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Demand and the Reduction of Consumer Power in English Football: A Historical Case-Study of Newcastle United Fanzine, The Mag 1988-1999

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Demand and the Reduction of Consumer Power in English Football: A Historical Case-Study of Newcastle United Fanzine, *The Mag* 1988-1999

Abstract

Using a historically situated case study, this paper sets out to examine retrospective fan reactions towards the rise of commercialization at Newcastle United Football Club 1988-1999. Combining empirical evidence derived from a long serving NUFC fanzine with theoretical steer from the work of French Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, this article explains how fans at NUFC contributed towards their subordinate position during this period as business strategy and neo-liberal philosophy took hold. The work demonstrates that fans (seduced by a new business strategy for the club) embraced the label 'consumer' in an attempt to strengthen their position as important stakeholders and concomitantly, to improve their relationship with club owners. But, as the popularity of Premier League football increased over time and demand for season tickets began to outweigh supply, less affluent fans found themselves to be priced out of the market as business minded club owner's prioritised profit over fan loyalty.

Key Words: neo-liberalism; football cultures; Newcastle United; Bourdieu; consumer culture.

In 2008 Peter Millward argued that sociologists of football ought to make better use of nonprofessional and nonofficial publications that are produced by fans of football for fans of football. Such publications are otherwise known as football fanzines and as Millward explains, they are likely to contain a potential rich source of information that is waiting for scholarly investigation.¹ One of the main benefits advocated by Millward for the use of fanzines is the potential to collate an inexpensive research sample of historically situated 'practice specific documentary evidence' that can be longitudinally analysed. Thus, it is argued that fanzines have the potential to reveal the transitional nature of fan cultures as fan-contributors make instantaneous reactions to emerging issues and then considered reflections thereafter.

Despite making this convincing argument, few scholars have taken up this challenge. Many have bypassed fanzines entirely to focus on e-zines - a contemporary online extension of the print fanzine. E-zines are largely preferred by scholars due to convenience, cost, and access

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3 to instantaneous, momentary reactions of fans as they respond to contemporary issues.²
4 Whilst no-doubt contributing valuable knowledge to the field, e-zine research often occurs in
5 place of in-depth longitudinal analysis into those historical materials (stored within fanzine
6 productions) which can offer further insight into revolutionary periods relating to the history
7 of football fandom cultures.
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12 In the current context, I turn to examine fan reactions towards the rise of commercialization
13 in football, via an examination of Newcastle United Fanzine *The Mag (TM)* 1988-1999. In
14 addition to the unique sample used, this paper makes an important theoretical contribution
15 too. It draws the writings of Pierre Bourdieu as a means for explaining how it is that fandom
16 cultures are made and remade across time and how fans contribute towards their inevitable
17 subordination within neo-liberal political systems. This argument is significant, given that
18 Bourdieu's theoretical writings (whilst used extensively in other research genres) have been
19 largely overlooked in within the study of football consumption.³ As such, it is appropriate at
20 this point to provide a brief appraisal of Bourdieu's dominant thoughts relating to cultural
21 reproduction and change.
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30 *Fields of Change*

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33 Bourdieu explains that social life is made up of numerous structured domains or spaces that
34 he labels as *fields*. He argues that fields (for example, a profession or a leisure pursuit), by
35 their nature, tend to form distinct microcosms that are endowed with their own rules,
36 regularities and forms of authority.⁴ Moreover, he insists that those rules and regularities are
37 upheld by agents in practice through a blend of structural constraint and free will.
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45 To further explain this position, Bourdieu advocates a three level approach to the social
46 scientific study of fields, beginning with analyse of 'habitus'. As he uses this term, habitus
47 refers to individual traits, attitudes and dispositions that are inevitably influenced by history,
48 traditions and cultures. With this in mind, Bourdieu is able to explain how it is that seemingly
49 spontaneous individual action actually meets wider social expectations, and thus he makes
50 clear that individual dispositions inevitably hold cultural characteristics. After all, values,
51 dispositions and ways of life are passed (semi-consciously) between generations of people in
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3 an active and reciprocal manner and therefore, habitus (masquerading as common sense) will
4 directly influence action.
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9 As a second feature Bourdieu asks scholars to consider the structure of the field in terms of
10 relations between those involved within it. Here, he alludes to the fact that fields do not offer
11 a universal experience to all agents due to the presence of 'capital'. In this instance, capital
12 refers to cultural (broadly relating to skills or titles that are held in high regard), economic
13 (relating to material and financial assets) or social resources (significations of group
14 membership) that are accrued and used by some to enhance position within the field.
15 Consequently, he explains that authority, subordination and the desire of individuals to
16 progress within the realm of any given field are crucial to its future direction. Finally,
17 Bourdieu insists that it is important to monitor the influence of wider social power (external
18 to the field) such as the effect of government, law and business. Each, he infers, has the
19 potential to infiltrate and effect action within specific cultural fields.
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30 Thus, using this three stage blend, Bourdieu is able to effectively articulate how fields evolve
31 over time as configurations of capital change in relation to internal power struggles and wider
32 social trends that emerge or wain within and between fields. Consequently, Bourdieu
33 concedes that habitus is inevitably generational and in specific moments of time and space
34 cultural practice can suffer 'the hysteresis effect'. He writes:
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41 As a result of the hysteresis effect...practices are always liable to incur negative
42 sanctions when the environment with which they are actually confronted is too distant
43 from that to which they are objectively fitted.⁵
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50 Here, Bourdieu describes the outcomes of a situation when the field undergoes major crisis
51 and its regularities and normalities are profoundly changed as a consequence of modern
52 conditions of existence that force agents to adapt thought patterns and concomitant practice.
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3 Before applying this theoretical model to the experiences of football fans (via the current
4 sample of fanzine subscriptions 1988-1999) it is useful to recall the situation facing English
5 football prior to and including *TM*'s maiden year of publication in season 1988-89
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8 ***English Football in Context: The Rise of Consumer Culture 1985-1989***

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11 English football had, during the 1970s and 1980s, become notorious as a problematic pastime
12 due to its association with football hooliganism.⁶ The frequent reporting of acts of violence at
13 football matches reached its peak when in May 1985, at the European Cup Final at Heysel,
14 Brussels, the behaviour of some Liverpool fans caused the death of 39 Juventus supporters.⁷
15 The immediate reaction by the games governing body (FIFA) to ban English clubs from
16 European competition had financial implications for English football, not only due to the
17 illegibility to compete in European competitions, but also due to the position that television
18 companies did not want to be associated with a sport, whose image had fallen into disrepute.
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26 It was not until the television rights deal of 1988 that domestic television companies (BBC
27 and ITV) began to compete with more vigour to televise English football. Competition was
28 enhanced to a large extent by the advance of neo-liberal political and economic philosophy,
29 used by UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to legitimate an attack on 'big government'
30 and the bureaucratic welfare state with a neo-liberal policy mix that was based on free trade
31 and the establishment of the open economy.⁸ As David Conn reports, in the decade of
32 Thatcherism money was an end in itself, and football was not immune from this:
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38 The Prime Minister had infamously said that there was no such thing as society, only
39 people trying to make money...Everything was subjected to market forces.⁹
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42 In the case of English football, Thatcher made possible competition from global television
43 companies, into what had been, a closed, incestuous domestic market. For instance, in 1988
44 Sky television became embroiled in a three-way competition (with ITV and BBC) and
45 consequently the money paid to the Football League (FL) began to increase. On this occasion
46 ITV paid £44 million for a four year deal; whereas a two year contract had cost only £4.5
47 million in 1983.¹⁰
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54 Removed from the issue of television rights, the financial state of English football was a
55 concern to many football clubs during the 1980s. It was acknowledged that football could no
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3 longer support itself solely through its traditional means of gate revenue. Again, stimulated
4 by neo-liberal economic philosophy, this issue instigated a debate about the potential merits
5 of shirt sponsorship, with the Football Association (FA) and the FL initially opposed this
6 idea. According to King it seemed as though the prospect of losing control (as advertisements
7 and the free market began to take over football) was a frightening proposition to them.¹¹
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9 However in 1983, despite attempts to stem the tide of free market interference in football, the
10 League surrendered its position in relation to an ultimatum from big city teams, stating that
11 they would sign an independent television contract if the league did not approve shirt
12 advertisements. With nowhere to go (based on the fact that League television revenue was
13 dependent on the attraction of big city clubs) shirt advertisements were now made
14 permissible.
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22 The stalling from English football's administrators with regards to matters of free market
23 involvement (typified above) was frustrating to many fans too, and arguably this was
24 reflected in low aggregate football crowds of approximately 12,000 throughout much of the
25 early 1980s.¹² For instance, in 1982, Richard Rider of the Times newspaper makes reference
26 to footballs decline in popularity on the grounds of lack of investment. He writes:
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32 The reality is that spectators...do not visit football grounds as pilgrims rediscovering
33 their roots and reliving the discomfort tolerated by their fathers...While cinemas, pubs
34 and other places of entertainment have had to modernise their facilities to meet the
35 expanding and more discerning demands of the consumer, football grounds remain as
36 relics of the pre-war period. Who at the age of 30, longs to stand on a windy terrace,
37 watching two mediocre teams when warmth and television beckon?¹³
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45 Amongst other possible causes then, lack of customer services and customer care were listed
46 as a potential contributory factor towards the demise in the aggregate of live football
47 crowds.¹⁴ Negligence and ill treatment of fans was most poignantly demonstrated through the
48 football disasters of 1985 (the Bradford City fire) and 1989 (The Hillsborough Stadium
49 disaster) resulting in two major government inquiries. The Popplewell report of 1986 and the
50 Taylor report of 1990 sought to discuss issues of safety, crowd control and the subsequent
51 financial investment (based on neo-liberal economic philosophy) that would be needed to
52 realize the long term sustainability and growth of the English football industry. Amidst
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3 concerns for safety and the legal obligation for clubs in the top two tiers of English football to
4 change previously standing-room-only terraces to all-seated stadia, it was argued that fans
5 should be centralized in a conscious attempt to rebrand football as a safe, enjoyable leisure
6 pursuit and viable business.¹⁵
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11 This proposition was no doubt enhanced by the 1982 decision to remove a regulation which
12 restricted the maximum dividend that shareholders could accrue from football clubs. As such,
13 new style entrepreneur investors were attracted to the game and this had implications for the
14 ownership dynasties of the post-war period, as they began to look amateurish or inadequate
15 by comparison. In line with free-market arguments, there was an emerging acceptance that
16 football clubs should be profit-making, and as such, business acumen and long-term business
17 vision was gaining cultural capital within football. Initially new directors of football would be
18 expected to make large scale investments, but the long-term aim should be to return a profit.
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25 Having outlined those changes to football culture that were taking place prior to and
26 simultaneously with the first publication of the *TM*, in what follows I examine the practice
27 specific documentary evidence (outlined in *TM*) to demonstrate the impact of
28 commercialization from the perspective of those directly implicated.
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35 **Methodology**

36 ***The Fanzine: Brief Context***

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41 As a reaction to some of those issues cited above, not to mention a more computer literate
42 society and the relatively cheap cost of and printing in 1970s-1980s Britain, fans began to
43 produce print fanzines to provide a platform for sharing their ideas and fears about the
44 game.¹⁶ The first football fanzine '*Foul*' typified this process. It was produced in 1972 for
45 £54.00 (circa 1,000 copies) on a borrowed typewriter in the student union at Cambridge
46 University and then distributed to outlets in Cambridge from the back of a car.¹⁷ *Foul* was a
47 successful alternative 'zine' that experimented with humour, but more importantly, its
48 success indicated that there was demand for club specific fanzines that would allow fans
49 (whose views were often repressed through official club publications and mainstream media)
50 to express themselves. In this regard Roger Domeneghetti, explains how the views of fans
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3 were often repressed by mainstream media, and that fanzine editors provided the venue for
4 fans to have their say, publically. In an interview with Domeneghetti, one editor explained:

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6 'we were inundated with letters...People used to think we made them up, but we
7 didn't have to. Fanzines gave people an outlet that they didn't have at the time.'¹⁸
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11 The mid to late 1980s saw the rise of a spate of publications including national production
12 *When Saturday Comes* (launched in 1986) and a whole host of other, more localized, club
13 based texts with a rise in fanzine production from only three in 1986, to over one-thousand in
14 1992.¹⁹
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19 At NUFC (the chosen site for analysis) various fanzines were created, some having only
20 fleeting print lives, others more enduring. NUFC fanzines have included, *Half Mag*, *Half*
21 *Biscuit* (reference to a 1980s band from Birkenhead, Merseyside), 1992; *Mighty Quinn*
22 (acknowledging striker Micky Quinn and the Bob Dylan song of the same title), 1990; *Talk of*
23 *the Toon*, 1991; *The Flying Magpie*, 1995; *The Giant Awakes*, 1993; *Toon Army News*, 1993;
24 *Who Wants to be in Division 1 Anyway*, 1989; *Once Upon a Tyne*, 1989; and *Jims Bald Heed*
25 (referring to manager Jim Smith), 1989. The focus of this investigation, however, is
26 Newcastle United supporters earliest and longest running fanzine, *The Mag (TM)*. In total
27 there were 289 printed issues over 26 years, covering the period August 1988 – April 2014.
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38 ***Sample and Data Analysis*** 39 40

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42 The sample for this investigation spans a portion of the publication life of *TM*, 1988-1999.
43 This period was chosen because it offers evidence of the experiences of NUFC fans during a
44 revolutionary time of change for English football that saw the implications of the Bradford
45 fire and Hillsborough stadium disaster inquiries (1986 and 1990 respectively), the
46 inauguration of the Premier League (1992) and its association with Sky television, the
47 increasing neo-liberal business strategies applied by football clubs, and the concomitant
48 evolution of the club / fan relationship.
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55 **Given that the author set out to purchase a full collection of fanzines from various internet**
56 **outlets and private sellers for the purpose of historical longitudinal analysis, in one sense the**
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3 sampling technique used may be best described as a purposive²⁰. However, as the author was
4 unable to access the full collection of published fanzines, a convenience sample of available
5 editions became the focus of the analysis. 77, out of a possible 129 editions (produced from
6 April 1988 – December 1999) were available for analysis, including multiple examples from
7 each of the 11 years under investigation (see table 1 below)
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14 [Note Insert Table 1 here]
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17 As a media text that typically combines images and words in a complex pastiche, *TM* is
18 amenable to established methods of critical discourse analysis, familiar to the field of
19 linguistics and media studies. In this instance however, the aim is not to analyse language and
20 image production at a micro level, but rather it is to galvanize discursive themes of fan
21 rhetoric and communication as it exists in relation to the commercialization of football, over
22 time. In this way qualitative thematic analysis, characterized by a combination of empiricism
23 and theory is used to bring meaning to the discussion of dominant and reoccurring issues in
24 light of the theorist Pierre Bourdieu.
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30 31 32 ***Data Analysis*** 33

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35 Each magazine was read (in its entirety, including front covers and all articles) for content
36 pertinent to the commercialization of football. Once identified as appropriate for further
37 analysis, relevant articles were used as raw data to be analysed using a framework of thematic
38 analysis as described by Miles, Huberman and Saldana.²¹ Articles were read number of times
39 to gain a thorough understanding of content. They were then re-read in full, and emergent
40 patterns were recorded on each transcript. The emergent patterns were then summarized and
41 organized to establish any inter relations between them. Thus, those patterns that shared
42 certain characteristics with one another were grouped together to form a new general
43 category. Accordingly, new thematic categories were tested against earlier transcripts in a
44 cyclical fashion until saturation. The aim of this process was to produce a thorough and
45 accurate description of the range of opinions, experiences and reactions expressed by fans
46 (over the duration of 11 years) in relation to commercialization. Whilst it is not possible to
47 include extracts from all 77 of the editions analysed, the findings that follow summarise the
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3 generic themes extracted from the analysis and they are largely arranged in chronological
4 order.
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8 *Precursor to TM: NUFC in 1987.*
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11 Before providing space to discuss the main themes generated from data analysis, it is worth
12 briefly outlining the situation at NUFC prior to *TM* first edition in August 1988. The main
13 issues affecting fans of NUFC were that the West Stand had been condemned in 1985 in the
14 aftermath of the Bradford fire and a new stand would be completed in time for season 1988-
15 89. The board, figure-headed by Gordon McKeag had declared a shortage of money to
16 improve the football ground and consequently, star players: Chris Waddle, Peter Beardsley
17 and Paul Gascoigne (all born in Newcastle Upon Tyne) had recently been sold by the board
18 prior to the first edition of *TM* coming into print.
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27 **Embracing the Prospect of Neo-liberal Leadership at NUFC as a Positive Evolutionary** 28 **Step** 29

30 *Theoretical Prologue: Bourdieu on Neo-liberalism* 31

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35 Neo-liberal economic philosophy is driven by policies (such as privatization, fiscal austerity,
36 deregulation, free trade and reductions in government spending) that enhance the role of the
37 private sector in the economy, under the guise that this is the best way to stimulate economic
38 growth, and consequently, to benefit all citizens. Whilst Bourdieu argues that the alleged
39 utilitarian outcomes of neo-liberalism are illusory, he is, nonetheless taken by the
40 overwhelming success of neo-liberal persuasion and marketing. Neo-liberal economic
41 policies, after all, are presented in the language of mathematics and this, he asserts, is partially
42 responsible for its meteoric rise and acceptance within public consciousness. Presented in this
43 way, Bourdieu argues that neo-liberal philosophy becomes detached from real life to give the
44 impression of scientific credibility along with the power to argue for the inevitability of its
45 proposals and solutions.
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55 In doing so, he argues that neo-liberalism can present itself as progressive, when in fact it is
56 conservative and allows for forms of economic regression to be passed off as reform and
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3 revolution.²² Consequently, then the neo-liberal revolution is symbolic as well as economic
4 and social, given that its arguments are presented as inevitable logic rather than a political
5 intention. Despite the fact that this system greatly favours those who already own large
6 amounts of economic capital (and associated symbolic capital), social agents are coerced into
7 believing that the game is fair and that everyone profits from ‘free markets’. He uses this as an
8 example of the power of ‘misrecognition’, where certain individuals benefit without appearing
9 to do so in the eyes of the repressed. This results in a situation of ‘symbolic violence’, in
10 which the dominated are complicit in their own subordination.
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17 In what follows this position is evidenced in light of the thoughts of football fans as they
18 discuss the desired future progression of their football club.
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22 ***The Calm Before the Storm: Adopting the Term ‘Consumer’***

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25 When *TM* was published for the first time in 1988, narratives were not only in favour of the
26 modernization of football generally, but more specifically, fans of NUFC were particularly
27 vocal in their disdain for a system of institutional management that was perceived to be
28 outdated, inefficient and unsuitable for the modern game:
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33 The Newcastle United Chairman [Gordon McKeag] ... has recently referred to
34 the club as *family silver*. This sums up the absolute contempt that the board has
35 for the fans... we...turn up every week like sheep. We pay to watch rubbish and
36 keep this selfish, small minded group of men in power...The boards main
37 ambition, is not to win trophies, I’m afraid it’s simply to stay in control with
38 anything else secondary.²³
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46 The negative reaction to the phrase ‘family silver’ (allegedly used by NUFC Chairman above)
47 is made in response to the perceived unchallenged post-war Dynasty of leadership at NUFC
48 and a growing frustration felt by fans towards the non-democratic nature of football
49 institutions per-se. Gordon McKeag, (the subject of the *TM* article above) was appointed to
50 the board of NUFC in 1972 on the death of his father William McKeag, a situation that was
51 not unique to fans of NUFC, or indeed to English football. Moorehouse, for instance, has
52 previously noted a similar issue in relation to Celtic fanzine ‘*Not The View*’, where the White
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3 and Kelly families (former board members and major shareholders at Celtic Rangers Football
4 Club [CRFC]) were alleged to have referred to CRFC as a precious heirloom to be handed
5 down from generation to generation.²⁴
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9 Likewise, from the very first issue of *TM*, the message promoted to the readership sought to
10 condemn this seemingly incestuous leadership style and to embrace more forward thinking
11 commercially minded strategies that were emerging elsewhere in the British leisure sector.²⁵
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13 In conjunction with this, fans at NUFC (1988) began to cast criticism towards the ownership
14 and management structure (that was perceived to be stale) by declaring interest in a business
15 proposal, put forward by *The Magpie Group* (a consortium of local business-men) headed by
16 John Hall - pictured below (left) alongside chairman, Gordon McKeag (right) in issue 2 of
17 *TM*. Hall (now, Sir John Hall, MBE) is a self-made millionaire that arose to prominence as the
18 mastermind behind the Newcastle and Gateshead Metro Centre, a purpose built shopping
19 complex, which at the time of build, was Britain's largest.²⁶ By 1988, Hall was able to sell his
20 stake in this £270 million retail development at an estimated £50 million profit, freeing
21 monies to invest in and potentially to revolutionize NUFC.²⁷
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32 [Note: Insert Figure 2 here]
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37 The proposal put forward by the Magpie Group laid down the following conditions. The
38 group would revitalize the board, but not necessarily overthrow it. They would raise money
39 by implementing a share issue for fans. They would inject five million pounds immediately,
40 increase democracy by removing absolute power from a small minority of people, redevelop
41 the ground and call a halt to selling players to rebalance the books.²⁸ In an interview with
42 Tyne Tees News (12th October 1988), John Hall made the following case:
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48 The present chairman said that we were trying to buy the family silver. That is why it
49 is time for change. I challenge the chairman to tell the fans why; if their money is
50 good enough, if it's clean enough to go through the stalls, why is it so dirty that they
51 can't have any shares? It's an upstairs, downstairs situation. It isn't their silver!
52 [referring to board members and stakeholders] It's all our silver in the north-east.²⁹
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3 Drawing on their cultural capital as experienced businessmen with a business strategy backed
4 by accumulated economic capital, the *Magpie Group* began communicating with and winning
5 the support of fans long before they had secured any business deal. Using the mass media as a
6 tool for information dissemination, and also targeting new football fanzines, they began to
7 apply a simple series of public relations exercises that were common to the world of business
8 but were strangely lacking in the world of football.³⁰
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14 For instance, speaking in issue 2 (September 1988), Malcolm Dix (A member of the *Magpie*
15 *Group* and chairman of Newcastle Sports Council at this time) revealed plans that the group
16 would attempt to acquire 51 percent of the shares at NUFC and describes how this would
17 affect the running of the football club.³¹ More significantly, Dix spoke enthusiastically about
18 how fans would be affected by subsequent changes, and revealed plans for a share flotation
19 that would afford fans the opportunity to buy a stake in the club, and concurrently present
20 future opportunities to elect a fan representative to sit on the board. Dix was careful to
21 highlight the importance of the NUFC customer base to the future success of the club.
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29 In line with calls for a business-like approach to the running of the football club, and in
30 recognition of the potential power that fans could yield if they visualized themselves as
31 consumers, *TM* editorial team asked the readership to consider boycotting a forthcoming
32 match in order to show support for the *Magpie Group*. In turn, it was argued that this mode of
33 behaviour (boycott) would demonstrate the potential financial loss that could be suffered by
34 the directors when fans act with unity and hold back customer spending:
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40 Let's get things straight, John Hall is not trying to create a dictatorship at NUFC as
41 the board would like to insinuate. He and his group are merely trying to open the
42 running of the club and give everybody a say in a new and exciting future. Now I
43 think it's up to us, the ordinary supporters to show our support for change because the
44 alternative is, I'm afraid, 30 more years of lack of achievement. The only way to have
45 any power is to stay away i.e. a boycott of matches.³²
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53 By issue 14 (February 1990) it was evident that fans were now using the language of
54 consumerism and their role as consumers to make the case for change. Contributor, Tony
55 Pearson argued that the business of football ought to adhere to the same rules as any other
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3 business. He wrote:

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6 If they do not attract *customers* in their market then profits will drop and cash
7 flow will suffer. The same principles apply to Newcastle United than they do to
8 your local chip shop.³³
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14 The line of reasoning adopted (above) suggests that if football fans could reconceptualise
15 themselves as consumers (as well as supporters) then they could use this as a position of
16 power to campaign for inclusion in club matters. After all, the free-market is dependent on
17 consumers for successful trade and thus, fans were approaching interactions with cultural
18 superiors (i.e. through the media and at football matches), not as passive subjects, but rather
19 as important players in the destiny of the field. Thus, in the same vein that scholars Kennedy
20 and Kennedy have expressed, the language of commerce was rapidly internalized and
21 embraced by fans that were attempting to balance notions of 'tradition' with a willingness to
22 acknowledge and carefully consider the needs of business strategies.³⁴ After all, the
23 unsatisfactory conditions of 1970s-80s were fresh in the minds of football fans that were
24 determined to better their circumstances. Consequently, this meant giving free market
25 conditions their full support.³⁵
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35 Messages of support for neo-liberal leadership continued through into 1991-1992, with for
36 example, criticism of McKeag in issue 23 (January 1991) for getting the club into
37 'frightening debt', and for 'returning low gates'³⁶; whilst in issue 28 (September 1991)
38 attention was drawn to the need for businessmen with 'cash and business acumen':
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43 The Noades, Silvers, Dans and Walkers (club owners and businessmen) are providing
44 what the game needs, cash and business acumen...All the genuine Super League
45 contenders are backed by rich benefactors. Liverpool, Everton, Leeds, Manchester
46 United and Arsenal are all backed by rich benefactors...Is it a coincidence that these
47 clubs win trophies? Newcastle is sadly a notable exception to this group.³⁷
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53 By the time issue 31 was in print (December 1991), McKeag, Seymour and Cushing had
54 stepped down from the board to be replaced by John Hall (Chairman), Fred Shepard and
55 Derick McVickers. A contributor to *TM* (December 1991) summed this up with the following
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3 statement:

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6 This had to happen; you can't have someone with almost half the shares not involved
7 in the running of the club. It's a harsh fact, but we need people with money on board
8 and these appear to be the people prepared to help ease our financial situation.³⁸
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12 Hall had been steadily buying up shares in NUFC since 1988 and by the end of 1992 he had
13 increased his shareholding to 90 percent. This signified a new era for fans of NUFC.
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16 17 18 **Be Careful What You Wish For: Demand and the Reduction of Consumer Power**

19 20 21 *Theoretical Prologue: The Double-bind*

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23 For Bourdieu, the effects of cultural change on individuals will inevitably yield unexpected
24 consequences for everyday practice, and those consequences are not always positive. In
25 essence, individuals can be caught up in contradictory situations and Bourdieu refers to these
26 as 'double-binds'. Put simply, when double bind situations occur, agents do not know
27 whether to trust the past, present or future as the rules of the game (previously internalized by
28 the individual as part of their habitus) are altered into a new, unfamiliar formula³⁹. People
29 can, of course change their habitus in new environments, but it is difficult given that the
30 original habitus is inscribed on body, mind and emotions, and is never completely forgotten.
31 In the case of a double-bind, then, mixed messages between the field and habitus result in
32 conflicting action, a kind of social schizophrenia, in response to field conditions as they move
33 beyond the habitus and render previously internalized structural and dispositional properties,
34 outdated, or unable to respond to the reality of the field.
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46 Thus, it is the unintended, unexpected consequences encountered by fans at NUFC, as an
47 outcome of the willing support for an intensifying commercial culture at the club that takes
48 the focus of the remainder of this paper.
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52 53 *Don't Panic!*

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56 Despite vocalising support for neo-liberal leadership at NUFC, fans in *TM* were
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3 simultaneously feeling uneasy about new business-like strategies that were beginning to
4 infiltrate football. For instance, running along-side support for John Hall and his commercial
5 strategies, in issues 14 and 16,⁴⁰ contributors draw with scepticism on Hall's business
6 entrepreneurialism with specific reference to his experience as the developer of the metro
7 centre, and they speculate (with comic effect) how this might affect stadium developments at
8 St. James Park (SJP):
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14 The whole of one end of the ground will be transformed into a fantasy themed
15 world with exciting rides, wave pool, ice rink, aquarium and twelve screen
16 cinemas. The other end will be redeveloped as a food hall, where the continual
17 flow-through of customers can choose from a variety of authentic mini portion
18 tasters...Another top priority will be to build Europe's longest monorail train link
19 to connect the stadium with the plastic world. Shoppers could therefore
20 experience both of these environments without ever going out into the cold.⁴¹
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27 Whilst Hall had not taken control of the club at this point in time (1990), fans were aware of
28 his reputation and were preparing themselves for the strategies that might be implemented if
29 Hall was to gain a majority shareholding in the club. Predating Bryman who explains that
30 more and more sectors of society are taking on the characteristics of a Disney theme park⁴²
31 (that is, by illustrating the commonality of a series of procedures that are taken to ensure the
32 satisfaction of consumers and to offer new strategies for selling in post-Fordist times)
33 contributors (above) make reference to the fictional but satirical fantasy world that would
34 integrate hybrid consumption opportunities into the live match-day experience.⁴³
35 Furthermore, Hall's reputation as a formidable businessman and his perceived
36 uncompromising nature was, at times, reported with caution.
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45 Amidst current rumours that Hall was interfering with team selection, a more alarming
46 situation held the attention of Howard Linskey in Issue 18.⁴⁴ This was related to a newsprint
47 article in which Hall had suggested that if, in the future, he could not develop St. James Park
48 (SJP) as he would like (due to council and local resident interference), he would consider the
49 possibility of a ground sharing scheme that would include the abandonment of SJP, a move to
50 Washington (Tyne and Wear) and a potential ground share with Sunderland AFC. This led
51 the editor into a state of moral panic:
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3 He has got to be kidding! Has he got no idea how unpalatable that this would be
4 to your average Newcastle fan? I would have thought that John Hall of all people
5 would appreciate that NUFC is not anyone's personal property. It belongs to the
6 people of Newcastle...
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11 Thus, fans were not completely opposed to change but they tended to display angst when
12 feelings of security were breached because of it. Consequently, whilst subtle alterations in
13 practice might be palatable, dramatic change is often met with resistance. As Stephen Wagg
14 explains, throughout the 1990s football would increasingly feature as a site of cultural
15 contestation and it was fanzines that were to provide the platform to report and stimulate
16 cultural resistance.⁴⁵ In the case of NUFC fans, it seems that contributors would use *TM* to
17 remind Hall, and to reaffirm with each-other that change should be respectful and in keeping
18 with customs and traditions, where possible.
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27 ***Demand and the Reduction of Consumer Power***

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30 From 1993 *TM* was reflective of the jubilant feelings of supporters in relation to on field
31 performances. Kevin Keegan had been in post as temporary manager of the first team since
32 the end of season 1991-92 and had managed to rescue NUFC from entering the third division.
33 In the following season 1992-93 performances further improved and NUFC gained
34 promotion to the newly coined 'Premier League' in time for season 1993-94. The Premier
35 League, having commercial independence from the FA was formed in 1992 when the teams
36 in the then 'First Division' broke away from the rest of the football league to ensure that
37 England's most successful teams would retain most of their television revenue. This new,
38 bold arrangement would replace the old system where television money was shared between
39 all league members regardless of whether or not they had appeared on TV that season.⁴⁶ In
40 relation to *TM*, fans were both positively and negatively affected by this change. Mark Jenson
41 writes:
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51 As with anything in life, when changes happen they always have good and bad points.
52 On the plus side, there's always a big match each week, more media coverage, extra
53 finance coming into the club and a competitive edge. However there is also a down
54 side with many people struggling to get into the matches, games shifted all over the
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3 place for Sky... It's a big change but I think both players and supporters are learning
4 all the time.⁴⁷
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8 Arguably then, the situation described above is representative of the paradoxical relationship
9 that exists between televised football and football fans - under the guise of neo-liberalism.
10 For instance, Ed Horton indicates that consumers are not always equal in the eyes of football.
11 He explains that both television and fans are consumers of the game, but there's a difference.
12 Where gate money from fans used to be the primary source of income for football clubs,
13 television is now responsible for substantially increasing revenues. With this in mind, he
14 asks:
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19 'If the customer is always right, to which customer is football going to defer?'⁴⁸
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22 The simple answer is that football defers to television and this often occurs at the expense of
23 fan 'tradition'.⁴⁹ For example, the 'traditional' 3pm Saturday kick-off (dating back to the
24 origins of the professional game in the 1880s [made possible by the implementation of the
25 Saturday-half holiday - freeing workers on Saturday afternoons]) was quickly phased out in
26 order that Sky could maximise TV revenue by scheduling matches throughout each week to
27 coincide with national and global audiences. This issue was discussed on numerous occasions
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...There's not bloody much football on TV at all. A total of 2 and a half hours per week at a maximum from the Beeb, this included ¾ hour highlights on Sportsnight (usually around midnight), ½ hour of football focus... Match of the day is the most popular football show and is usually on for around an hour... Anyway this leaves ¼ hour of highlights spread around the week on the news and Look North.

Compare this measly output with the 25 hours plus that Sky serves up... Now I can't afford the £20 rental nor the £200 or so it takes to install a dustbin lid... but for what I've seen of live matches in the pub it shows that Sky is years ahead of the BBC when it comes to the build-up and live content of games. Watching the pre-match build-up of the Liverpool game was fascinating, almost every aspect was explored, I was surprised even the worms in the pitch were not asked their views.⁵²

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4 Thus, despite casting dispersions on the economic price associated with Sky TV, there is a
5 general acceptance that the coverage of football is of high quality and thus, desirable.
6 Moreover, for Richard Giulianotti, televised football has rapidly become a simulation of the
7 authentic stadium experience, which in turn, has simultaneously began to morph with the
8 expectations of the televised format.⁵³ For example, *TM* contributor Kevin Parker, talks
9 specifically about the emerging pre-match ‘razzmatazz’ at SJP (implemented under the
10 leadership of John Hall), including the presence of new Master of Ceremonies (MC) that
11 Parker implies, was employed to stimulate an atmospheric stadium; and a pre-match scratch-
12 card game, both of which he asserts ‘the average two year old would find patronizing’. He
13 also makes comment on the half-time exhibition provided by dancing girls; a display that he
14 asserts has ‘no pretence of routine, just eight good looking girls...I’ve got no idea what the
15 women [female supporters] were supposed to get out of it’.⁵⁴
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25 However, far from mocking all new forms of match-day entertainment and calling for a
26 return to ‘tradition’, Parker was merely protesting about the type of entertainment currently
27 on offer. He was alive to the notion that fan participation in the match day setting is crucial to
28 both the football club and television in order to create the spectacle required to attract
29 commercial sponsorship.⁵⁵ On this basis, Parker made the following call: ‘spend some of the
30 new money on giant TV screens’. After all, ‘before the game they could show highlights of
31 previous games...at half time they could show highlights of the previous 45 minutes’. In sum,
32 Parker’s main message to John Hall and to the readership of *TM* was that when it comes to
33 new forms of entertainment offered to fans, ‘the most important fact should be that [new
34 consumption experiences] should be what the fans (i.e. paying customers) want’. He insists,
35 ‘if enough of us make some noise then just maybe someone up their will take notice’.⁵⁶
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45 In issue 65 (July 1994), however, it is clear that club directors were not only interested in
46 creating a strong consumer relationship with fans, but they were also setting out new
47 initiatives that would differentiate one fan experience from another, whilst increasing club
48 revenue in the process. For instance, Mark Jenson set out to address rumours that the club
49 would launch a new bond scheme. The finer details were sketchy and reliant on mass media
50 reports that were drawing on information leaked by the club, but the following appeared to be
51 true. Season ticket holders could elect to pay a £500 one-off fee to guarantee first option on
52 specific seats for ten years, but the club were insistent that the bond was simply a choice for
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3 supporters to make. Whilst not entirely dismissive, initial interpretations in *TM* were met with
4 caution:
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8 Fine so far. More money for the club and nobody is apparently being adversely
9 affected by it. However the thing that worries every fan that I've spoken to is will
10 it be compulsory in the future?⁵⁷
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14 Fans were conscious that football had suddenly become fashionable and at NUFC demand
15 outweighed supply. This being so, season ticket holders were anxious that the choice element
16 relating to the purchase of bonds would not last, and many predicted that in the future, bonds
17 would become mandatory, or else season-tickets would be offered to those willing to
18 purchase a bond.⁵⁸ Such sentiment was typified in satire cartoons, such as those identified
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25 *[Note: Insert figure 3 here]*
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29 The main issue raised, in this respect, is that contributors felt that NUFC were privileging
30 those (in the moment) with greater financial resources; and thus erasing, or at least devaluing,
31 all previous history of financial support made by less affluent fans across previous decades.
32 According to multiple scholars, such criticisms were commonplace amongst fans of 'bigger'
33 football clubs, where poorer spectators were being deliberately squeezed out as free market
34 principles began to rule football.⁵⁹ Moreover, *TM's* Kevin Parker (Issue 69) argues that the
35 same business-minded strengths that were responsible for turning the fortunes of the club
36 were now beginning to cause problems for less affluent fans. Parker recognises that 'it is
37 good business to give preferential treatment in this way, just as there is no financial pressure
38 to increase the number of phone lines in the general sales and ticket office, or remove the use
39 of 089 numbers in order to maximise income from every received call'. In other words, when
40 demand outweighs supply it appears that the customer is not always right:
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50 As long as the waiting list to get into the ground remains you better get used to
51 being a second class fan There's only one choice. If you can afford it, buy a
52 bond.⁶⁰
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56 Fans were also disturbed by further evidence of the conspicuous economic means separation
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3 within the stadium through further initiatives such as the '1892 club' which was perceived by
4 the readership of *TM* to benefit those supporters with greater financial resources - as figure 4
5 (below) indicates.
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9 *[Note: Insert figure 4 here]*
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12 For those readers unsure of what the '1892 Club' stood for (other than the NUFC's official
13 year of birth) and wondered about the reference to £1500, contributor Mark Jensen explained:
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17 For those of you who haven't heard about it, the club offered 300 season tickets
18 for sale at £1500 under the title of the '1892 Club'. The main benefit of this
19 appears to be that they have their own lounge at the back of the Leazes End
20 which means they don't have to rub shoulders with the rif raf at half time. It
21 seems transparently obvious that this is again aimed at the business community
22 and is at the expense of those who have patiently bided their time on the season
23 ticket waiting list.⁶¹
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30 By 1999, the price of season tickets had increased by an average of 300 percent since the
31 formation of the Premier League in 1993⁶². Yet, price hikes had little effect at St. James Park
32 given that season tickets had sold out and new seating was in the process of completion,
33 extending capacity to 52,000 (the second largest stadium in England at the time). Generally
34 speaking, stadium development was welcomed by most fans as a progressive step, but in
35 issue 127 (October 1999) the moral leadership at NUFC was brought into question once more
36 by 4,000 fans with season tickets in the Millburn stand and Leazes end of SJP. To explain,
37 those fans had each received a letter from the club stating that unless they were willing to pay
38 £1,350 or £995 respectively for the seat that they had occupied in previous seasons (making
39 new tickets approximately £500 more expensive), they would be moved to alternative seats in
40 the new upper tiers. This strategy, based on sound economic logic, ensured that the club
41 would secure an extra £3 million per annum⁶³; yet for NUFC fans the situation was
42 unpalatable given that half of those affected were bondholders who had recently paid £500 in
43 1994 in order to give them an option on a specific seat for ten years.⁶⁴
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54 Outraged by this proposition *TM* gave space to display the original letters to and the
55 responses from fans as they occurred. For example, see below extracts from the letter of Mr
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3 Fimister (Millburn Stand: Seat F48) to the then chairman, Freddie Fletcher:
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6 ...I appreciate that the club has to continue to progress and realize that corporate
7 hospitality is an essential part of the modern game, but at what expense...If the
8 unthinkable happened and the club were relegated, where would the corporate seats
9 be then?.. What about bond holders that have been promised their seat for 10 years? Is
10 it right to move them now? Please think again about this shoddy treatment of real
11 supporters who support the best team in the land.⁶⁵
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17 This correspondence with the club provides insight into the experiences of fans like Mr.
18 Fimister who were beginning to feel distanced from the NUFC leadership as a consequence
19 of corporate seats being given primacy over all others in the stadium redesign. With this in
20 mind, cartoonist Joe McKeough attempts to capture the potential future implications of such
21 club policies.
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27 *[Note: Insert figure 5 here]*
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30 In the first example (above, left), McKeough attempts to demonstrate that the current pricing
31 and ticket allocation policy at NUFC could lead to a lost generation of fans. He hints that the
32 decedents of the current supporter group (those negatively affected by club policy) will
33 become disillusioned with the club, and eventually, disengage. In the end, stadium
34 accessibility for many children, he claims, will be a work of fiction. Additionally, in the
35 second example (above, right), two affluent fans discuss ticket accessibility for all. Blinded
36 by their accrued social and economic capital they fail to see, or choose not to see the point of
37 view of 'oiks' (working class people) as they complain about the ticket sales strategy at
38 NUFC.
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46 Similar findings were raised by King, when a group of Manchester United fans reported that
47 emerging club policies (such as the global marketing of the club and the active courtship of a
48 professional class of fans) were responsible for their financial exclusion from the stadium as
49 demand outweighed supply⁶⁶. Guilianotti, Morrow, Crabbe and Brown and McGill add to
50 this, when they further explain that the inevitable fragmentation of the supporter base, on the
51 grounds identified above, only serves to intensify opportunities for exploitation.⁶⁷ After all, as
52 Lord Justice Taylor in his final report on the Hillsborough Stadium disaster points out,
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3 supporters are not real consumers with real choice. Football fans may complain and campaign
4 for change but they possess a genuine form of emotional labour that serves to encourage
5 inelastic consumerist activity towards their club.⁶⁸
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8 Thus, whilst *TM* cannot claim to instigate practical change, it did appear to serve
9 therapeutic purposes as the moral voice of exploited fans. Contributors would use *TM* to draw
10 attention to the negative effects of commercial policies on those fans with limited economic
11 capital, but a history of support that pre-dates Premier League football. More specifically, the
12 following rallying call typifies this movement as Mick Edmondson galvanizes *TM* readership
13 to protest against the attempt of the board to move 4,000 fans into cheaper seats in order to
14 make room for affluent supporters:
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21 It is quite clear that the board of directors couldn't care less about the fans. Their
22 sole interest is wallets...we must put an end to being treat as second class
23 citizens...If you've got NUFC in your blood, write to the local and national
24 papers, your MP, the FSA (Football Supporters Association), and also football
25 governing bodies, even Tony Blair...Stand up and be counted against Derby live
26 on Sky.⁶⁹
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32 In circular fashion, the politically active role that *TM* had taken in 1988 (calling for a boycott
33 of matches in support of John Hall) had returned once more in 1999 (this time John Hall and
34 Fred Shepard were adversaries), weaponized by the coverage of Sky TV, enabling, in the
35 views of NUFC fans, the global shaming of club policy. *TM* supported the 'Save Our Seats'
36 (SOS) campaign, with some contributors taking to the law courts to resist the set actions of
37 the club leadership. However, after two high-court cases, the club was allowed to move fans
38 as they had proposed, under an exceptional circumstances clause.⁷⁰ As a gesture of goodwill,
39 the club did not pursue fans for legal costs awarded over their insured limit.⁷¹
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46 **Conclusion**

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50 Drawing on the theoretical writings of Pierre Bourdieu, this paper has highlighted how
51 football fan cultures are reproduced and altered across time through interactions between
52 various groups of people with differing levels of cultural authority. As Bourdieu asserts,
53 within any field there are dominant players (such as football club owners and board
54 members) that can readily influence the direction of cultural practice due to the accumulative
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3 capital that they possess. In addition however, he makes clear that institutional change is also
4 reinforced and challenged through the everyday practice of agents with limited accumulative
5 capital but with a vested interest in associated cultural matters (football fans) as they
6 comprehend, contribute and adapt to new ideas presented within the field. Moreover, he
7 points out how in circumstances of rapid institutional change (based largely on new
8 conditions of existence [in this instance the adoption of neo-liberal philosophy]) situations of
9 hysteresis can develop as the field undergoes, what some consider to be a major crisis.
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16 This position was highlighted on numerous occasions throughout the *TM* in relation to a
17 power imbalance between owners and fans at NUFC. For instance, the initial power struggles
18 between Hall and McKeag, on the surface at least, may seem to have been distant and
19 abstract from fans, but on closer inspection *TM* was complicit in support for Hall as he
20 gathered impetus to enforce a change of leadership. Hall's leadership style was deemed
21 desirable as it coincided with the wider acceptance of neo-liberal philosophy throughout the
22 UK, a position that Bourdieu discusses in terms of his concept 'misrecognition'. He argues
23 that the fact that neo-liberalism is presented as an economic inevitability rather than a
24 political philosophy creates a situation where the mass majority of agents buy into a system
25 that privileges the few at the expense of the many.
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34 For example, when fans initially began to embrace their role as consumers in the new neo-
35 liberal world of football they did so, on the premise that this may help them to negotiate a
36 more inclusive relationship with the club owners / decision makers. At NUFC, this strategy
37 was relatively successful for a while, with Hall maintaining his promise to offer shares to
38 fans. But whilst the share issue ultimately failed largely due to the effects of a national
39 recession, fans were pleased that (as a result of Halls leadership) the football stadium had
40 been redesigned, and club facilities were improved.
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47 Slowly however, as the popularity of Premier League football began to increase and demand
48 for season tickets started to outweigh supply at NUFC, fanzine contributors began to
49 experience what Bourdieu refers to as a 'double-bind', as they acknowledge the necessity of
50 modernization (that they believed was required for club success), whilst simultaneously
51 conceding that modernization would dramatically alter previously internalized fandom
52 experiences, causing much anxiety in the process. This conflict of thought was evident in the
53 reaction to various business strategies employed by the club as a response to an increase in
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3 season ticket demand, forcing a dependent relationship rather than the desired inclusive
4 association that fans (as consumers) were hoping for at the outset of John Halls tenure as club
5 director. Perhaps this is best expressed by contributor, Chris Tait In issue 127 (October 1999)
6 when he summarises the political situation at NUFC since the inception of *TM* with help from
7 a well-known literary figure:
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12 That George Orwell certainly knew the shape of things to come for fans of
13 Newcastle United...To refresh your memory, the book describes how a motley
14 collection of oppressed farm animals (let's call them the Magpie Group for
15 arguments sake) deciding that enough is enough, band together, with enormous
16 popular support around the farmyard and take control of the 'big house'. In doing
17 so they rid themselves of the bullying farmer (Gordon McKeag anyone?) who has
18 subjected them to years of abuse and tyranny. There is much rejoicing and
19 quaffing at the trough as hope for the future is renewed once again. Things do in
20 fact go well, initially at least. Before too long however, the revolution turns sour
21 as the self-appointed leaders of the new order soon begin to impose their own
22 power crazed ideology upon the farms inhabitants and the animals eventually
23 conclude that things are as bad now, if not worse than they ever were under the
24 farmer.⁷²
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35 In essence then, studying football fanzine *TM* has enabled us to view the effects of rapid
36 institutional change (in the moment) on the values, dispositions and positions held by a group
37 of fans as they (1) campaigned for neo-liberal leadership and then (2) were left to adapt to its
38 unforeseen consequences. In the end, both the fan and the club epitomise the success of neo-
39 liberal philosophy, but they play very different roles. Club owners invest material resources
40 (on a grand scale) into the club, with the long term aim of returning a profit. Indeed, at
41 Newcastle United the Hall and Sheppard families managed to extract £145 million, despite
42 the clubs miniscule profits and overall losses.⁷³ Conversely, fans invest emotionally in the
43 team and consequently they become regular consumers of match tickets, club merchandise
44 (inadvertently advertising commercial sponsors), Sky television and other forms of
45 consumption, hence collectively upholding and reaffirming the ultimate triumph of neo-
46 liberal leadership and consumer culture through their actions. Thus, despite a willingness to
47 fight, complain and verbalize the discomfort felt as the hysteresis effect takes over, fans were
48 ultimately complicit in their own subordination. They are, as Bourdieu would describe,
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victims of symbolic violence.

END NOTES

- ¹ Millward 'The rebirth of the football fanzine'.
- ² Gibbons and Dixon 'Surfs up! A call to take English soccer fan interactions on the internet more seriously.'
- ³ Dixon 'Learning the game: Football fandom culture and origins of practice'.
- ⁴ Wacquant, *Pierre Bourdieu*.
- ⁵ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 78.
- ⁶ Gibbons, Dixon and Braye 'The way it was: An account of soccer violence in the 1980s'; Cleland and Dixon 'Black and whiteness: the relative powerlessness of 'active' supporter organization mobility at English Premier League football'.
- ⁷ Russell, *Football and the English: A social history of Association Football in England, 1863-1995*.
- ⁸ Horne, *Sport in Consumer Culture*.
- ⁹ Conn, *The Football Business*, 57.
- ¹⁰ Cashmore, *Making Sense of Sport: Fifth edition*.
- ¹¹ King *End of the terraces: The transformation of English Football in the 1990s*, 49.
- ¹² Guttman, *Sport Spectators*.
- ¹³ Rider 'Why soccer is into injury time', *The Times* August 8, 1882.
- ¹⁴ Smith and Stewart 'The travelling fan: understanding the mechanisms of sport fan consumption in the sport tourism setting'.
- ¹⁵ Dixon, *Consuming Football in Late Modern Life*.
- ¹⁶ Millward, 'The rebirth of the football fanzine'.
- ¹⁷ Ticher, 'Foul: best of footballs alternative papers 1972-1976'.
- ¹⁸ Domeneghetti, *From the back page to the front room*, 184.
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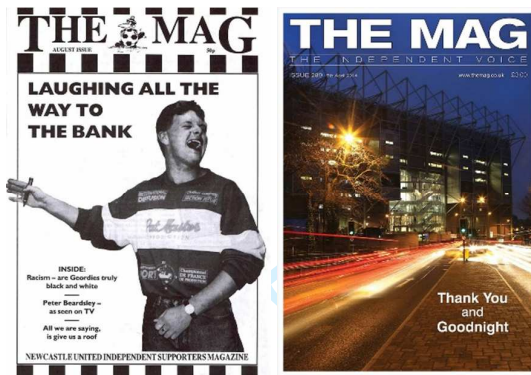
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For Peer Review Only

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3 **Figures**
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8 *Figure 1: Issue 1 August 1988 / Issue 289 April 2014*
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29 *Figure 2 John Hall (left) and Gordon McKeag (right)*
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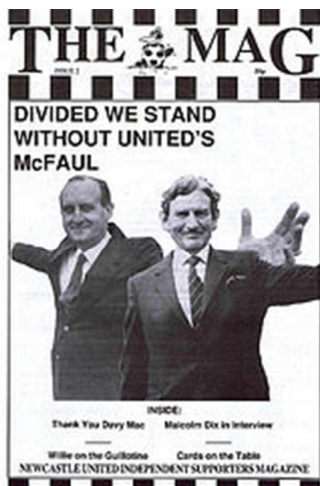


Figure 3: (Left) January 1995, Issue 73: 24; (Right) July 1994, Issue 65: 16



Figure 4: September 1996, Issue 92: 25

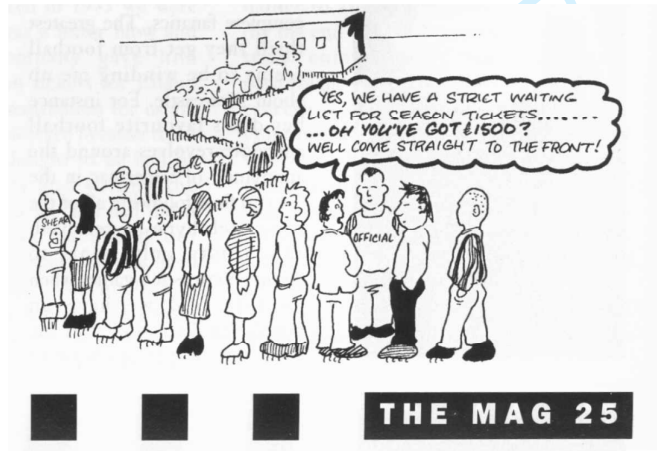


Figure 5: Forecast for the future: Issue 127 (Left: 10) (Right: 14)



Review Only

Tables:

Table 1: Sample of Fanzines Available for Analysis

<i>Year</i>	<i>Issue Number of Fanzine Editions Available for Analysis</i>	<i>Total Number of Fanzine Editions Available Per Year</i>
<i>1988</i>	1, 2, 3	3
<i>1989</i>	4, 7, 9, 10, 11.	5
<i>1990</i>	13, 14, 16, 18, 21.	5
<i>1991</i>	23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31.	7
<i>1992</i>	33, 34, 36, 38, 40, 43.	6
<i>1993</i>	46, 48, 49, 51, 53, 54, 57	7
<i>1994</i>	59, 60, 61, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71	9
<i>1995</i>	73, 75, 77, 78, 81, 82, 84, 85	8
<i>1996</i>	86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95.	9
<i>1997</i>	96, 97, 100, 101, 103, 104, 105.	7
<i>1998</i>	107, 108, 109, 114, 115, 116, 117	7
<i>1999</i>	120, 122, 125, 127.	4
<i>Total</i>		77