landmarks that were featured around the city. As an Evertonian, he also was helpful in providing a perspective on how those fans see themselves and fit within the dynamic of the two clubs.

In meeting with Prof. John Bennett from Liverpool John Moores University, he emphasized the role and use of football in popular culture and particularly theatre. Many of the original plays being performed in the city in some way incorporated the sport as a way of drawing crowds, many of whom were unfamiliar with theatre, yet he also outlined the

importance of localness in these productions, and developed a typology of football plays. It was through him that I was able to connect with Andrew Sherlock, playwright of the Shankly Show, a local production celebrating the life of the iconic manager of Liverpool FC, Bill Shankly. Sherlock, like Bennett, indicated that football plays tended to play to the locals and non-theatre crowds, going so far as to use aspects of football spectatorship as means for those unfamiliar with live theatre to ease their entry into an new experience.

My final interview in Liverpool was with Steve Kelley, President of the Hillsborough Justice Campaign (HJC). Football in Liverpool is inseparable from the 1989 Hillsborough disaster, and so in interviewing Mr. Kelley, I was able to discuss the memorialization of the tributes to the disaster and the mark that the event has left on the team and city. These memorials are spread over several locations in Liverpool and Sheffield, and the placing and form of each of these memorials says much about the historical and geographic significance of the event. The HJC functions as a support group for victims' families and survivors of Hillsborough and has been active through the many inquests and inquiries about the disaster that still continue today. He was able to provide an overview of the relationship between the clubs and the HJC. On a more personal level, he was also able to discuss the emotional geographies of the spaces associated with the disaster and the death of his brother.

One of the most difficult groups to contact was the Football Clubs themselves. I tried numerous times and contacts to try and schedule an interview with some representative of the major Merseyside clubs. Unfortunately, the size and popularity of the clubs has created a barrier between the clubs and unknown members of the public. Everton FC never returned an email or call, while Liverpool FC referred me to public documents available on their website or through the League with the email reply,

In regards to further information as you can appreciate, we receive a high volume of letters from students requesting detailed information about the Club for research purposes. Unfortunately, due to the volume, we are unable to respond to every request with individual answers providing the level of detail required.

I was eventually able to make contact the team's Head of International Digital Development through Twitter, although that too did not lead to any answers to my inquiries. As the clubs have an important stake in the enjoyment of their games and also the security environment, it is important to understand their perspective on their relationship with fans. Yet the inaccessibility that I experienced echoes many of the complaints that I heard from supporters and other researchers. Even large groups, such as Spirit of Shankly have resorted to addressing the club through open letters and publicly shaming Liverpool FC into responding to their requests for responses (SoS, n.d.).

Recently, Liverpool FC has tried to direct communications between the club and supporters through the LFCSC, but this has been met with some resistance by supporters and members of the LFCSC as well (Benson, pers. com.; LFCSC, 2013). Everton only recently held its first shareholder's meeting in more than three years, also demonstrating the unwillingness of that club to interact with the wider public (Brown, 2013). Finally, much of the reason for a June 19th protest that was organized by Spirit of Shankly was to embarrass the Premier League, of which both Everton FC and Liverpool FC are members, into engaging with the supporter movements that had otherwise been ignored by league officials (SoS, n.d.).

In considering the production of football fan space around Liverpool FC and Anfield Stadium it was also important to talk to representatives from AFC Liverpool, a football club based just outside of Liverpool that was formed due to the increasing cost of watching Liverpool FC football and as an alternative, community-owned club (Kuhn, 2011). They consider

themselves a "little brother" to Liverpool FC, but due to the cost of Anfield games no longer feel at home within the larger club (Kuhn, 2011; Williams 2012). In conversation with the Chair of AFC Liverpool, Chris Stirrup, the supporters' awareness was always one of the key concerns in their own discussions. Even their origin due to their feeling priced out of Anfield and consequently their ability to support Liverpool FC was a reflection of their perception of space. It remains an overriding concern of the club through their ground share with Prescot Cables FC at Vale Park and the general perception of Liverpudlians about what defines the city as Liverpool.

The City of Liverpool can also be seen as an actor in the supporter culture both for the economic benefits that the club provides to the city, but also through their management of public space around the grounds of both Anfield Stadium and Goodison Park and the Stanley Park/Anfield neighbourhood. I conducted an interview with Feargal McAvoy, Chief Planner for the City of Liverpool about the development plans for the Anfield neighbourhood that feature prominently in discussions about the stadium. He provided me with documents about development proposals and answered my questions about some of the context around previous development proposals for the redevelopment of Anfield and the proposed Football Quarter. I was also provided with a brief early glimpse of the proposed Anfield revitalization project that was subsequently made public in July 2013 (Anfield Spatial Regeneration Project, 2014).

In meeting with the Merseyside Police, the officer I spoke to was unwilling to sign an ethics form without consulting with legal advisors. We instead focused discussions on a general overview of policing at football matches, so while I was unable to use his perceptions of spaces at matches and specific information related to his actions at games, he was able to provide me with a number of police documents relating to football policing and direct me to relevant

government policies, regulations and laws that are used in the monitoring and policing of football matches locally and throughout England and Wales[9].

3.2.5   Public Events

One additional source of information came from two public events I attended while in Liverpool (Table 3). An organizational meeting for #Footballwithoutfansisnothing took place on May 9, 2013 at Static Gallery, Liverpool. During the event, hosted by Spirit of Shankly, a number of representatives from football fan clubs as well as representatives from Supporters Direct and the Football Supporters' Federation spoke about fan issues, with a particular focus on costs of football and away game experiences. This public forum was broadcast by Anfield FM, a Liverpool fan site that webcasts various football related programs from their website. The following evening, a similar discussion in the same venue took place, this time hosted by Stand: AMF (Stand: Against Modern Football). Again, Anfield FM recorded and broadcast the proceedings through their website. A final event on May 16, 2013 in London (which I was unable to attend) was a Southern England version of the #Footballwithoutfansisnothing organizational meeting. I used transcripts from the podcasts of this event were used as an additional source of information for this study. All three events provided an additional and somewhat broader perspective of how supporters saw the ticket pricing issue, and other more general complaints about the clubs treatment of this segment of their audience.

At all three of the events, the public broadcast nature of Anfield FM and their announcement of the broadcast at the beginning of the meetings means that there was no reasonable expectation of privacy for the statements made by participants at the meeting. Many

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[9] Scotland and the Scottish FA have adopted some slightly different regulations and laws regarding football and some aspects of the Football Offences Act are restricted in their application to England and Wales. (O'Neill, 2005, DCMS, 2008).

of the participants do remain anonymous by not announcing any names or affiliations, but only individuals representing specific organizations will be identified by name.

Through the analysis of this combination of participant observation, interviews, and archival data, I have formulated a footballscape for the Merseyside that is outlined in the following chapters of the thesis.

Table 3. Public meetings attended or referenced

Date	Meeting	Location	Host	Purpose/Discussion	Attendance (Capacity)	Attended or audio recorded
09-May	#footballwithoutfansisnothing	Static Gallery, Liverpool	Spirit of Shankly, Blue Union	Organizational meeting for London protest in June 2013	100 approx.	Attended
10-May	Stand: Against Modern Football	Static Gallery, Liverpool	Stand: AMF	Discussion about the modern game, panel discussion and open mic	120 approx.	Attended
16-May	#footballwithoutfansisnothing	London	Spirit of Shankly, Black Scarf AFC	Organizational meeting for London protest in June 2013	unknown	Audio from AnfieldFM.com

Chapter Four:

BUILDING A FOOTBALL ENVIRONMENT

While I went to Liverpool expecting to see football-related activities, it was much easier to find than I had anticipated. And although when you are looking for something, it becomes easier to find, in the case of Liverpool, it seemed impossible to walk a block without some connection to the sport. Betting shops everywhere advertised the odds, buskers performed acts of streetball juggling, pubs advertised game times – any televised game, and stall vendors focused on team related merchandise. Football is an integral part of the economic and cultural fabric of the city. This chapter will try to explain why this is so, and how it came to be.

Chapter 2 included a brief history of the rise and fall of Liverpool economic fortunes that created the Liverpool of today. The decline of industry and associated deurbanization in Liverpool through the last half of the 20th century had a profound impact not just on the socioeconomic conditions of the city, but the culture of Merseyside. In reinventing itself, Liverpool has heavily focused on cultural production as a means of securing its future. And within culture, sport - or even more specifically - football, has become one of the key products of this new economy.

The shifting economics of the city has had a profound effect on space in Liverpool and elsewhere. To conceptualize this production of space I will draw on Lefebvre for the way in which he outlines three elements of space: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space (2001: 33). These three categories fit with the different actors involved in the production of football space and the scales on which those actors operate. The post-industrial

British/Liverpool economy and the globalization of the Premier League operate at a macro-scale, dominating spatial practice in the city. This has in turn forced the city to reconsider its representations of space in shifting its urban design from an industry-focused city to one that promotes tourism. The recently announced redevelopment plans for the Anfield-Breckfield neighbourhood reinforce the importance of sport to the built environment and those representations of space. It is those two elements of the production of space that will be dealt with in this chapter, through the current economic situation of Merseyside and through a history of the two clubs that have dominated football in the city.

4.1 Liverpool: A Shifting Spatial Practice

Liverpool's deindustrialization through the second half of the 20th century was caused by major economic and political shifts in Britain during that period. A once prominent role in the nation's economy as a business centre and shipping hub of the industrial revolution was lost through shifting patterns of trade (particularly with Europe), changes to industrial production in Northwest England, centralization of commercial activities in London, and political decisions that influenced the socio-economic conditions of Liverpool. In such circumstances, the city saw the need to re-create itself in a new form that has replaced its focus on a trading economy based around the port and instead has looked to develop its cultural capital in new commercial ventures. Lefebvre's examples of different spatial practices, such as that of Renaissance Italy or urbanization in the US relate to the production of space on a macro-scale of society and the reproduction of social relations (Lefebvre, 2001). Spatial practice informs the form and function of the economy.

The City's performance as the European Cultural Capital in 2008 was seen as part of a major effort to rebrand the city as a vibrant and culturally significant location after decades of

Figure 6. John Lennon's statue stands outside The Cavern, a rebuilt version of the nightclub the Beatles made famous in the 1960s. (Photograph: D. Evans, 2013).

economic stagnation. As a European Cultural Capital, Liverpool produced and experienced many

of the same elements that have taken place in other host cities such as Rotterdam and Glasgow

(Boland 2010), but this is not to say that there is nothing unique about Liverpudlian culture. The

recognition of Liverpool as the European Cultural Capital would seem to be decades late, as

Liverpool has already had a significant influence on the culture of England, Europe, and the

world – in the 1960s and '70s. While the 2008 events centered on the "new" Liverpool culture

(Boland, 2010), many of the most successful elements of Liverpudlian cultural exports have to

do with the nostalgia for those past decades, in the form of sport and music. It is the celebrations of Merseybeat music (especially the Beatles, Figure 6), and sport (through football and Liverpool FC) that are seen as the prized commodities of Liverpool culture (Gallagher, pers. com). The cultural performance of the city is then an echo of its past glories and the need to transform that past into a commodity for the present and future city.

The reliance on nostalgia is then incredibly risky as the dependence on a particular time or style or event leaves that aspect of the tourist economy vulnerable to shifts in taste, or the fading memory of what visitors come to remember in the first place (Lee, 2011). Liverpool may never have another musical moment like the Merseybeat of the 1960s, and one day the Beatles may fade as tourist draws. On the other hand, sporting glory is always there for the taking, as both teams are still there to play for their moments of glory and now do so to a larger audience than they ever could when the clubs first became famous. Football then becomes a draw not just through its history, but through its present. Fans will come to see the famous team and to see the European Cups in Liverpool FC museum, but they then get to become part of the history of the club by attending a match and singing "You'll Never Walk Alone" with the rest of the crowd. It is a haunting nostalgia of the city that harkens back to an imagined past freed of imperfections both of that time and the present (Ivy, 1995). With both past and present important to the culture of the football clubs, there is a necessary curation of that culture, constantly needing to incorporate new elements, yet maintaining the essence of what made the past important.

4.2 How Football is Represented in Liverpool

The centrality of football to the culture of Liverpool is clear to see as almost every street is in some way marked by sport related business, pubs advertising upcoming games, graffiti referencing the Liverpool Everton rivalry, and ads for city cultural institutions that relate to

football. This dominance of the landscape extends beyond the immediate vicinity of the Anfield-Breckfield neighbourhood of the two stadia, to include a number of businesses in Central Liverpool. Beyond the official merchandise shops at their home stadium, Liverpool FC has two merchandise stores in the downtown core and a newly opened store in Wirral, and Everton FC has a store in Liverpool One Mall[10]. Street vendors and unofficial merchandise stalls are found in any shopping centre and many non-sporting stores include an appropriate selection of related team merchandise to boost sales. Induced businesses include the betting shops that advertise odds through upcoming matches of the local teams, and pubs that draw patrons by broadcasting the games for customers to see.

Football is big business in Liverpool, with Liverpool FC having a turnover of £206m in 2012-2013, and Everton FC with a turnover of £86m for the same year (Conn, 2013a). Revenue breakdowns for both clubs (Figure 7) show that match day income accounts for less of total club turnover than television revenues, and this was for the 2012-2013 season, the final year before a new, more lucrative TV deal would boost television revenues to £97.5m for Liverpool and £85m for Everton in the 2013-2014 season (Sporting Intelligence, 2014). The other category of commercial activities, consisting of merchandising and sponsorship deals, demonstrates the power of a global fan base: Liverpool's large following produced a turnover of £98m, while Everton's more local support could only manage a meagre £14m of commercial activities.

With tourism in the City of Liverpool increasingly important for the local economy, contributing approximately £1.9 billion, or 10.1% of the local GDP (England's Noth West Research Service [ENWRS], 2012, 5), football related tourism is increasingly part of the tourism

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[10] Everton FC has used their downtown location as a dig at their rival team with the official store name being Everton Two, making its address Everton Two - Liverpool One, as one would report a match score. Everton One is the team store located across the road from Goodison Park.

Everton FC (2012-13 Turnover)

£6m
Catering and
Other
Commercial

£17m
Gate and
Programme
Sales

£8m
Sponsorship,
Ads and
Merchandise

£56m
Broadcasting
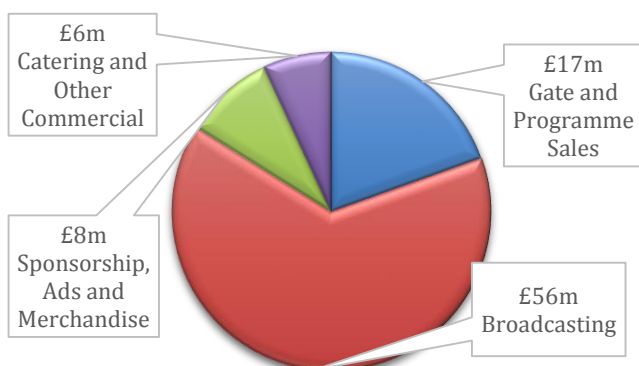
Liverpool FC (2012-13 Turnover)

£45m
Gate and Match-
Day Income

£98m
Commercial
Activities

£64m
Broadcasting
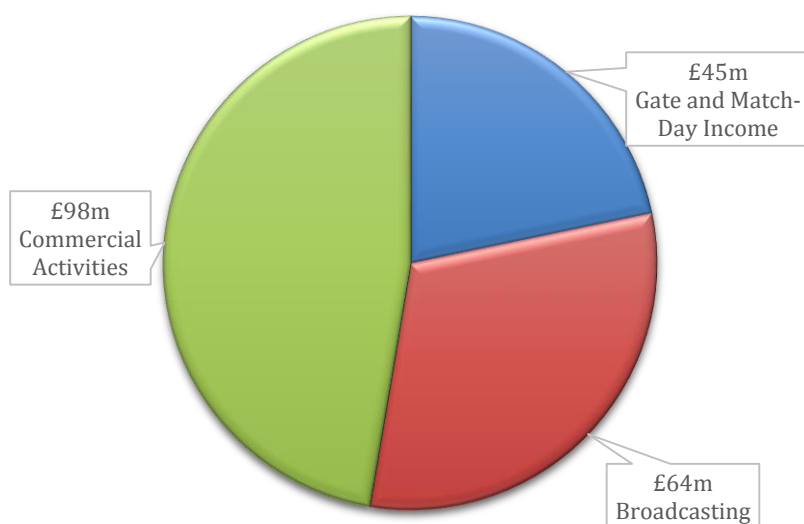
Figure 7. Revenues for both Merseyside clubs for the 2012-13 season. In both cases less than 25% of turnover is generated from matchday income. Data from Conn, 2014.

planning for the city. In 2011, the City of Liverpool had 30 million visitors, of which 1.9 million

had an overnight stay (ENWRS, 2012). One study found that one third of all weekend stays in

Liverpool's four-star hotels are football related, and one quarter in the rest of Merseyside;

additionally, one quarter of all budget hotel stays in the region are football related (Regeneris,

2007). Football is the single most important generator of overnight stays in Liverpool, and is now the most important attraction for visitors, with Liverpool FC attendances of 1,037,092 and Everton FC attendances of 888,905 (ENWRS, 2012). Liverpool FC's Museum and Anfield Tour add a further 143,122 visits per year on non-match days, which is itself the fifth best attended attraction in Liverpool (ENWRS, 2012).

But despite the importance of football to the tourism economy of Liverpool, the actual distribution of economic benefits is strongly tilted against the Anfield-Breckfield neighbourhood. Despite having two football stadia that draw thousands of visitors each weekend, the neighbourhood is in fact one of the poorest in Liverpool, and therefore the country. Over 80% of the neighbourhood is considered in the highest quintile of the UK's index of deprivation – a national measure of income, housing, crime, health and education (Anfield SRF, 2014). City-wide, over two-thirds of Liverpool falls into the highest quintile of deprivation. The problems of Anfield-Breckfield are not just related to the general Liverpool environment, but are in fact exacerbated by the actions and economics of Liverpool FC.

One specific action taken by the club that has negatively affected the liveability of the neighbourhood is the purchase and shuttering of homes adjacent to Anfield Stadium. The majority of properties on Lothair Rd, the street directly behind Anfield's Main Stand are now owned by LFC. They are currently trying to purchase the remaining houses on the road to allow them to proceed with the expansion of Anfield. The approach that LFC have used to purchase the remaining properties has come under criticism from a number of places, as it is claimed that LFC's actions have been to drive down property values in order to minimize the required price of expropriation, should it be necessary for the City to invoke eminent domain in the process of clearing the last few homes. By shuttering the homes already purchased, Lothair Rd has been

Figure 8. Looking West down Lothair Rd. The majority of homes on this street have been purchased and shuttered by Liverpool FC. (Photograph: D. Evans, 2013).

deliberately driven into decline (Conn, 2013b), and effectively turned into a blight on the local

neighbourhood. To visit Anfield, and specifically Lothair Rd (Figure 8), outside of a match day

is to visit a deserted neighbourhood. While this is largely due to the absence of people living on

the street now, the local High Street of Walton Breck Rd fares little better on non-match days

due to the economics of Liverpool FC and its relation to its neighbours.

Many of the tactics employed in the Anfield-Breckfield neighbourhood resemble the

"blockbusting" techniques discussed by Podgarosi and Vojnovic (2008) in that the unequal

power relationships of authorities and Liverpool FC are used against the local residents to force

the changes upon the neighbourhood. In their study, Podgarosi and Vojnovic distinguish

gentrification from "blockbusting." The former is a process of dispossession where gentrifiers

move into an older dwelling and refurbish it to maintain the outward appearance of the

neighbourhood; whereas "blockbusting" is the deliberate destruction of buildings and property values to force residents out to allow for completely new construction.

Despite Walton Breck Rd being the main hub of activity on match day, many business struggle for the rest of the week. Pubs and shops that are filled to capacity on a Saturday stay empty or closed for the rest of the week. James Benson, the LFCSC member representing Merseyside, and an Anfield resident laments the lost opportunity for businesses on off days,

> *That row of shops that you've got right next to the Kop, none of them are open during the week, now there's no brands there, now I'm not advocating for brands I'm more for little shops anyway, but if you think how many people who could be attracted to the area and stay in the area, it's amazing that there isn't a Costa or a Nero [coffee chains] or something around.*

Foot traffic on a typical non-match day sees a number of tourists arrive by bus at the stadium for the Anfield Museum and tour and to shop at the club store, but then immediately return downtown by bus. Despite the huge numbers of visitors to the Anfield Museum and Stadium Tour, any discretionary spending on non-match days is tied to the club and facilities, not local shops. The need for development has been incorporated into the Anfield Regeneration project that will be discussed later.

Elsewhere in Merseyside, theatre has tried to tap into the football market. This seems like an obvious convergence, as both sport and theatre are consumed through live audience attendance. Yet for much of football's history there have been few plays written about the sport. But beginning in the 1990s there was a rapid rise in the number of English plays commissioned about football, from seven written in the 1980s, to 49 written in the 2000s (Bennett, pers. Com.). Bennett speculates a number of changes during the 1990s have led to the increase in the production of football in the theatre, but most significantly, the changing nature of arts funding by the British Government. With an increased focus on the marketability of productions,

granting agencies have supported football plays due to their broader public appeal, which has encouraged an increased number of football play productions. That theatre converges with football is significant in that here is a crossing of the high-low art signification that Benkwitz and Molnar (2012) find in football. It is the folding of low art into a high art form that coincides with the gentrification of the sport itself. But it is also yet another spatial practice – created through the funding decisions that have led to an increase in football theatre and the acceptance of football as a subject of art (Bennett, pers. com.) – that influences the perception and acceptance of the sport in Merseyside and broader British economy.

Both Bennett and Sherlock see football plays as targeting local audiences as a market segment of the wider population of football spectators. Bennett's classification of plays finds that the most successful plays are typically produced for a local audience, such as Sherlock's *Shankly Show*; in contrast, shows about national teams and broader football plays tend not to be able to draw audiences in, such as Ben Elton's *The Beautiful Game*. The specific appeal of team shows is due largely to the need to draw the supporters into the theatre, which is a different environment to many fans experiences in the stands of their local clubs (Sherlock, pers. com). Rather than the external tourism that the clubs and league have increasingly relied on, theatre then becomes a venue for local tourism, and a place for supporters who cannot attend matches to relive or partake in the communal experiences of their club.

4.3 History of the Clubs

While the current tourist economy of Liverpool is heavily reliant on the footballing history of the city, it is important to understand that history in the context of Liverpool. The two clubs, Everton FC and Liverpool FC have a shared a common origin and intertwined but

Figure 9. Selection of merchandise available at a vendor's stall, St. Johns Shopping Centre, Liverpool. The indoctrination of team identity begins early for supporters of either club. (Photograph: D. Evans, 2013).

divergent histories and identities that have implications for how the two clubs and their fans have perceived the globalization of their clubs.

The rivalry between the two clubs has existed since the foundation of Liverpool FC in 1892, but unlike other rivalries in European football it is not simply broken along class, religious, ethnic or geographic lines. The proximity of the two stadia is also unusual in sport as they service the same neighbourhood, and necessarily interact with each other, including the coordination of scheduling and sharing of parking areas. Family influence plays a large role in the determination of team support (Figure 9). Mike Humphrey, the head of the LFC Toronto Supporters Club speaks as though he was never given a choice of who to cheer for and, in fact,

has a membership card for the club that was made ready even before his birth certificate was finalized (Humphrey, pers. com.). James Benson, of the LFC Supporters' Committee, speaks of his own family history of Liverpool support:

> *Always. Never any doubt. Born in to it. I had no option basically, me dad wouldn't let me support anyone else. Me dad, me granddad, I remember, always watching games on the TV, I remember the games we had on then. Going to the first game. I grew up with Liverpool. I've got quite a few Evertonian friends and cousins…I always remember, once they were all going to a game and there was a family christening and I said, 'could I go to a match to see the Everton game?' Uch – no chance, wouldn't let me go, no option there. I've always been a Liverpool fan. With [my] kids the same. I couldn't live with it if they came home wearing an Everton shirt.*

So while Humphrey and Benson both state that they were red from birth, it is also not entirely possible to divide team support along family lines, with many families being mixed red (Liverpool FC)/blue (Everton FC) support. In more than one interview and discussion locals attributed this to the contrary nature of Scousers, and that many a family had a black sheep - who supported the opposite team to the rest of the family on principle (Bennett pers.com; Gallagher, pers. com), or brothers and sisters that chose opposite teams through sibling rivalry (Kelly pers. com.). It was also felt that with the growing popularity of the sport among women that it was no longer guaranteed that children would follow their father's team, which was often seen as the case years ago (McKenna, pers. com.; Gallagher, pers. com; Benson, pers. com.). This is, therefore, a managed rivalry such that, while there is certainly tension and some enmity between the two sides, it has not been prone to the large-scale fan violence or hooliganism that has plagued many other club rivalries in England and Europe in recent years precisely because it is difficult to vilify others that may include members of your own family.

In understanding the relationships, bonds and enmities between the major clubs in Liverpool it is necessary to dwell a little on the background of the sport in the city. Football in the Northwest of England has a long history, with ball games being played in Lancashire villages

for hundreds of years, but the formal sport became increasingly popular through the 1860s after the formation of the Football Association and codification of the sport's rules in 1863 (Goldblatt, 2006). The role of sport in Victorian times is often cited as a way for men who had migrated into cities during the industrial revolution to find some form of community and group identity which they had lost in moving to the cities and factories during this phase of rapid industrialization (Giulianotti, 2000; Goldblatt, 2006); as a result, many of the oldest clubs in England are formed either as workers groups (e.g. Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway) or through church groups (e.g. St. Domingo's) (Goldblatt 2006; Gallagher pers. com).

4.3.1   The Beginnings, The Glories, The Tragedy

In 1878, St. Domingo's Methodist Church in Liverpool founded a football club in the hopes of keeping their cricket team in shape during the off-season, but the players quickly became more interested in football at the expense of cricket. One year later the club was renamed Everton FC to include members from outside the parish. One of the board members, John Houlding, was a prominent political Figure and eventual Mayor of Liverpool. He had made much of his money running a brewery and the Sandon Pub, near to the playing field that Everton were using in Stanley Park. Seeing the potential money to be made from the popularity of the sport, Houlding constructed a permanent playing facility adjacent to Stanley Park, but close enough to the pub that the Sandon served as the clubhouse and changerooms for players (Williams, 2011).

Everton FC became one of the original members of the Football League upon its formation in 1888 and won its first title in the 1891-92 season. It was at this time that Houlding attempted to raise the rent paid by the club at Anfield either for profit or to take control of the club. It is likely that Everton and Houlding were destined for a falling out at some point as he

was a Tory and a brewer, while many of the other board members were Liberal and involved in the temperance movement (Gallagher pers. com.; Williams, 2011). Everton FC walked away from Anfield and built a new ground at the opposite end of Stanley Park that became Goodison Park, and have played there ever since. Houlding was left with no team, but a stadium, so after the Everton board walked out of the meeting at the Sandon, that same evening he formed Liverpool FC, beginning a rivalry that has lasted to this day.

Both teams experienced a number of successes and failures over the years, and in the 1960s the two clubs became dominant forces in English football. Bill Shankly had taken over as manager of Liverpool FC in 1959, and is revered for transforming the team into an English powerhouse before he abruptly quit in 1974. As Liverpool became a dominant team in England and then Europe, Everton closely matched the performance over that time. From 1963 to 1990, the two teams combined accounted for seventeen of the twenty-eight league titles over that period. Additionally, they won six FA Cups, four European Cups, and one UEFA Cup Winners' Cup between them (Football Association, 2014).

The dominance of the two teams during that period contributes to their continued popularity today. As the economy of Liverpool went into decline, the clubs came to be one of the chief sources of civic pride that Liverpudlians could hold onto. The economic decline also contributed to a deurbanization of Liverpool, with the population declining from a peak of 846,101 in 1931 (Office of National Statistics, 2011). The exodus of Merseyside residents in search of better opportunities likely factors into the global popularity of Liverpool FC and to a lesser extent Everton FC, as these emigrants took their love of their teams wherever they went. Why Liverpool FC and not Everton FC became the larger of the two clubs is likely due to the European success of Liverpool during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The rise of cable and

satellite sports also contributed to the popularity of the club at this time as there were more possibilities to watch the game outside of England. Although TV broadcasts of the games had been picked up in other countries since the 1960s, the increasing possibilities for viewing foreshadowed Rupert Murdoch's BSkyB entry and the global expansion of broadcasting with the formation of the Premier League in 1992-1993 (Lovejoy, 2011).

At the end of the 1980s both teams experienced a slight decline in performance, and while neither have fallen out of the Premier League since its foundation, neither team has won the title in that time. The last twenty-three seasons have marked the longest spell that the city has experienced without winning a league title since the period between 1939 and 1963. The decline of Liverpool is coincidentally tied to troubles and disasters associated with the club in the 1980s: the 1985 Heysel stadium disaster, and the 1989 Hillsborough disaster. In both cases authorities used generalizations about English hooliganism, which was a much larger problem at the time, to lay blame for the disasters on Liverpool fans.

On May 29, 1985, Liverpool was set to play Juventus at the UEFA European Cup final in Heysel, Belgium. By many accounts, the stadium was not designed to handle the magnitude of the event, and the police were not prepared for the event either (Williams, 2011). In the planning of the event, not only were there the segregated zones for each team, but also a neutral zone that was open to all comers and naturally filled with a mix of both groups of supporters. As fans entered the mixed area, scuffles between the two groups of supporters began and eventually a rush by Liverpool supporters began a stampede of fans toward a retaining wall. In the crush of fans pinned against the wall, the wall collapsed killing 39 and injuring 600, almost all Juventus fans (Goldblatt, 2006; Williams, 2011).

In the aftermath of Heysel, English hooliganism was blamed for the disaster, although some responsibility was eventually given to the Belgian organizers of the game and the Belgian police. England was banned from European competition for the next four years[11], with Liverpool specifically excluded for an additional year (Williams, 2011). Liverpool became associated with hooliganism instead of championships despite their continued dominance of domestic football during the English European ban. Heysel then set up Hillsborough, that reputation for hooliganism made it easier for authorities to place the blame for a second disaster on the fans of the same club involved in an earlier disaster.

Hillsborough is a double tragedy for Liverpool. The initial tragedy was the death of ninety-six fans, and a further 766 injured at the FA cup semi-final on April 15, 1989. The fans were killed in a crush at Sheffield's Hillsborough Stadium because inadequate and poor policing of the approximately 25,000 Liverpool fans that turned up for the game allowed some of the standing pens to be overfilled before the game even kicked off[12]. The game was halted after six minutes as fans desperately tried to climb over fences designed to keep them in, and as fans, stewards, and police tore at the fences to help people out. Emergency responders were overwhelmed by the need to assist people, and in the end only three ambulances ever made it into the stadium to assist those in need of treatment. It was a colossal failure of crowd management and emergency response that resulted in so many deaths on that day (BBC, 2013; Goldblatt, 2006; Williams, 2011).

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[11] England initially voluntarily withdrew under the insistence of PM Thatcher, but this was later confirmed by UEFA. There were already concerns in England about the safety of football and spectators as Heysel came just two weeks after the Valley Parade stadium fire that killed 56 Bradford City fans (Jeffreys, 2012).
[12] The opposing fans that day, Nottingham Forest, entered through the Spion Kop end, with no exceptional difficulty (BBC, 2013).

The second tragedy came from the official response to the incident; while less deadly, it was for many Liverpool fans and their families almost as painful. The blame for the event, even as the dead and dying were still being tended to on the field, was quickly shifted from authorities to the fans. Reports were made that fans had broken gates into Hillsborough Stadium, allowing the crush of people to enter, when it was actually the police commander's decision to open extra gates (BBC, 2013). There were also claims made by *The Sun* newspaper that surviving fans on the pitch had robbed victims, fought police tending to victims, or even urinated on bodies lying on the pitch[13] (Williams 2011). Hooliganism, already associated with the club through Heysel, was emphasized as the official cause of the event. That the victims were from all from Liverpool, a city that was vocal and occasionally violent in its opposition to the Thatcher government of the time likely earned it little sympathy from the highest officials of the government; and the response by Margaret Thatcher herself, agreeing to the suggestions of her advisors that it was the fault of the Liverpool hooligans, sent the message to many that conclusions were drawn before the investigation had begun (Gibson, 2013; HIP, 2012). It seemed to the nation's leaders and to the many fans that all of England's difficulties with its football culture culminated in the events of Hillsborough.[14] Conversely, it seemed to Liverpool and Merseyside residents that they were again being singled out by a government that they had already had significant conflicts with.

In the subsequent twenty-five years there has been a constant campaign by groups such as the Hillsborough Justice Campaign and the Hillsborough family support group to reopen the investigations into the disaster. It was not until 2009 that the government committed to holding a

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[13] Even to this day a campaign "Don't buy the Sun" means that some stores in the Liverpool area refuse to carry the paper, and many Liverpudlians continue to boycott the paper.
[14] The Taylor Report, commissioned following Hillsborough looked at a number of safety issues surrounding football, and eliminated a number of common practices at the time that factored into Hillsborough. Among its key findings, it eliminated fenced spectator pens and set out guidelines for the creation of all-seater stadia throughout the United Kingdom (DCMS, 2008; Goldblatt, 2006; Williams, 2011).

Hillsborough Independent Panel (HIP) to investigate the actions on that day. The panel's report in September 2012 was seen by many as a vindication of the Liverpool fans as many of the conclusions found that facilities and policing at the event were inadequate and focused on crowd control over crowd safety. Most damning for the South Yorkshire police were a number of conclusions that found that police had singled out the Liverpool crowd before the match as likely to cause trouble, had failed to react to distress because it was assumed to be unruly behaviour, and that in the midst of the disaster and through its aftermath had looked to shift blame for the disaster onto drunken fans despite a lack of evidence that this was in any way a factor in the disaster (HIP, 2012).

Hillsborough, because of the scale and the continuing controversy of the disaster became a marker in the history of Liverpool and English Football. It can be divided into pre-Hillsborough and post-Hillsborough eras. Prior to Hillsborough the narrative of violence at grounds, crumbling stadium infrastructure and declining attendance dominated the sport (Bale, 1993). As the working-class sport of England, the relationship between football and the Thatcher government paralleled the relationship between working-class Britain and the British government, with mutual hostility and distrust from both sides. The formation of supporters' groups at that time was to take on a new role in serving as advocates for fans in the face of proposed legislative changes in the Football Spectators Bill that included identity card schemes (that were rejected later), and international travel bans for individuals (Giulianotti, 2000; Jeffreys, 2012; O'Neill, 2005).

In Liverpool itself, Hillsborough marked the end of the dominance of Liverpool FC (and coincidentally Everton FC). The effect of the European ban made Liverpool FC a less attractive option for star players, and even after the end of the ban made it more difficult for the team that

now needed to struggle to qualify for Europe to attract the players necessary to return them to the top. Occasional successes in Europe aside, Liverpool FC has failed to win a League title since 1990.

4.3.2   Post-Hillsborough & the Premier League Era

English football after Hillsborough is a very different spectacle: it is not just a rejuvenated interest in the sport and a celebration of it, but a celebration of the triumph of neoliberalism. The restructuring of the top flight of English football with the founding of the Premier League in 1992 has profoundly changed the spectatorship of the sport. One of the most dramatic changes to occur was the broadcasting of games under the new satellite provider BSkyB (later Sky Sports). This change brought the English games to a wider and global audience, so while the old First Division viewership was focused largely on the domestic television market, the Premier League has increasingly had access to global audiences. The recent NBC/Universal deal with the Premier League will give American audiences access to every game, and is worth $250 million US for three years. While that pales to the £3 billion ($5 billion CAD) three year deal that Sky Sports and BT signed with the league (Gibson, 2012), it is a demonstration of the league's ability to access large sums of money from even what would be considered a non-traditional football market.

Along with the changes to television, the audience of the Premier League has shifted over the last two decades. One of the oft-cited reasons for the decline of the hooligan is the gentrification of the English football crowd (see Giulianotti, 1999; King, 1998; Goldblatt, 2006). Following the recommendations of Lord Justice Taylor's Report on Football Safety (1990), commissioned in response to the Hillsborough disaster, massive renovations and alterations to British stadia changed the spectatorship of football over the subsequent twenty years (King,

1998). The most dramatic change recommended by Taylor was the imposition of full seating at top-flight grounds. This was done to reduce the size of crowds and also restrict the ability of crowds to move. Fixing supporters in place and requiring them to sit would prevent a number of the rushes and stampedes that were frequent sources of injuries and disturbances in pre-Taylor football games. Seating also altered the match experience by generally creating a calmer crowd and easy monitoring of individuals that did not conform to the requirement to stay seated. While current fans will now stand to celebrate goals or intense play, it is an exercise in repeated standing and sitting over the course of the match. One of the most impressive sounds of my experience of matches occurred at Goodison Park whenever the Gwladys Street end stood for a play or shot as there was a loud 'thump' of thousands of seats flipping up as the section stood as one.

While the change from standing to seating reduced crowding and movement, it also reduced potential revenues to the clubs and massive redesigns or retrofits to the stadia through reduced gates (King, 1998). Despite Taylor's urging against passing costs onto fans, some of the cost recovery for this has been borne through higher ticket prices that have gone up much 751% since the foundation of the Premier League in 1992 (Conn, 2011; Spirit of Shankly, 2013). The rise in ticket prices was probably inevitable with the changed product on the field as well. The creation of the Premier League, which replaced the old First Division of the Football League changed the national and global consumption of the game through satellite broadcasts and increased revenue to purchase the elite players from around the world, creating an increased demand for English top flight football. The gentrified experience and enhanced safety and securitization of the typical stadium then altered the football crowd by bringing a more diverse football crowd into the stadium, which was no longer seen as solely the preserve of young males.

The hooligan elements then partially retreated from this securitized space, often taking their battles to more remote locations away from the watchful eyes of police and the National Football Intelligence Unit (O'Neill 2005). And while a diverse group of fans has always attended the games, the gentrification of the stadium has altered the relative mix of the different types of fans.

In the case of Liverpool, the change in crowd is partially due to the influx of tourists taking in games at Anfield. The presence of so many football fans in Liverpool for match day has created a seller's market for tickets, as demand far outstrips supply. It is further exacerbated through the nature of the visiting fans – if you've just paid several hundred dollars in airfare, hundreds of pounds in accommodation and food, you aren't going to not pay to go to the game. While tickets can still be purchased through the club, a number of ticket touts can charge several hundred pounds for a match ticket due to the high demand, and scams are always a possibility too[15]. Yet it is not just the touted tickets that have driven up the costs of attending the game, but the basic price offered by the club has risen drastically too. As Conn (2011) noted, between 1990 and 2011 British cumulative inflation came to 77.1%, yet football tickets across the Premier League rose 700% over the same time, and rose 1108% at Anfield.

Enter the Americans

Rising ticket prices can be difficult to swallow, but that became a secondary issue to many Liverpool fans over the past decade. Despite winning the ultimate glory of the UEFA Champions League in 2005, it was not long after that Liverpool fans became increasingly frustrated with their club and its direction. The triggering incident for much of the discontent for fans of Liverpool FC was the sale of the team by local businessman David Moores to the

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[15] I was taken in by a scam when trying to arrange a ticket for the Merseyside derby, eventually having to purchase a second ticket from another tout.

American business partners Tom Hicks and George Gillett in 2007 (Williams, 2013). The sale took away local ownership of the team for the first time since its founding. While the sale was initially hyped as a way to finance a new stadium to be constructed in Stanley Park, it became clear over the next year that the debt-leveraged sale undertaken by Hicks and Gillett had actually saddled the club with a debt that would make a new stadium impossible without funding from other sources. The club debt also hampered the ability of the management to sign new players, and a falling out between ownership and the popular team manager Rafa Benitez fuelled a growing discontent among fans (Williams, 2013; McKenna, pers. com.).

The discontent among the fans led to the splintering of Liverpool supporters (Williams, 2013), while fans often associate in different social groups, the turmoil among the fans related to the Hick & Gillett ownership led to the formation of Spirit of Shankly (SoS) Supporters Union, and indirectly to the formation of AFC Liverpool. Spirit of Shankly was formed to protest against the ownership of the club, yet to the membership it was still important to remain as supporters of the team itself. The association with the club and its place remained and remains important for members of SoS, and their ultimate goal as a trust being community ownership of Liverpool FC, demonstrates that the attachment to Liverpool FC as a team and club is their dominant conception of association with place and sport. Both AFC Liverpool and SoS will be examined in depth in Chapter 5.

Faced with an increasingly hostile fanbase, a deteriorating financial situation that was exacerbated by the 2008 financial crisis, and the inability to move forward on the redevelopment of Anfield, the partnership of Hicks and Gillett began to fall apart. Although a number of potential suitors considered purchasing Liverpool, a new ownership was eventually found in another group of Americans, the owners of Major League Baseball's Boston Red Sox, led by

John W. Henry: New England Sports Ventures (NESV), or as they were later renamed: Fenway

Sports Group (FSG). Hicks and Gillett were wanting to sell, but were determined to see a £500

million return on their investment (Millward, 2012), but when the Royal Bank of Scotland

ordered a restructuring of the Club board, the other board members managed to push the sale to

NESV through in October, 2010 (Williams, 2011 & 2013; Millward, 2012). Since then,

NESV/FSG has managed to stabilize the finances of the club and despite some initially uneven

performances in player signings and on the field, the renewed stability has allowed Liverpool to

return to the competition for the top of the League table.

With the entry of new ownership, and some stability now at the club, talk has finally

returned to the idea of redevelopment of Anfield. The first movement on this was taken almost as

soon as the new ownership arrived in Liverpool. John W. Henry immediately recognized the

significance of Anfield itself, tossing the plans to move to the adjacent Stanley Park. On touring

Anfield he invoked the importance of that space by declaring "Why build a new stadium? This is

like Fenway." (Whalley, 2013: n.p.). Henry saw the importance of Anfield as a place for its fans,

and a history that was attached to that site, much like his baseball team's historical attachment to

Fenway Park in Boston. It was also an understanding that beyond the monetary value of the club

he had just purchased, there was an irreplaceable cultural significance to its physical location and

infrastructure that enhanced the value of his club's brand. Instead, redevelopment now focused

on the expansion of Anfield itself and the improvement of the surrounding neighbourhood.

In June 2013, the City of Liverpool released its vision for the Anfield Project, which

would see a revitalization of the Anfield neighbourhood. Beyond simply bulldozing a street of

houses to allow for the expansion of the Main Stand, the Anfield Project would see the

reconfiguration of the neighbourhood that would encourage the development of a number of

tourism related businesses that would benefit from their proximity to the refurbished and expanded stadium. Benson sees this as an opportunity for the neighbourhood as a whole to benefit from the football industry if stores that can tie their businesses to the club as a business anchor for the neighbourhood. Included in the plan is the proposal to demolish several blocks of houses on the north side of the stadium to create an avenue connecting Walton Breck Rd. to Stanley Park. Walton Breck Rd. itself would be revitalized as a high street, which would encourage businesses to tie into the football economy of the neighbourhood. Plans have since progressed through a community consultation phase, and on April 22, 2014, Liverpool FC unveiled its plans for a stadium renovation that would fit within the currently proposed Anfield Regeneration Plan (LFC.com, 2014).

4.3.3   Everton's Place in Liverpool

At much the same time that Hicks and Gillett took over Liverpool FC, there were concerns around Everton FC and Goodison Park, where again the issues that fans were most troubled with were the conduct of the board and the possible move or rebuilding of the Club's stadium. For the club to compete with other top tier Premier League clubs it was no longer feasible for them to play in the 35,000-seat stadium, and they too explored options for redevelopment or relocation. The redevelopment option was even more difficult at Goodison than Anfield because Everton does not own any of the adjacent properties, and would have to figure the cost of expropriation into any redevelopment, and its location closer to a local business centre would make the costs significantly higher. Instead the club focused on the potential of relocating the stadium outside of the neighbourhood. Plans to construct a stadium downtown were considered, but again the need to buy a significant piece of local real estate was a problem. Everton FC turned their attention to the nearby town of Kirkby, just outside Liverpool as a place

to construct a new stadium in combination with Tesco that would create a 55,000-seat stadium combined with a retail location (Fitzpatrick, 2013; Feargal pers. com.; Gallagher, pers. com). Against the proposal to move Everton to Kirkby were a number of vocal and active Everton fans, who formed their own group Keep Everton in our City (KEIOC). The organization played a vocal role during the assessment phase of the Kirkby proposal that eventually led to the rejection of the proposal (Fitzpatrick, 2013). Despite the work of KEIOC in the development of a Football Quarter proposal that would see both Anfield and Goodison Park as the nexus of a Anfield-Breckfield regeneration plan, Everton is conspicuously absent in the latest Anfield Project Framework. Members of KEIOC fear that the failure of Everton's board to become involved in the Anfield Project is a sign that the Club is still interested in relocating and that the best opportunity for the preservation of this very unique geographic rivalry may be lost (Gallagher, pers. com.).

Following the rejection of the Kirkby proposal, KEIOC has continued on under the umbrella organization of the Blue Union where it has joined two others supporters' groups: SOS 1878 and The People's Group. The Blue Union attempts to further each group's agenda through mutual support even if each individual group has a slightly different goal. It was members of the Blue Union, who addressed the #footballwithoutfansisnothing meeting on May 9 (Chapter 5), as they felt it necessary to work with SoS on issues that affect supporters of both the clubs.

In a city that has long been organized and divided around football, the sport is taking an increasingly prominent role in the culture and economy of the city. The representation of space, the quarter mile that separates Anfield from Goodison Park feeds a historical rivalry and creates a neighbourhood that is in the shadow of two of the cathedrals of football. Liverpool is a place where a spatial practice of football has increasingly shaped the city and its representational

spaces around sport. For both Liverpool clubs, the formation of organized supporters' groups is a response to actions taken by the Football Clubs themselves. The local supporters' clubs vary in purpose and strategy, but all were founded by a group of fans feeling threatened by the direction that their club and sport was headed in. The multiple struggles between supporters and Clubs have spatial dimensions that are played out from the planning offices of the city, to the streets of Anfield-Breckfield, and into the stadium stands. It is this territorial battle between different groups of fans and the Clubs for the future of the teams that I will turn to next.

Chapter Five:

THE CITY IS OURS: CLAIMING FOOTBALL SPACE

Attending a match is a very privileged form of spectatorship, it is the most costly, and it is also the most restricted. The live audience at a Premier League match is a fraction of the total television audience both nationally and globally. One of the main concerns of fans is, therefore, who has access to this privileged position of match attendance and who are the fans that should be allowed to attend. Since the League markets itself on the importance of the supporter culture in the stands, and the stands are where the value of the League and club are enhanced, then the fans themselves have increasingly become concerned about their own role in how that culture is curated in the stands.

While the previous chapter examined the spatial practice that has formed the Liverpool football economy and the increasing dominance of representations of football space, this chapter will focus on the representational space of the fans. Lefebvre sees representational space as "directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'… This is the dominated – and hence passively experienced space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate" (2001: 39). A heterotopic space is one where meanings can be contested between dominant and subaltern powers (Lefebvre, 2001). There is a complex series of power relationships in such a large mass of people, and any number of competing interests. While many of the spatial conflicts may occur between authorities, such as the club stewards or police against a set of fans, there is also the potential for conflict between different groups of fans themselves. In these conflicts between any of the groups, there are always the two most basic options available as a response: fight or flight – contest the space and

the right to occupy it, or vacate it and cede the space to another group. Fights do not necessarily involve violence, but a demonstration and marking of space, or the defining of who qualifies as a legitimate group member permitted. Fighting in this context is an assertion of a group's right to occupy space. Nor does flight mean the abandonment of support for the team or sport per se, but the shifting of the expression of that support to an alternative space.

Looking at the flight response, there are several options available, with no longer attending home matches as one of the most obvious. Away match attendance is a very different aspect of fan spectatorship (Pearson, 2012) and is often celebrated by locals as a way of escaping the "plastic" fans that take over the home games. Away ticket access is also more restricted through ticketing, typically giving loyal local fans an edge in the allocation. The glorification and participation in away matches is one strategy to flee a home ground that no longer provides the atmosphere that some of the fans desire (Red and White Kop, 2014). It is also a valorization of a type of support that supporters use to assert "authenticity" of their fandom and distinguish themselves from other groups. Other fans simply attend fewer games, indeed the aforementioned ticket prices often give supporters a strong financial disincentive to attend matches on a regular basis (Benson, pers. com; McKenna, pers. com; LFCSC, 2013), and some fans have resorted to sharing tickets as a means to avoid bearing the full price of a season ticket. In ceding the home stadium to other fans, this option has stoked fears among fans about the loss of atmosphere at matches: at Manchester United's Old Trafford, the team has hired an acoustic engineer to improve the noise during the games and has more recently experimented with a "singing section" to concentrate their more vocal fans in one section, in hopes of spurring on others to sing (Byrne, 2014).

5.1 The Club Imaginary

Each football club in Liverpool has, through its fans, created its own distinct identity; and within that, each supporters group also has an identity distinct from the football club. This subordinate supporter identity is shaped in large measure by fans through their feelings for their club, and through the perception of the supporters group by others. It is a representational space that is constantly shaping the identities of the supporters, opponents, and the spaces that each group stake out as their own. From the original split of Everton FC and Liverpool FC, there has been a formation of collective identities for each group that does contain a spatial element, even if these particular clubs do not have the clear territorial division of support that is found in other locations. Growth of the clubs and their reputations is reflected in what it means to be a Liverpool or Everton fan and how that is performed. Each performance of identity builds on previous iterations, and is not an identical copy (Taylor, 2005). So while a slow mutation has created the identity of clubs and fans as they are, there is also a concern by some fans that as new elements enter the performance it alters what they see as the desirable role of fans and club. It is these shifting identities that have allowed and contributed to a differential globalization of the two largest clubs, Everton FC and Liverpool FC, and have led to a gradual speciation of supporter culture at the breakaway AFC Liverpool.

5.1.1   Everton FC: "If you know your history…"

Everton FC is, as their song goes, "A grand old team to support" by the virtue of being the oldest club in the city. While Everton FC has seen its own share of successes, its smaller international profile and support it has compared to Liverpool FC has had an effect on the psyche of Everton supporters and how they relate to Liverpool and foreign fans. The identity of the Everton fan is summed up as, "We've got history. We were here first." (Gallagher pers. com.) It

is a common theme in the fans chants and the songs of the club. Everton fans are intensely focused on the local, and especially their local rivals.

I attended two Everton games, the first one being the Merseyside derby between Everton FC and Liverpool FC on May 5, 2013, and the other at Goodison Park between Everton FC and West Ham United FC on May 11, 2013. It was understandable in the first case that the chants of Everton fans were primarily directed at their opposition on that day, Liverpool FC; more surprising was discovering that this focus on Liverpool FC was repeated during the West Ham game the following week. The primary concern of Everton FC fans is Liverpool FC and their identity as a set of supporters hinges deeply on their othering of Liverpool FC.

At the derby, Everton fans maximized their presence at the game through a number of strategies common to visiting fans in European football (Pearson, 2012; Kuper, 2006; Wilson 2012). Everton fans, as the away fans, were limited to a segregated section of 3000 seats in the Anfield Road end of the stadium, separated by canvas covered seats and ringed with stewards as a physical barrier to interaction with Liverpool FC supporters. Throughout the match they persistently stood, danced and chanted to maximize the effect of their small numbers in comparison to the nearly 42,000 Liverpool FC supporters. Yet as this was the Merseyside derby and considered the "friendly derby" there were a small number of Everton supporters that were scattered through the Main and Centennial Stands as well.

By far the most visible marker of their presence was through their use of smoke bombs throughout the match – the smuggling of flares and smoke bombs has increased over the last year (Home Office, 2013), in part due to the popularity of their use at Continental matches. As they remain illegal to possess or use at games it is one of the major concerns of police and stewards (BBC Sport, 2013a). Despite searches at the turnstiles, there were five distinct uses of smoke

bombs through the game by the visiting fans. The use of smoke prior to the game, during the singing of "You'll Never Walk Alone," was clearly meant to be the most provocative as the blue smoke drifted across the stadium during the performance of Liverpool's iconic anthem, yet there were also smoke bombs set off at 32', 68', 86', and 90'. Oddly enough, the smoke at 90' was a purple smoke, and whether this was some sort of symbolic blending of blue and red or the fact that they had run out of pure blue canisters is not clear. It is likely that the more rapid deployment of smoke at the end of the game was a cost-benefit calculation on the part of the visiting fans, as an individual caught with an incendiary device would face removal, arrest, and most likely a banning order (DCMS, 2008); but at the end of the game the supporter would have seen the majority of the action. In a later discussion with a steward, she noted that the use of smoke bombs is particularly problematic for a number of disabled supporters, some of whom are asthmatic, as their section is located close to the visitors pen and was downwind of the visitors on the day of the derby. But the Everton fans were not alone in the use of smoke, as fans in the Kop twice set off red smoke bombs, one during "You'll Never Walk Alone", and one at the conclusion.

Liverpool fans in turn used the derby to abuse the visiting Everton fans and team with their own taunts. While many of the songs sung focused on the European glories that Liverpool has won, they also directed a chant at the Evertonians about their recent record of winning trophies to the tune of *Que Sera Sera* (Appendix A) highlighting that Everton has "no trophies in eighteen years." So while the Everton identity thrives on the singularity of their rivalry with

Liverpool, Liverpool's primary focus is on wider glories and how many more they have won compared to rivals[16].

During the egress phase, visiting fans were directed out to Anfield Rd. and Everton fans are directed by police to march north along that street toward Goodison Park and the pubs in that neighbourhood; while those not going to pubs are still generally herded that way by police to catch buses, cabs or return to parking areas that are separate from Liverpool FC supporter areas. During the march out of the stadium, Everton fans continued their performance of rivalry with Liverpool by singing club songs. They also singled out Liverpool fans along the side of Anfield Rd. to sing at them, "You're not from here. You're not from here. Go back to Norway, you're not from here." Ironically, the man I was standing next to as the fans passed singing and pointing at us was in fact from Norway, but that was not obviously discernable to me until I asked him. Instead we were marked by subtle signs that demonstrated our "otherness" that was then generalized into Evertonian perceptions of Liverpool supporters: he was tall, blonde and wore a new Liverpool jersey; while I wore a "half & half" scarf that I was later told no self-respecting local would ever wear.

There is a basis for the Norwegian chant as Liverpool does have a large Scandinavian following in part due to the broadcasts of the team being shown in Norway starting in the 1960s helping to build a respectable fanbase there (Nash, 2000). That country's proximity to England and its relative affluence has meant that a large number of Norwegians have been able to attend Liverpool FC games over the years, leading to the Everton joke that Toffees/Blues/Evertonians are local, and Kopites/Reds/Liverpudlians are from Norway. While Evertonians used the isolated

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[16] The Liverpool – Man United rivalry has a local element as well, with the two teams both located in the Northwest, but it is a rivalry that is more related to the successes of the two teams that makes this a important rivalry for Liverpool (Conn, 2012).

nationality of the chant as Norwegian that seemed almost incidental to the meaning of the chant: that Blues are "local" and Reds are "foreign" and Norwegian could have stood in for any other nationality. The chant therefore had two audiences, one was the listening Liverpool fans who were directly targeted and even pointed at in an act of isolation and exclusion and that their choice of support was less "true" than that of the Evertonians. The other audience was the listening Evertonian fans, who are then further incorporated into the Everton fold through their identification with or performance of the chant against the Liverpool fans, and reaffirmed in their localness.

While the performance of the visiting Everton fans to Anfield was not surprising and consistent with seeking to make a maximum disturbance with a limited presence against their local rival, I was treated to much the same focus of fans during the Everton - West Ham game the following week. While the West Ham visiting fans played the expected role of seeking to disrupt the Everton fans through their chants and standing, this was largely ignored by the Everton home fans who instead continued to direct their chants against Liverpool FC, who were playing in London that weekend. Even the club itself joins in, with the playing of *It's a Grand Old Team* (Appendix A) over the PA system, although they stick to the clean version of the song. Two lines stick out as particularly focused on the local rivalry "and if you know your history…" as a reference to both past success and their being *the* original team; and the line "We don't care what the red side say," where the meaning is a clear enough reference to Liverpool FC. The Everton players march out the tunnel to the field with the "Z Cars" theme playing, this 1960s TV show set in Merseyside is the club's anthem in yet another emphasis of the local.

At other times, Everton fans used the "Phil Neville" Chant (Appendix A), which points out the trophies that he has won (while playing with Manchester United) in comparison to

Liverpool's Steven Gerrard. And again it is an assertion that the primary rivalry is solely between the two clubs irrespective of anything else. Everton's identity is formed around being Blue, and not being Red. The 'othering' of Liverpool FC is then the tie that binds Evertonians, a defining of themselves through the exclusion of what they are not; similar to aspects of Canadian nationalism that rely on defining what is Canadian by not being American (Mason, 2002).

It is easier to purchase tickets for Everton matches, and not all clubs consider them an A level ticket, meaning that the ticket price is set lower than that of Liverpool. The lower demand means that there is not the same anxiety over the presence of tourists at the game. The great irony of Everton is that while their rivalry is intensely local, and it is almost singularly directed against Liverpool, the fans themselves are more accepting and welcoming of tourists because they still are not present in significant enough numbers to threaten access or atmosphere at games. Instead, the tourist fan is almost welcomed for their choice of supporting Everton FC because they are clearly not "glory hunting."

My conversations with Everton fans were therefore more relaxed as there was less obvious judging of fan authenticity, neutrality was tolerated, and there was an optimism that I or others could be converted. Two Americans attending Everton-West Ham game were readily accepted in the The Spellow Pub on Goodison Road prior to the match by Everton fans because of the recent role of Americans in the Everton squad, namely the current goalkeeper Tim Howard, and the loan of Landon Donovan to Everton from the LA Galaxy. In that case, the American fans' non-local identity actually served to enhance their status among Evertonians in the pub, demonstrated through the frequency that locals approached the Americans (and by proxy me) for conversation, even if that status was slightly undone by the American's selection of beer when it was their turn to buy.

5.1.2   Side trip: Sheffield Wednesday FC and the Local

The focus of the home fans on an absent local rival, rather than the present opposition is not unique to Everton. Where there are significant local rivalries, the home team can seek to unify its supporters and fans in attendance by chanting against the local rivals, rather than their on-field opposition. Another observed instance of this phenomenon occurred during the Sheffield Wednesday FC (SWFC) versus Middlesbrough FC in Sheffield on May 4, 2013. During the game no specific chants were directed against Middlesbrough likely because there is no deep-seated rivalry between the teams. Instead, the most frequent chant throughout the match, *The City is Ours* (Appendix A), was directed at Sheffield United FC (SUFC), Wednesday's cross-town rivals. In claiming the city was theirs (Figure 10), the Wednesday fans were most excited about a local rivalry and the importance of that relationship to the fans and city. Neither Sheffield team can claim a huge international following due to the presence of SWFC in the Championship (English 2nd division) and SUFC in League One (English 3rd division), making the local rivalry even more significant. The other major chant in the game, following both Wednesday goals and through the entire second half was "We are staying up," which was almost as much of a hail of Sheffield United as "the City is Ours" chant. In calling out that they were staying up and avoiding relegation to League One, Wednesday fans celebrated that they would not be lowered to the same division of football as their rivals.

For both Sheffield Wednesday and Everton, it is the local rivalry that is key to their identity, and their home city is a space that is chiefly contested with their main rival. Everton's small international following does not have a critical mass to alter the habitus of local fans (Bourdieu, 1990), therefore there is little existential threat to the Everton identity or supporter space from tourists attending matches - and that would seem to hold true for Sheffield

Figure 10. Sheffield Wednesday fans prepare their banner prior to the game to claim the city. (Photograph: D. Evans, 2013).

Wednesday as well. Supporters in both clubs see the "localness" of the support base as a virtue, and any additional support they should receive from interlopers is welcome.

For the globalization of the English game this emphasis on the local would appear to be the glocalization of the club identity as a way of preserving its economic competitiveness in relation to teams that have managed to secure much larger international followings. Liverpool FC can claim millions of fans around the world, and so the smaller club instead seeks to chip away at the local support from the larger club by constantly reasserting its localness. What is then seen as an authentic fan is that the supporter is a local, following the credo of some Evertonians that they are "born, not manufactured" (Gallagher, pers. com). It is a use of *gemeinschaft* to claim the local population, that an innate quality of being Scouse and blue demonstrates the authenticity and superiority of being an Everton supporter.

This is not to say that Everton supporters reject or exclude potential fans from taking up their team, but that there is a dissonance between how they perform being Blue and how they engage with non-local individuals. It is a rationalization that they require more supporters for the health and success of the club, but that their claim to being "the Peoples' Club" specifies some people more so than others.

5.1.3   Liverpool FC: Never Walking Alone

Everton can claim seniority rights to the Merseyside, but Liverpool FC draws its identity from its history as well. Instead of a focus on the local history of the team, the Liverpool identity can be expressed as "Aren't We Grand" (Gallagher, pers. com.), based in the national and international success of the team. It is a taunt to their less successful neighbours, and a drawing point for fans near and far. Liverpool FC is also more than its trophies though: its stadium, Anfield, is home to the famous Kop, which is in itself one of the spectacles of the football world; and for its renditions of the team's anthem *You'll Never Walk Alone*. The cultural significance of Liverpool FC and its fans is then one of the major draws for the team and its fans, and it is the maintenance of that support and success that is the concern for many Liverpool supporters.

Kopites vs Daytrippers

My attendance at the two Liverpool games were very different experiences, largely due to the location of my seat at each game and what sort of supporters I was surrounded by. Anfield is almost always sold out, making it difficult to get a ticket at anytime, and limiting my ability to have any choice in where I was able to sit. During the Liverpool – Everton derby, I was seated in Block MA, Row 21, Seat 68, of the Main Stand. Despite this being the local derby, where it would be expected that more local fans would have access or interest, I was seated in a section

that was mostly comprised of tourists. After a quick conversation with those seated closest to me in my row I compiled a list of nationalities comprised of two Germans, two Dutch, two Irish, two Icelanders, one Mongolian and one Canadian (myself). This meant that behaviour was dominated by the 'daytripper' persona of video recording the songs, and less participation in the songs - with the exception of the simple *Liv-er-pool* chant at many points in the match. And while most of the fans around me had generally avoided wearing jerseys, many of the spectators in my section, who were not recording, held aloft a half & half scarf for the singing of *You'll Never Walk Alone*.

In contrast, for the Liverpool – QPR game, I was seated in Block 205, Row 42, Seat 132 of the Kop Stand. As I had received my ticket from a Liverpudlian who could not make the game, I was seated among the largely local crowd, and there were clear differences in the expectations of my behaviour because of where I was located in the stadium. In the Kop, active participation in the support for the team was the expectation, observed and enforced by fellow spectators around me. The expected codes of behaviour in the two stands were reflective of the composition of the two groups and their motivations for attending the match.

There is a generally acknowledged spatial differentiation or hierarchy in football stands and particularly those of Anfield, with a clearly segregated section along the Anfield Road stand reserved by the club for the away fans, opposite the loudest and most passionate home fans on the Kop end (Figure 2, p. 30); while both the Main and Centenary Stands contain a less noisy, but still clearly partisan crowd that often follows the lead of the Kop, rather than instigating chants themselves. So while the Kop does not have the most expensive tickets (traditionally the ends are the cheapest), there is a prestige accorded to those occupying a place in the Kop that reflects its cultural importance to the fans.

Therefore it is not surprising that the spatial battles between Liverpool FC fans are largely over who should have access to Anfield and to the Kop. Some supporters argue that the influx of tourists is so great that it threatens the atmosphere in the stadium (AnfieldFM a&b, 2013; Benson, pers. com; Gallagher pers. com; Sherlock, pers. com). Already there are complaints about the number of fans who come simply to watch *You'll Never Walk Alone* and stand there taking a video of the crowd singing rather than singing themselves (of which I was guilty), and that participation is critical to the citizenship of Liverpool FC. Significantly, during both games I attended there was a number of spectators who began to applaud *You'll Never Walk Alone* after the chorus, but before the rest of the crowd sang the final reprise of the chorus (Appendix A), indicating that a number of visitors were familiar with the song, but not how it was to be sung. The mistimed clapping awkwardly highlights who are the "inauthentic" fans of Liverpool, as this could be seen by "authentic" fans as a failure to understand one of the most basic traditions at Anfield, and threatens the affective purpose of the use of that song in the first place.

Among the local fans there is then a resentment of fans who do not play their part in the Kop. While much of this goes to question of what constitutes a "real" fan, the tribalism of some fans manifests itself in a territoriality of what they claim as "their" space. Several years ago, one such group called "Keep Flags Scouse" was organized around the self-policing of visual displays in the Kop, discouraging and educating fans that attended matches that Union Jacks and St. George's Crosses were not appropriate symbols to be displayed in the Kop (Wells, 2007). Although it started as a joke[17], clearly not everyone was in on it, and later some took the

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[17] Everything about the campaign was originally meant tongue in cheek, as the original flag that was the source of the complaint was a reference to Monty Python's *Life of Brian*. Later, the KFS campaign announced the signing of the "Boss Wednesday Agreement," a non-existent treaty that determined what flags would be acceptable in the Kop – the joke being a reference to the Good Friday Accord in N. Ireland (which also has a

"Reclaim the Kop" campaign seriously, with it even featuring on the official club webpage (RTK: Keep Flags Scouse, 2007). While sitting in the Kop for their final game of the season, one individual seated behind me twice loudly declared the purpose and role of those in the Kop shouting, "If you're not singing, go sit in the Main Stand," and "If I'd wanted it this quiet, I would have sat in the Main Stand." I know those comments were partially directed at me, due to my recording of certain songs, and they served their purpose, as it became clear to their intended target that there was a certain code and set of behaviours that are appropriate for certain spaces at the stadium. Indeed there are a number of semiotic cues that can indicate what type of fan an individual is based on their behaviour or attire, including arguments about whether it is appropriate to wear a Liverpool FC jersey, or if that is something for the 'daytrippers' (Dixon, 2014).

While the highlight for many visiting fan is the opportunity to either see or be in the Kop, some of the local members of the Kop do practice social exclusion of these visiting fans that receive tickets to the Kop End through chants and comments directed at those fans who do not participate in the habitus of the Kop. The worry among local supporters is that visitors do not sing loud enough or are too busy videoing the performance to participate in the Kop, and that the Kop functions as the affective heart of Liverpool FC. By discouraging visitors, or encouraging them to behave according to the Kop rules, the Kop residents are enforcing the boundaries both of behaviour and space amongst the Liverpool supporters. Yet many members of SoS do not sit in the Kop, but in the other stands, or do not attend at all; membership in SoS is based less on the

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connection as the KFS campaign began shortly after a Liverpool friendly there) in that "boss" is Scouse for "good" and Wednesday is often associated with European club competitions, therefore referencing Liverpool's European glories.

spatial location of the members than their belief in the values of the group, which in turn valorize the ideals of the Kop culture.

The self-surveillance of supporters and enforcement of unwritten behavioural codes is a potentially very troubling aspect of group behaviour. The inclusion or exclusion of what can constitute a Kop supporter is then arbitrary and contradictory depending on the individuals asserting authority among the group. Tourists assert that the ticket that they paid for entitles them to sit in the section as indicated and in the manner of their choosing, and that the club itself often allocates Kop tickets to out-of-town fan groups (Humphrey, pers. com.), while Kopites argue that it is the Kop that is what makes Anfield what it is and that it should be for those most prepared to participate in its activity. Lateral surveillance works for both daytrippers and Kopites; wherever one or the other dominates, there is a tendency for the general behaviour of that group to reinforce its own behavioural code in that space.

Supporting the Local Lads

The perceptions of Liverpool FC by different groups of fans also influences the relationship between locals and tourists, as the role of local history takes on added significance for local fans. Rookwood and Millward (2011) discuss the importance of Jamie Carragher to Liverpool and how that perception shifts between local and international (in this case Texan) fans. For Scousers, the local Scouse lads are held up as heroes because they are the local boys who made good on the team; while for international fans, they are not seen as quite as critical to the team's success. In this way, both Liverpool FC and Everton FC play similar roles to FC Barcelona and Catalan nationalism, in that the Scouse identity is an important component of the club identity. For a local to play for either team is seen nearly as important as being selected for the English National Team, as the two club identities serve as proxy national squads. So while

the selection of Jamie Carragher, Steven Gerrard (both Liverpool) or Ross Barkley (Everton) for the English team is seen as acknowledgement of their skill by the rest of the country, a national call-up is not essential for them to become local idols, where many feel the emphasis should be for the player's club.

In yet another linking of players to their local identity, both Carragher and Gerrard were subjects of songs during the observed games at Anfield. During the Merseyside derby, the crowd sang *Stevie G* (Appendix A), and during the Liverpool QPR game sang *We All Dream of a team of Carraghers* (Appendix A). That there are songs for particular players is nothing new, and a song was also sung for the suspended Luis Suarez[18], but the choice of tune for both players is significant when discussing local identity: both songs use Beatles tunes to reinforce the local identity of the players, *Let It Be* for *Stevie G*, and *Yellow Submarine* for *We All Dream of a Team of Carraghers*, creating a double linkage to Merseyside through both the player and the music.

The QPR game took on added significance for local fans as it was to be Carragher's final game of his career, having announced his retirement earlier in the season. Despite a diminished role on the team over the last few seasons, he was the star of the day, treated to huge ovations whenever he was mentioned. So high were the emotions on the day that he was implored to shoot whenever he touched the ball, although he scored on his Liverpool home debut in 1998, he had only recorded five goals over his entire career of 737 games (lfchistory.net, n.d.). At the 68th minute, with the crowd already yelling for him to shoot, he did blast a shot from well outside the box that the QPR keeper, Julio Cesar, could not get to and the ball crashed off the crossbar, leading all the Liverpool fans to moan and then immediately laugh. Many were happy with his

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[18] Suarez was then serving a 10 match suspension for biting Branislav Ivanovic of Chelsea FC during a previous match, a point several Everton FC supporters made fun of by wearing the same style of mask worn by the character of Hannibal Lecter in *The Silence of the Lambs*.

proper sendoff, a substitution at 86', allowing him to walk off to a standing ovation and one last rendition of *You'll Never Walk Alone*. In his farewell speech after the game even he noted that scoring wasn't his strength and that he nearly finished his career at Anfield as it began. In the end, his speech was drowned out when he reminisced about "that night in Istanbul[19]," and the Kop drowned him out to the chorus of *We Won it Five Times* (Appendix A), and continuing the singing as he was then given a lap of honour to thank the fans.

It will be decreasingly likely that a local lad will become a hero at Anfield, as the biggest clubs now scour the world for the future talent required for their club, giving Liverpool FC and Everton FC access to a virtually inexhaustible pool of potential players. So the celebration of a local that made it will be particularly significant to Scouse supporters. While Gerrard is for now the star local playing in Merseyside, both teams are looking to promising young Scousers in Barkley and Joe Flanagan (Liverpool FC), to continue the local presence on teams.

Liverpool FC as the larger club sets its sights beyond just the local rivalry, although that still remains an important part of their identity. Rather than solely claiming a tradition within the community, Liverpool FC also uses its historical glories as its means of drawing fans. The glories of the team appeal to both locals and overseas fans, contributing to the widespread following of the team in Merseyside, England, and the rest of the world. Yet for some elements of Liverpool FC supporters, the widespread support of the team has threatened the supporter culture that is so important to their relationship with the club. In response to this threat, some

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[19] The 2005 UEFA Champions League Final between Liverpool FC and AC Milan at Ataturk Stadium, Istanbul. Known to Liverpool fans as the "Miracle in Istanbul" because of an unlikely and unprecedented comeback from 3-0 down at half-time to win on penalty kicks after extra time.

supporters have resorted to policing of supporter behaviour through education or coercion that reinforces the expected behavioural norms of selected spaces at the club.

5.1.4   AFC Liverpool: Grassroots Football in Merseyside

> *AFC Liverpool was formed in 2008, by Liverpool FC fans, who had becoming increasingly frustrated at the cost and difficulty in obtaining tickets for the Premiership… top flight football is more concerned about money than its fans.*
> *(AFC Liverpool, n.d.)*

In the case of AFC Liverpool, the founding members actually felt some form of disenchantment with Liverpool FC that could only be remedied by at least partially leaving that space and founding a new club association through an entirely new club. AFC Liverpool at its founding in 2008 began as a 10th tier English club in the Northwest Counties First Division. Rather than attempt to negotiate within the space of the Premier League Liverpool FC, AFC supporters and members felt they would have better access and control over the fortunes of a team that was at the bottom of the sport's hierarchy. However, for many AFC Liverpool fans, this is not a complete schism from Liverpool FC; there is a sense of divided loyalties at the club, with many still following the larger club, but finding that the smaller club satisfies a different social niche than the larger club.

The current situation of AFC Liverpool is unsatisfactory to the Club Chair, Chris Stirrup, for reasons that can largely be related to the place that AFC Liverpool currently occupies in local football. While the initial support of the club numbered as several hundred supporters and their record attendance of 604 on Sept. 6, 2008, this has drifted downward since its founding. The game that I attended, although a mid-week game on the same night as a major European match drew only eighty-two fans, this is not unusual for the club with an average attendance of 104 for the 2012/13 season (AFCLiverpool, n.d.). In contrast, FC United of Manchester, a club that was

founded under similar circumstances as a breakaway from Manchester United FC, averaged attendance of 1849 for the 2012/13 season (Evo-Stick League, n.d.). While part of that is due to playing up in 7th tier Evo-Stick Premier league, the club has also marketed itself aggressively as a very separate club from its origins and a rejection of private ownership and full embracing of community ownership (Kuhn, 2011; Porter, 2011; Shafto, 2013). FC United of Manchester has formed an identity as a club by being everything that its fans see Manchester United FC is not, rather than focusing on the global promotion of the club, it is primarily concerned with the local running of the club.

AFC Liverpool by reproducing much of the Liverpool FC repertoire has not made that important break in its identity formation, yet that may one day come. Aspects of the teams connection to Liverpool FC are still there: the team still plays in red, still hangs banners for the 96, and still walks out to "You'll Never Walk Alone". Yet AFC Liverpool is not Liverpool FC, and so the behaviour of fans has subtly altered. Behavioural differences emerged during my observation of their game versus Squire's Gate. The crowd, was not simply a group of strangers, in a crowd of this size, it was possible for many of the fans to recognize and know each other, this was clear from the number of times they hailed each other prior to the game, and the conversations that were quickly struck up between supporters. Certainly this happens among fans at Anfield, but it was actually possible to walk around Valerie Park and talk to every single person there if one wished to.

One group that knew each other quite well were regulars, the AFC Liverpool Rattlers, which had started a new tradition among the supporters, which was actually the return of a very old tradition. Three men had brought wooden noisemakers to the game, not the small plastic ones that are party favours, but massive, footlong wooden noisemakers. These noisemakers are in fact

banned by upper division clubs for their potential use as weapons (DCMS, 2008), but are often

seen in old images of fans attending matches and there is an example of one preserved in the

LFC Museum. The sound that could be generated by the noisemakers sounded like a machine

gun and echoed off the corrugated metal roof of the Valerie Park Grandstand. It was such an

overwhelming racket that it drove the half-dozen Squire's Gate fans right out of the stands and

down onto the touchline viewing area between the benches and the pub. The noisemakers were

used after any good play by AFC, extensively after the one goal in the match, and anytime the

two men operating them thought the pace of play was lagging a bit. Prior to one use of the

noisemakers, the Rattlers bellowed out, "What a bloody useless lot!" and then proceeded to make

as much noise as possible. So the use of the noisemakers serves both to drive and support AFC

Liverpool, but also to lay claim to the stands and drive opposing fans out of AFC's space.

The slowly forming club culture makes Valerie Park a very intimate space for supporters

of AFC Liverpool, but one that the club is not satisfied with either. It is a ground-share of a

facility owned by Prescot Cables of the Evo-Stick First Division, and is therefore not truly AFC

Liverpool's own space. This presents numerous difficulties for the club as they are not able to

attract their own advertising sponsors on hoardings, put their name on the facility, or even collect

the entire take from the bar and concession that is normally an important part of match-day

income for any club.

More importantly, it affects the club's image as a Liverpool team. By having to play

home games in Prescot, located in the Merseyside borough of Knowsley, and a twenty-minute

bus ride out of Liverpool, they are not playing in Liverpool proper. It is a rather small distinction,

but one that Stirrup feels has hurt the club's ability to draw fans because they are not located

properly in the city they claim to be from, and there is a provincialism that places Prescot outside

of what is acceptably considered Liverpool. This leaves AFC Liverpool in quite a spatial

purgatory, as the impetus for the creation of the team was that the members no longer felt

completely satisfied with the space at Anfield; yet now that they have their own club, they have

not resolved one of their primary concerns about space, in that they neither have ownership or a

strong affinity to their current location and struggle to build interest in their club for that same

reason.

The long-term goal of the club is, therefore, to purchase space inside the City of

Liverpool to construct their own facilities, as this will then provide them with their own proper

home, and the additional revenue sources from the ownership of the facility. But more

importantly, it would also allow them to connect with what they see as their potential fan base.

What AFC Liverpool would propose would be an alternative football facility in the city, which

despite the huge interest in the game, currently only has Goodison Park and Anfield as

permanent football grounds in the city. While there are other playing fields within Liverpool,

there is no facility that fills the gap between playing fields and Premier League scale stadia.

Stirrup sees that potential niche as AFC's role in the football culture of the city.

There are then two issues for AFC Liverpool and its supporters. First, their temporary

space clearly limits their ability to connect with a wider following that sees them as not from

Liverpool. Not only is this indicated by their lack of growth in their supporter base, but the split

loyalties of many fans who remain tied to the larger Liverpool FC. Second, in not fully breaking

from Liverpool FC, there is no clear identity of what AFC Liverpool is. There was no

acrimonious split, such as the anti-Glazer movement that led to the formation of FC United of

Manchester (Porter, 2011; Shafto, 2013; Kuhn, 2011), and many of the symbols and connections

to Liverpool FC remain at AFC Liverpool. So while there is clearly the formation of a new

supporter culture and habitus through AFC and their split from Liverpool, the impermanence of their situation has limited their ability to solidify their supporter base and clearly define who they are as a club. While there is clear resentment about the state of the league in their statement, the actual experience of attending an AFC Liverpool game is not completely separated from a Liverpool FC game.

AFC Liverpool is less about creating its own separate space, but creating an Anfield in miniature, with control of the club returned to local fans. Yet Anfield and Liverpool are irreplaceable, as Liverpool FC owner John W. Henry acknowledged after his purchase of the club (Whalley, 2013). The cultural capital of Liverpool FC cannot be moved as easily as any team or even a building. SoS recognizes this value in Anfield as well, having successfully applied for Anfield Stadium to be designated as an Asset of Community Value, meaning that any future sale of the stadium – which would be included in a sale of the club – would give the supporters an opportunity to purchase it (SoS, 2013).

5.2 Standing Together: Supporters Groups and Relations with the Club

Not all the fan hostility is directed at the tourist fans, and there is on some level an acceptance that for a team to be rich enough to draw the talent required to compete, there must be a huge fan base willing to watch the games and buy the merchandise. This is the *Homo economicus* of the football supporter: a rationalization of the on-field success of the club being tied in some way to the commercial success of the club. Fans will proselytize for their team to help grow the fanbase, yet the commercial decisions of the club remain largely out of the hands of supporters. In difficult times, this absence of control can lead to a level of hostility that is then directed back at the ownership of the club and to the league itself.

What and how the supporters choose to protest against their own club illustrates the conflict between league and team globalization and the local supporter. When Hicks and Gillett purchased Liverpool FC, they claimed that the purchase was not a debt-leveraged buyout and that shovels would be in the ground within sixty days for the new stadium in Stanley Park (McKenna, pers. com). When it became clear that neither of these claims was true, SoS began with a protest by starting to dig up the park themselves. On another occasion, SoS put up foreclosure notices and locked the gates of Anfield, declaring that they had repossessed the club. This act of foreclosure not only highlighted the financial problems of the new owners, but also echoed similar repossessions of factories by workers in Argentina during their 2002 financial crisis (Ranis, 2006). Hicks and Gillett were hounded by SoS whenever they visited Liverpool, including being trapped in the stadium as fans waited for them in the parking lot, trapped in a hotel lobby as fans laid siege outside, and shadowed as they attempted to show potential buyers around the club stadium and nearby training facilities. Fans also staged sit in protests at Anfield following matches, knowing that broadcasters were still shooting post-game analysis that would have SoS in the background. These deliberate protests, which sought to take and claim space for the fans, were critical in the protests against the ownership of the club (McKenna, pers. com.). Although the SoS campaign against Hicks and Gillett was not the ultimate factor in the sale of the club to new owners, their active agitation and constant hounding of the American pair certainly encouraged the sale.

SoS's claim to ownership of the club is not just a statement of their ultimate objective (SoS, n.d.), it is manifest in their increasing assertiveness and lead in issues between the club and how it relates to its fans. During my fieldwork, one major issue arose that SoS took the lead on

Figure 11. #footballwithoutfansisnothing attendees holding a banner to be used at games and marches. (Photograph: D. Evans, 2013).

as a new avenue of advocating for issues that were common to other clubs beyond Liverpool FC

and its fans. The instigating event was earlier in the year as Manchester City fans held up a

banner while visiting Arsenal that read, "£62!! Where will it stop?" (Taylor, 2013). This

questioning of rising ticket prices for visiting fans was the trigger for a new protest by SoS. But

rather than turning this into a solely Liverpool FC issue, SoS joined with the Blue Union and

supporters groups from Manchester City, Manchester United, Arsenal, Tottenham, and the rest of

the league to try to start a national campaign for better away ticket prices. This startling new

strategy runs counter to English football culture, in which many fans can't even stand each other,

much less work together. Yet a pair of organizational meetings were held in May, 2013 to try to

start something around #footballwithoutfansisnothing. I attended the Liverpool meeting on May

9 (Figure 11 & Figure 12), and even then it was clear that while there was much in common

between different supporters, there was lingering mistrust between clubs, a concern that London

teams wouldn't care as much, and that current supporters' organizations, Football Supporters
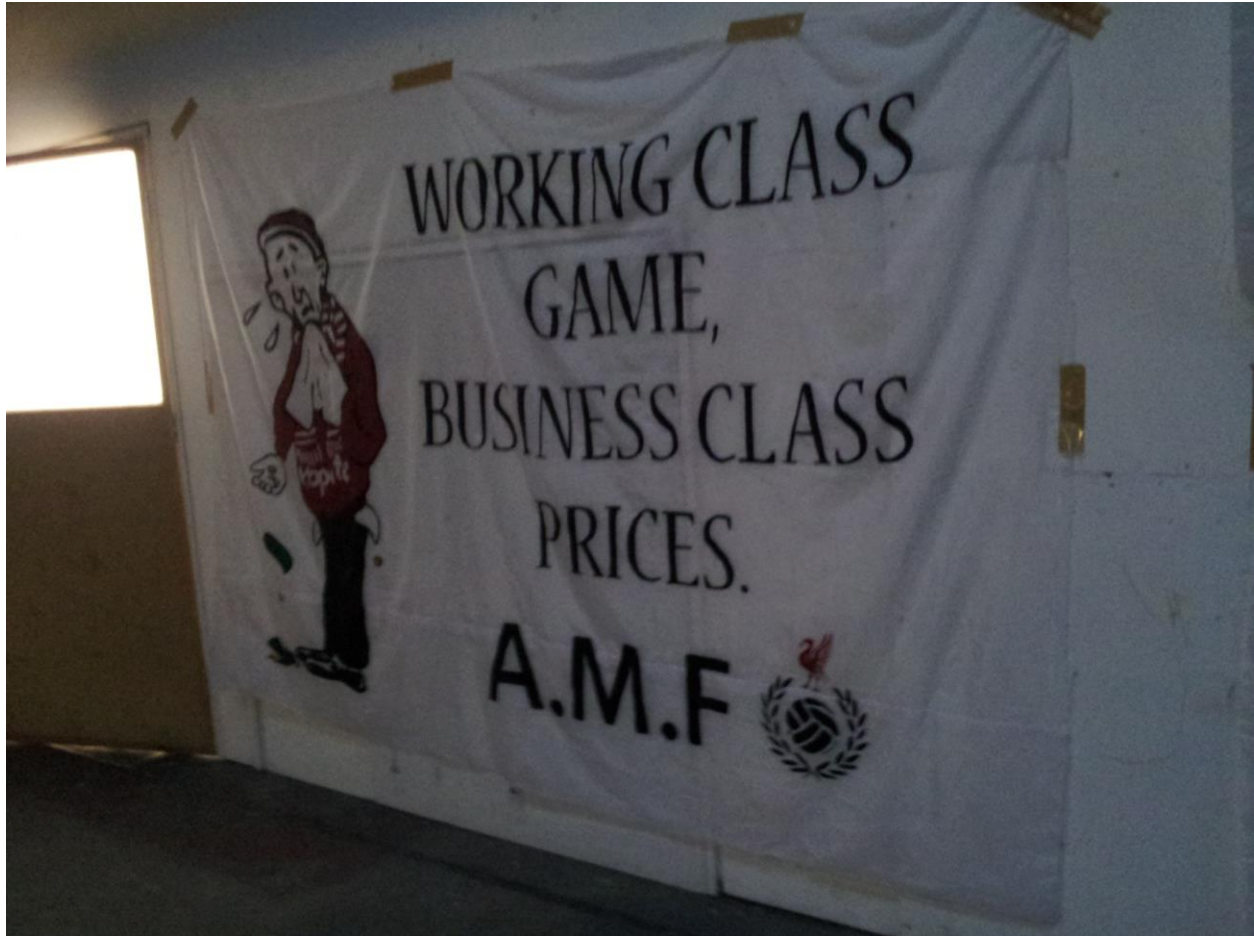

Figure 12. Banner prepared for game and protest march on display at #footballwithoutfansisnothing meeting May 9, 2013. (Photograph: D. Evans, 2013).

Federation and Supporters Direct, were in the pocket of the League. Some of these concerns

came off as banter and hinted at the old wounds and tribalism between teams, but others were

quite serious in their questioning of other supporters commitment. During the meeting organizers

from SoS and the Blue Union kept the issue focused on away ticket prices as a means of uniting

fans from the different teams, as this could all be agreed affected each teams' "closest"

supporters directly. McKenna explaining to me afterward,

>*And it started into something that we hope will…that this summer could be a*
>*bit of a catalyst to say to people that we can take some action on this… that we*

can kick something off that will bring about a change in how supporters are treated on ticket prices. That's the hope anyway, that's the theory and hypothesis behind it.

For McKenna, a small successful protest was just the first step, and that it could be used as a model for future issues that teams had in common. Having the issue to be confronted, there was then a discussion around what action should be taken, while there were already proposals in place for the June 19th protest, members of the audience also called for a boycott of games as a way to protest. The convenors of the committee steered discussion away from this for a number of reasons: first, they were set on having a unified show of protest in one place and a boycott would necessarily be dispersed among home and away stadia throughout the league, making coordination difficult; second, many felt the need to distinguish between protesting against the League/owners versus protesting against the team itself; and third, a boycott beyond being dispersed would also be impractical. It was this last point that put the discussion of boycotting off for the moment, as how would a boycott be enforced – would members of the fan groups stand in front of the gate barring the entrances? How could they tell supporters who regularly attend week in and week out that they couldn't go in, and if they did what sort of conflicts would that create amongst themselves? The possibility that a boycott would fail or have the opposite effect, by demonstrating fan *dis*unity was why the meeting eventually came to a decision that agreed to the protest rather than a boycott (AnfieldFM (a), 2013; McKenna, pers. com.). Further steps of demonstrations against corporate sponsors were also briefly discussed as next steps, with the idea that sponsors would quickly worry about their associations and financial partnerships with the League if they too were faced with protests.

In contrast to the focused planning of the #footballwithoutfansisnothing, I returned to the Static Gallery the next night to another night of discussion about football presented by Stand:

AMF (Against Modern Football). Stand: AMF convened a panel to discuss many of the same issues that had been the focus of the night before, but the results were very different. Whereas #footballwithoutfansisnothing was organized and supported by multiple supporters trusts and unions with the express purpose of taking action, the Stand: AMF panel covered the same ground yet failed to unite a similar number of supporters in any call to action. Even with some of the organizers of #footballwithoutfansisnothing in attendance urging the Stand: AMF to join in the June 19th protest, more attendees on the second night favoured the boycott option of not going to a selected game, but significantly did not decide which game to boycott – that was left for some indeterminate future.

Yet another forum exists for supporters to interact with the club in an organized fashion. Following the FSG purchase of the club in 2010, LFC sought to find some way of defusing the tension between supporters created during the Hicks & Gillett era that created the conditions for the Spirit of Shankly. At the end of the 2011 season, LFC advertised for a new Liverpool FC Supporters Committee that was to be composed of fans and liaise between the fans and the club. From the initial composition of 18 members representing different Liverpool FC supporter interests (include table and revision of committee), this was reduced to a committee of 12 in 2013 to simplify the structure and remove some of the overlap between some committee members' constituencies (Benson, pers. com.).

While Liverpool FC states that the LFCSC is a means for supporters to interact more meaningfully with the club, there have been numerous complaints – some by committee members themselves that the LFCSC has served as a buffer between dealing with supporters' issues and the club. During the February, 2014 meeting of the LFCSC, members began the meeting with a statement to the club on how they felt the committee had worked to that point and

noted that Liverpool FC had used the LFCSC as a means of announcing unpopular measures with the club, such as a change to ticket structures; and that there was an extensive backlog of 30 issues that the LFCSC had raised with the club, but had not received a response from Liverpool FC on as of that date. Concern was also expressed at that meeting that the club did not want individuals or fan groups dealing with sponsors and advising them on their financial arrangements with Liverpool FC, while the supporters responded that if the club were more open in their dealings with fans, supporters would not take matters into their own hands (LFCSC, 2014). This seems to be in direct response to some of SoS's proposed actions against the club.

Williams (2013) saw that there had been a long standing trust of "the Liverpool Way" through much of the club's history, and that fans had generally gone along with club decisions or at least put enough store in the club executives that the club decisions were not openly challenged. Yet that seems to have changed under the reign of Hicks and Gillett. Some supporters, no longer convinced that the executives were always acting in the club's best interest organized and agitated against the club, but carefully distinguished between protest against the executives and support of the team. It is for this reason that a boycott of the club is not favoured by SoS or #footballwithoutfansisnothing, and why Stand: AMF wished for a boycott but did not organize one, they do still support the team on the field. These groups of fans have chosen to fight for their space at the club, but a boycott is a flight from that space – essentially the "nuclear option" (McKenna, pers. com.). One of the main threats that the club wields over these dissenters is the revocation of season seats, which some attendees at the meetings spoke of (Anfield FM a&b, 2013). McKenna took a slightly different outlook to the threat that the loss of a ticket would mean to him,

if they started getting to the realms of taking your season ticket off you and treating you a different way, then you know you're actually doing something good, because they're that bothered by it. It's when they don't respond that you're fearful because you …haven't pushed hard enough, because you're not bothering them if they're not responding. But as soon as they are responding, then you know you're doing something. It feels good to be a martyr sometimes. If they took my season ticket off me I'd feel great, I'd save loads of money then, it'd be brilliant.

McKenna is unwilling to give up his ticket, but he is not content to passively accept what the club offers him; instead he, like many other supporters of the club have an emotional connection to the club that for now trumps the financial costs of supporting Liverpool FC. It would only be at the point where the club takes his ticket away that he feels the club would be so far from what he wants to be a part of that he would be happy to be free of the attachment. SoS is establishing its own independent football space in Liverpool, one that challenges the club and from the quote above – pushes to find exactly what the boundary of that space can be.

While Liverpool FC would prefer to use the LFCSC as their primary means through which they communicate with their supporters, it is doubtful that under the current structure that supporters will ever fully buy into the LFCSC model of club – supporter relations. LFCSC faces its own difficulties in being heard by the club, and is not fully trusted by fans as it is seen as a screen that the club can hide behind. This has left groups such as Spion Kop 1906 and SoS to play important roles in the expression of supporter dissatisfaction with the club. SoS runs open communication with the club, publishing its letters to the club on various issues and reporting any response they might get. This has been important over the last season as SoS has taken the lead on issues that have affected other clubs as well, such as the distribution of the £200,000 away ticket subsidies from the league and away ticket allocations to FA Cup games (SoS, n.d; Blue Union, n.d.). It is a changing dynamic of how supporters see themselves and how they are

willing to use their agency as supporters to best affect change for themselves in the football

spaces of Liverpool.

Chapter Six:

CONCLUSION

How do the elements of space discussed in the previous two chapters come together in Merseyside to produce the football space of the city? The Premier League era of football history has seen the rapid globalization of the English League and its clubs. Already operating in Britain's economic environment that encouraged a neo-liberal mode of production and spatial perception (Massey, 2011), the restructuring of English football and it commercialization on an unprecedented global scale has encouraged particular markets – especially Merseyside – to increasingly orient its economic well-being around the sport. The changing nature of consumption favours the league prioritization of television revenues (Deloitte, 2014), most clearly demonstrated through the changing fixture schedule to satisfy TV broadcast demands. While the local consumers remain an important component to the production of the Premier League cultural experience, they are less of a factor in the financial considerations of the League and its clubs in pursuit of new overseas markets. Overseas supporters benefit teams through the merchandise sales and increased television ratings, with an additional benefit that some then come to the team home as a sort of pilgrimage, to take part in the rituals they have witnessed from afar (Edensor, 2001); with their short term duration, but relatively high rate of expenditures, they are valuable to the local club and city for tourism revenue.

In Liverpool, the reliance on football tourism (Chapter 4) is reshaping the organization of city spaces. For instance, through the abandonment of homes around Anfield, Liverpool FC has become complicit in the destruction of property values in order to achieve better prices for the necessary expropriation of home to expand its facilities (Conn, 2013b). Now the City, in

conjunction with the club is looking at the gentrification of the neighbourhood through the creation of a new football oriented space with the landmark Anfield stadium as the anchor of this new space.

Meanwhile, local fans continue to be fans because there is no viable alternative, they are too emotionally invested in a club that has come to be part of their own identity: if supporters feel taken for granted by the league, it is because they are. In consequence, supporters feel a loss of control of their space in the stands, which leaves fans with two options on how to react: these have been termed the "fight or flight" responses by fans; and in the case of Liverpool FC fans, both responses have occurred. The strategies employed in each case demonstrate that the changes fans have made to their participation in the cultural production of sport has a particularly spatial element to their practices, and that the negotiation of space for football fans is one of the key ways that fans look to alter and shape their place in the game.

Local supporters therefore both love and loathe other fans of their team. On the one hand, a large and passionate fanbase can affect results on the field and provide a team with the financial resources to secure the talent necessary to compete at the highest level of the game. Everton FC's fans pride themselves on their 'localness' by mocking Liverpool FC's tourist fans, but they are quite willing to accept non-locals into the fold as a convert. Yet at the same time a growing legion of fans directly threatens the regular supporters' access to the matches, presenting supporters of both teams with a difficult decision for *Homo economicus*: Does one support the growth of the team at the expense of access, or does one exclude new supporters to preserve access at the cost of team success?

A return to a game stripped of its commercialization was a recurring theme in conversations with supporters and in supporter meetings such as Stand: AMF, but it is an

idealized dream in most cases and not something that the supporters actually expect to ever

achieve. "Pulling a Portsmouth[20]," (McKenna, pers. com.) as in having a team run into such

financial difficulties that it is eventually sold to a supporters trust, is a particularly grim means

for supporters to regain control of their club, as it comes with the risk of the club being

dissolved, sold to another millionaire, or relegated out of all relevance. Nor would a football

world completely stripped of commercialism solve issues around professional players, imported

talent, and the ability of clubs to create dynasties. While some fans look back to a mythical time

before the game sold out, usually the pre-Premier League era or even back to the 1960s and the

rise of television broadcasts; they usually aren't looking back far enough, because football was

sold out from its very beginnings with under the table wages (Goldblatt, 2006), which subverted

the classical Victorian ideals of amateurism (Holt, 1990).

So instead of destroying the team to take it over, fans must consider other ways to

intervene in the football environment to effect the sort of changes and influence outcomes. Given

their place in the football milieu, it is natural for supporters to find their strongest means of

influencing the club through the same means that they display support for their team: through the

noise and visual display of fans and their affective influence on the other fans, club and league.

Spaces for action are many and varied and the self-awareness of their own agency is encouraging

some supporter groups to increasingly organize and regulate their own actions. Informal

surveillance and self-policing in the stands encourages particular modes of behaviour by

supporters in different sections of the stands. Supporters' groups in Liverpool are increasingly

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[20] Portsmouth FC played in the Premier League until 2008, in 2012 it was put into administration (British bankruptcy protection), and eventually relegated down to League Two (4th tier). In 2013 it was sold to Pompey Supporters Trust along with its Fratton Park Stadium and allowed to emerge from administration (Hassan, 2013).

seeking other spaces outside the games for involvement and means to influence the club administration.

Still other supporters have partially or wholly left their team, by founding new supporter-owned clubs which they see as a way of taking back control of their sport from the ground up. This is a hard and difficult route for the new teams, and it is not very popular. The act of leaving the larger club to found a new club places the supporter in a new social group that, willingly or not, will diverge from the original club's social order. While AFC Liverpool has struggled with a new identity because it has not completely rejected its attachment to Liverpool FC, other clubs founded in direct opposition to their parent club (FC United of Manchester or AFC Wimbledon) have created strong club identities based on their explicit rejection of the old club (Kuhn, 2011).

Football space is not something that solely exists in Merseyside: in travelling to both Sheffield (Chapter 5) and London (below) it was clear that as much as Liverpool has specific features to its supporters and rivalries, there is also much in common with other football spaces in the country or indeed other European countries.

6.1 The German Invasion

As a post-script, there was one other example of how fans reorder their spaces that has a bearing on the globalization of football: the UEFA Champions League final between Borussia Dortmund and Bayern Munich was hosted at Wembley Stadium in London on May 25, 2013. As the most watched annual sport event in the world (Ashby, 2013), this time being hosted in England, the circumstances placed the event in the consciousness of many English football fans during the weeks leading up to the final. While not taking place in Liverpool, or involving any English clubs for that matter, the actions of the German teams and fans demonstrates again that different club identities feed into how clubs proselytize to the neutral fans they encounter.

Bayern Munich came to London as the overwhelming favorite by oddsmakers and pundits, having lost the final at home in the previous year's competition and having won it four times before. My encounters with their fans came as much the same as many of the Liverpool fans I encountered: they had a confidence that their team would win and didn't feel the need to sway neutrals to their cause. Fans would recognize the glory of their team – very much the attitude of "Aren't We Grand." Bayern fans were often distinguishable not just by their red jerseys, but by dressing up in lederhosen; the popularity of traditional costume as an identifier places Bayern fans with many of the national team supporters, such as Scotland's Tartan Army (Doyle, J., 2011; Giulianotti, 2000), making Bayern represent more than just the club, but a sub-national identity of Bavaria, also much like Merseyside teams' Scouse nationalism.

While Borussia Dortmund is not the crosstown rival of Bayern, as the underdog, it was clear that their club and fans felt that winning the neutrals was important for not just the final itself, but also the long-term viability of the club. In the days leading up to the final Borussia Dortmund advertised their presence in the final in the English media. One campaign had a deck chair draped with a sign marking it as reserved for Borussia Dortmund travelling to famous London landmarks. It was accompanied with a backhanded apology to the English "You were hoping for a final between two English teams. Or at least a stadium full of hot chics [sic] from Spain. But instead you got the Krauts. Have fun. #fairytale" (Peck, 2013). The use of playful humour was key to their marketing of the club; if they were underdogs, they would be the fun underdogs.

Borussia, in not having the same international stature as Bayern sought, both through its club and its supporters' groups, to make London their city for the days leading up to the final. The club marked the city yellow and black (the club colours) through the use of yellow and black

Figure 13. Borussia Dortmund decorations mark "their" side of Wembley Stadium, London, May 25, 2013. (Photograph: D. Evans, 2013).

double decker buses operating for free, yellow and black 'busbies' around the city, and dyeing

the Trafalgar Fountain yellow on the day of the final (Peck, 2013). The aggressive marking of

the city by Dortmund fans was meant to incorporate the neutrals in the atmosphere of the game

against one of their main domestic rivals and grow the team's international profile. It is likely

easier for German teams to coordinate such a strategy between the club and supporters, because

supporters groups are part owners of the club and therefore have important connections between

the club administration and marketing and the club's travelling supporters. Borussia Dortmund in

particular has been singled out by a number of English supporters as an ideal to aspire to for the

complexity of its tifos, the large displays of cards or flags held up by fans to create designs in the

stands prior to kick-off, and for the intimidating 'Yellow Wall' of the Westfalenstadion South

Stand supporters end at its Bundesliga games (shown in the picture frame in Figure 13), with

comparisons of it to Anfield's Kop prior to the end of the standing terraces in 1994 (Twells,

2013).

Yet the hosts also used the opportunity to market themselves to the visiting Germans,

with pubs around the stadium fully dedicated in their support to one German club or the other. Of

course, this did not always work as planned, with one dance club that converted itself to a

Dortmund-supporting bar for the final engaging in an unfortunately hilarious stereotyping of its

potential German customers: hiring two Scottish women to dress up "German", they dressed in

lederhosen (again, a Bavarian costume) and attempted their best to welcome the North German

Dortmund fans to the club. While the Dortmund fans were not hostile to the two Scots, two

Germans did say that they didn't really expect much better from their English hosts.

As a Canadian, in a Dortmund-supporting bar, I was accorded a similar status to the

Americans I encountered in the Everton pub. Being a non-German that was willing to support the

smaller team, I was welcomed by the Germans as a new convert and taught why I had made the

right choice. Some fans gave me a history of their club or of their own history of support; I had

my picture taken with a cardboard cut-out of Jürgen Klopp, Borussia Dortmund's manager; and I

was told to watch as the supporters began to perform the club songs in the buildup before

kickoff.

And yet despite the supposed hostility between Dortmund and Munich fans, as Germans

in a foreign country, there were moments of camaraderie between the two groups. At one point

prior to the match I found a mixed group of supporters just sitting together and waiting for the

entry gates to the stadium to open, not divided in that moment by their different tribal identity,

but able to bridge that through a shared nationality and interest in sport. Similarly, on the day after the game, many tourists wandered the streets of London still with scarves or kit on, marking themselves as part of a select group that had "been there" and exchanging looks and greetings with others that they could identify with. This was in stark contrast to the security deployed for the game, that effectively divided the exterior of the stadium into a Borussia side and a Bayern side separated by rows of police and mounted units.

I am not saying that in the two German teams I found the equivalents of Liverpool FC and Everton FC – each football rivalry has its own idiosyncrasies that makes it unique, but that there are commonalities between supporters of different clubs in how they define their group and their place in the football world. The self-awareness of English fans and their own power to shape the footballing space around them has been growing since the formation of supporters' organizations in the 1980s, but they realize they are behind the German model that they wish to emulate (McKenna, pers. com.). And it is the ability of German supporters to have such an important influence on the culture of the club that is cited by supporters groups in England as a reason to pursue the German model (Evans, 2013).

6.2 Football Space

After leaving the Wembley pub following the conclusion of the match and the departure of the downcast defeated Dortmund fans, I took the Underground back into London and crossed out of the football space created for that match. By the time I arrived back in Central London, with scarf and face still painted for the match, the people I encountered on the streets were only partially aware of the mega-event that I had just attended in their city, for them it was just another Saturday night. The odd looks and questions I received about why I was decorated as I

was indicated that I was no longer in that football world of Germans in London, and that I was in a different, indifferent (to football) place.

Football space is then just one dimension of the spaces that its participants inhabit. It encompasses Appadurai's various "-scapes" in that there are distinct financial, ethnic, media, technologic, and ideologic elements to this space (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33), and many of these "-scapes" overlap with the wider world outside of football. But in Liverpool, what is happening is that the football space is achieving such prominence that it organizes the perception, creation and living of that space around the sport not just as an amusing pastime, but as a means of living for the community.

The production of football space by both the Germans and the English in London served multiple purposes for the clubs and fans/supporters. Fans were able to participate in the cultural event through attending the match or forming part of the audience who watched the televised event; supporters potentially had the opportunity to recruit new supporters and fans in an attempt to sway the outcome of the match. Clubs were able to reinforce their brand both through the active use of their marketing as part of the event, or through the less direct use of branded fans and supporters, who also form a part of the clubs' revenue streams through the merchandising of various paraphernalia associated with the event. At still a larger scale, the event itself reinforced national identities, pan-European unity and contributed to the massive corporate enterprise that is UEFA and its constituent nations and clubs.

This same process occurs in Liverpool as well, a football space created and shaped by the clubs and their many supporters. And in Liverpool it is just as clear that this is a dynamic process with a constant mediation between the groups of fans and the clubs. While it may seem that supporters have very little power against the large corporate entities that both Everton FC and

Liverpool FC are, the supporters have found places and moments where the club power can be challenged. Jamie Clelland (2011) and Peter Kennedy (2013) both argue that supporters have an agency that the club may ignore at their own peril, and that some clubs are more responsive to the agency of the fans than others. Although the clubs are businesses, they have come to serve as a basis for communities that define the city. It seems now that some supporters are advocating that as a community institution they are as integral to the city as other public entities, and that there is then a right for these supporters to represent the interests of themselves and the wider community in the dealings of the clubs – a very radical extension of Henri Lefebvre's "right to the city" (Harvey, 2008). But then these teams often claim to represent the communities they are from, so that they have been positioned as a point of civic pride and cultural significance, and have already crossed over into the public realm.

And while it may be easy to write off fan protests as frivolous complaints about popular culture, I would argue that its simplicity is exactly why this form of alter-globalization protest is so important and potentially successful. Modern sport events are one of the largest public gatherings today; they serve as a password in many social circles and offer perhaps one of the clearest examples of *communitas* (Goulding and Shankar, 2011). The consumers who sit in the stands and pubs week in and week out do so because they feel part of something larger and have a strong social connection to others through their shared passion. Far from being the opiate of the masses (Eagleton, 2010) football's *gesellschaft* is far more likely to start a revolution than short circuit it. Hillsborough was ready to be written into official history as a hooligan tragedy, but for the advocacy and protests of the Liverpool families and fans that spent twenty years calling for inquiries into the truth.

In the creation of club identity, which is negotiated by both supporters and club, there is a distinctly spatial element as well: it embraces what is considered home, what territory belongs to the club and its adherents, and how that network of fans and supporters is diffused through the rest of the football world. A big identity, where club reputation is judged by the size of the trophy room and its victories makes for a less secure supporter identity as the supporters will assess each other in terms of fan authenticity. Still others have sought out new places for their team, creating a new football space independent of the old power structures. Each group, whether it be the Hillsborough Justice Campaign, Blue Union, Spirit of Shankly, Stand: AMF, or AFC Liverpool has sought to intervene in the cultural production of football in their city and change that globalized homogenization of their sport into a more familiar and glocalized version of the product. Yet the glocal cannot be separate from the global, as it is the local identity of the clubs that fascinates the foreign audiences. Would Liverpool FC or Everton FC be as popular if they were exactly the same as all the other teams? No. It is the specific football space created in Merseyside that has contributed to the global following of those teams.

6.3 Directions for Future Research

This thesis is by no means an exhaustive investigation of the territoriality of football fans, and there is much that I saw during my game observations and found in my interviews that did not fit with the main themes that I wished to draw out in my analysis. While my observations of supporters found a number of issues around tensions between clubs and their supporters, it has not quantified how widespread or severe this discontent is. Fan surveys published by the Premier League show a very positive picture of fans relations (Football Association, 2013), but as these also serve as marketing and promotional materials to potential sponsors, they create an inherent

conflict of interest. To what extent are supporters' groups representative of a wider English

fanbase, and are these groups inclusive of different class, race, and gender identities?

Perhaps most interesting to me was the unionization of supporters and their formation of

trusts attempting to wrest control of their clubs from the current ownership – seizing the means

of production if you will. It would indicate to me that there is a severe enough level of discontent

with the status quo that supporters are considering new means of demonstration against their own

club. With Merseyside's history of labour activism, including a sympathetic history from the

clubs themselves, it is not surprising that the idea seemed so strong in the region. Yet the current

strong financial state of both Liverpool clubs makes that possibility unlikely in the near future.

That said, there are some lower tier clubs that have achieved some form of fan ownership and an

investigation into how these clubs are distributed, and how they have functioned – successfully

or not – is one potential avenue of study. If supporters are looking to the German model of whole

or part ownership, how is this being achieved in England?

Related to this line of inquiry is the consideration of the nationalism contained in this

supporters' movement. My arrival in England was timed with a series of local Council elections

and the rise of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) as a factor in these elections.

National politics during my stay was consumed with the calls for an "in-out" referendum on

future European Union participation largely in response to UKIP's growing popularity (The

Guardian, 2013), and this neatly paralleled the discussions about the "German model" that was

part of so many football conversations that I found myself in. Football is to England like hockey

is to Canada, and success in the sport is tied into national notions of self-worth (Mason, 2002). I

did not survey the political leanings of the supporters that I spoke to or interviewed, but many

publicly self-identified as working class at the meetings, and certainly there were a number of

comments that seemed to come from a left-wing perspective. Although the UKIP agenda is decidedly right-wing in its policy platforms, it looks to draw its support from a number of working class Britons not happy with the status quo. In making this connection between sport and politics there is the potential to extend the exploration of how football, as just one aspect of culture shapes perceptions and the lived experiences of its participants, which will then manifest in how not just the social, but also the political environment is negotiated by these cultural participants.

Through both the football and political debates and discussions I encountered, there was a questioning of what Britain's/Liverpool's role in a global world meant for the local citizens. The football space of Liverpool is a social space that extends beyond its economic value. As such, the contestation of space by locals is an attempt to exert a claim to control the production of football space and assert that the global game can have a specific Liverpool accent that is, in their view, best managed in the hands of the locals that create it.

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Appendix A: Songs and Chants

Both Liverpool teams have vast catalogues of songs and chants used at games, this appendix is only a list of those that were used during the games I attended as part of the field research for this thesis. Sheffield Wednesday FC is included as well as many of their songs have similar themes of identity or territory. While I was able to pick up many of the lyrics by following along, I have consulted with the fan sites: LFCOnline, Everton Aren't We and FanChants.com to confirm lyrics of some songs.

Liverpool FC

"Coming Down the Road"

We are coming down the road
We are coming down the road
When you hear the noise of Shankly's boys
We are coming down the road.

"Fields of Anfield Rd" (Fields of Athenry – Traditional Irish)

Outside the Shankly Gates
I heard a Kopite calling :
Shankly they have taken you away
But you left a great eleven
Before you went to heaven
And the red men are still playing the same way

All round the Fields of Anfield Road
Where once we watched the King Kenny play (and he could play)
We had Heighway on the wing
We had dreams and songs to sing
Of the glory round the Fields of Anfield Road

Outside the Paisley Gates
I heard a Kopite calling
Paisley they have taken you away..
You led the great 11
Back in Rome in 77
And the redmen they are still playing the same way

All round the Fields of Anfield Road
Where once we watched the King Kenny play (and he could play)
We had Heighway on the wing
We had dreams and songs to sing
Of the glory round the Fields of Anfield Road.

"Glorious Team"

Oh it's Liver-pool
Liver-pool-F-C
The most glorious team
The world has ever seen.

"Liv-er-pool"

Liv-*er*-pool
Liv-er-pool
(Repeat)

"Luis Suarez" (I Just Can't Get Enough – Depeche Mode)

His name is Luis Suarez, he wears the famous Red
I just can't get enough, I just can't get enough
When he scores a volley or when he scores a head
I just can't get enough, I just can't get enough
He scores a goal and the Kop goes wild
And I just can't seem to get enough Suarez!
Do-do-do-do-do-do-do
Do-do-do-do-do-do-do
Do-do-do-do-do-do-do
Luis Suarez!

"No Trophies in 18 Years"

Que Sera Sera
Whatever will be will be,
We'll see you at Wem-bell-y
No trophies in 18 years
Que sera sera

"Steve Gerrard" (Que Sera Sera)

Steve Gerrard Gerrard
He'll kick the ball 40 yards
He's big and he's fucking hard
Steve Gerrard Gerrard

"Stevie G" (Let It Be – The Beatles)

When we find ourselves in times of trouble
Stevie G runs past me
Playing game with wisdom Stevie G
And in my home the Spion Kop
Stevie G jogs past me

Spreading balls with wisdom Stevie G

Let it be, let it be, let it be Stevie G
Local lad turned hero Stevie G

And when the jubilant kopite people
Living in The Park agree
We all know the answer, Stevie G,
Although we may all be fooled,
There is still a chance we'll see
The footballing phenomenon, Stevie G

Let it be, let it be, let it be Stevie G
Spreading balls with wisdom Stevie G

And when the night is cloudy,
There's a man that we all see,
A young committed kopite, Stevie G
Playing to the sound of music,
Stevie G runs past me
Playing game with wisdom Stevie G
Let it be, let it be, let it be Stevie G
For we all know the answer: Stevie G.

"We All Dream of a Team of Carraghers" (Yellow Submarine – The Beatles)

Number one is Carragher, Number two is Carragher
Number three is Carragher, number four is Carragher,

Chorus:
We all dream of a team of Carraghers
A team of Carraghers
A team of Carraghers
(Repeat)

Number five is Carragher, number six is Carragher
Number seven is Carragher, number eight is Carragher

(Chorus)

Number nine is Carragher, number ten is Carragher
Number eleven is Carragher, number twelve is Carragher

(Chorus)

Number thirteen is Carragher, number fourteen is Carragher

Number fifteen is Carragher, number twenty-three is Carragher

(Chorus twice)

"We Won it Five Times"

We won it at Wembley
We won it in gay Paris
In 77 and 84 it was Rome
(Chorus:)
We won it five times
We won it five tiiiimes
In Istanbul, we won it five times.

When Emlyn lifted it high
He lit up the Roman sky
Thommo in Paris and Souness did it as well

Chorus

At Wembley we won it our home
Took 26,000 to Rome
20,000 to Paris when we won it again

Chorus

Stevie G's eyes lit up
As he lifted the European Cup
21 years and now it's coming back home

Chorus

"You'll Never Walk Alone" (Rogers & Hammerstein)

When you walk through the storm
Hold your head up high
And don't be afraid of the dark
At the end of the storm
There's a golden sky
And the sweet silver song of the lark
Walk on, through the wind
Walk on, through the rain
Though your dreams be tossed and blown
Walk on, walk on, with hope in your heart
And you'll never walk alone
You'll never walk alone

Walk on, walk on, with hope in your heart
And you'll never walk alone
You'll never walk alone

Everton FC

"David Moyes"

Oh David Moyes (slow)
Oh David Moyes (fast)
Oh David Moyes (slow)

"Glorious Team"

Oh it's Everton
Ever-ton-F-C
The most glorious team
The world has ever seen

"It's a Grand Old Team"

It's a grand old team to play for
It's a grand old team to support.
And if you know your history
It's enough to make your heart go
Wooooooah!
We don't care what the red side (shite) say
What the heck (fuck) do we care.
'Cause we always know
That there's gonna be a show
When the Everton boys are there.

"Phil Neville"

Phil Neville
Superstar
Got more moves (medals) than Steve Gerrard.

"Z-Cars" (instrumental)

Sheffield Wednesday FC

"Hi-Ho Sheffield Wednesday" (Hi Ho Silver Linings – Jeff Beck)

You're everywhere and nowhere, baby
That's where you're at
Going down a bumpy hillside
In your hippy hat

Flying across the country
And getting fat
Saying everything is groovy
When your tyres are flat

Chorus:
And it's hi-ho Sheffield Wednesday
And away you go now, baby
I see your sun is shining
But I won't make a fuss
Though it's obvious

Flies are in your pea soup, baby
They're waving at me
Anything you want is yours now
Only nothing is for free

Lies are gonna get you some day
Just wait and see
So open up your beach umbrella
While you're watching TV

Chorus 3x

"The City is Ours"

The city is ours
The city is ours
Fuck off United,
The city is ours.

"We are staying up"

We are staying up
We are staying up
We are staying up
We are staying up.

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

Study Name: **Contestations of Fan Spaces at English Football Matches**

Researcher:

Daniel Evans, Graduate Student,
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Toronto, Ont., Canada
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Purpose of Research: To understand the relationship between groups of football fans in the City of Liverpool and how they think of space and place as part of their football experience.

What You'll be asked to do in this Research: This research asks you to describe your experiences and feelings about attending football matches, and your social activities that involve being a fan of a football club.

Risks and Discomforts: There is minimal risk involved in this study, but if you feel uncomfortable answering a question, you have the right to not answer or withdraw from the study, your participation is voluntary.

Benefits to Participant: This research is an opportunity for you to discuss your personal experiences of being a football fan. The research will help to understand how fans feel about the spaces that they use and move through as part of the match experience.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the research is completely voluntary and that participants may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision to not continue participating will not influence the nature of your relationship with the researcher or with staff of York University now or in the future.

Withdrawal from Study: You may stop participating in the interview at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions will not affect your relationship with the researcher, York University, or any other group associated with the project. In the event that you withdraw from the study, all associated data will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

Confidentiality: You have the right to remain anonymous in this research. If desired, a pseudonym will be used in all documentation and recording. Interviews will be audio recorded. All digital data (including the recorded interview) will be stored securely in a password-protected file on the researcher's computer and will be destroyed after five years.

Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by the law.

Questions About the Research: If you have any questions about the research in general or your role in the study, please contact the researcher, research supervisor (Dr. Glen Norcliffe, gnorclif@yorku.ca, or the graduate program office (gradgeog@yorku.ca (416) 736-5107). You may also wish to contact the Manager of the Office of Research Ethics at York University (309 York Lanes (416)736-5914).

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, you may contact the Senior Manager and Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, York Research Tower, York University, (416)736-5914 or email ore@yorku.ca

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I, _____, consent to participate in *Contestations of Fan Spaces at English Football Matches* conducted by Daniel Evans. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

Signature of researcher: _____ Date: _____

Additional Consent:

□ – Audio Recording of Interview

□ – Waive Anonymity

□ – Use of Photographs

Contesting Football Fan Spaces: Why You'll Never Walk Alone

A match between rival football teams involves more than the contest on the field, but also includes the battle between fans. These fan battles include the visual display of banners and scarves, the sound of chants and songs, and the physical occupation of spaces in and around the stadium. I aim to analyze the interactions of a diverse set of actors so as to understand supporters' rivalries in a spatial dimension, involving not just the supporters of rival sides but also the security forces deployed for the event. In this research I will answer: How do these visual, aural, and physical contests between fans produce and contest space around English football matches?

By conceptualizing the stadium and its immediate surroundings as a contested geographic space, the rival groups can be seen as reordering their spaces in resistance to the other team supporters and the stadium security (Topinka, 2010). It is this consideration of the geographies of fan behavior that distinguishes this project from previous studies of fan sociology, and addresses a scholarly gap that contributes to our understanding of the complex interaction of actors at these events, beyond the dominant hooligan narrative of past research (Benkwitz & Molnar, 2012).

The storied history of Liverpool FC and Everton FC and the importance of rivalries in its supporters' lore make the City of Liverpool an ideal study site. The two clubs are important to the city not only through their cultural significance to Liverpudlians, but also as key businesses in the city that have strong socio-economic links between the clubs and community. Additionally, the Merseyside derby, Liverpool FC vs. Everton FC, will be taking place during my field research period, providing me with an opportunity to observe the spatial dimensions of this rivalry in the City of Liverpool.

References:

Benkwitz, A, and Molnar, G. (2012). Interpreting and Exploring Football Fan Rivalries: An Overview. *Soccer & Society*. Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 479-494.

Goldblatt, D. (2006). *The Ball is Round: A Global History of Soccer*. London: Riverhead.

Topinka, R. (2010). Foucault, Borges, Heterotopia: Producing Knowledge in Other Spaces. *Foucault Studies*. No. 9, pp. 54-70.