

**Steve Redhead, ed.**, *The Passion and the Fashion: Football Fandom in the New Europe*. Avebury, Aldershot, UK, 1993. pp. x + 205. £12.95.

The Institute for Popular Culture at the University of Manchester (MIPC) has become a prolific centre of football (soccer) related research in the 1990s. The type of study sponsored by the Institute coincides with a shift in the interest within academe from football hooliganism to questions of football and social identity. A shift which, for some, recognises a change from modern to postmodern supporter cultures. This approach could be seen as reconnecting with the project commenced by such contributors as John Clarke at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in the 1970s. This differs from the work of the best-known contributors to football research at the University of Leicester. While Eric Dunning and his associates addressed the issue of social identity they did not enthusiastically embrace the notion of 'resistance through ritual' unlike their Birmingham forbears. Dunning and associates leave the reader with a good idea of why football hooliganism occurs and the social

circumstances within which it manifests. However, although endeavouring to account for the cultural meaning of hooliganism to those involved, the Leicester theorists do not take up the invitation from Birmingham to discuss the practices of hooligan subcultures in terms of strategies (or tactics) used by youth to counter their social marginalisation. This theme has reemerged in the latest wave of football supporter research, being facilitated by judicious usage of postmodernist theory. An outstanding example of such work is Richard Giulianotti's chapter 'Soccer Casuals as Cultural Intermediaries'. It would seem that its placement as the concluding piece in the volume under discussion was something more than a random choice by the editor.

*The Passion and the Fashion* is the second monograph in the series of Popular Cultural Studies. It is edited by MIPC Director and prolific writer on contemporary British youth subculture, Steve Redhead. Although not ordered into subsections the book is thematically divided. The first four chapters, following an introductory paper by Redhead, present a number of British case studies on contemporary football fandom. The next three chapters reflect the trend in anthology volumes to widen the scope of football studies beyond the British Isles. Accordingly, two chapters on Italian fandom, and one comparing French and Italian supporters are included. As mentioned above the volume concludes with a chapter on Scottish fandom analysed through a postmodernist lens by Richard Giulianotti from the University of Aberdeen. Like many anthologies this is not a cohesive volume. However, this comment is not made in criticism. After all, the editor makes no such claim for this publication. This is made clear enough in the Preface which informs readers that the book comprises papers that were delivered as part of a seminar series conducted at the Manchester Metropolitan University in conjunction with the Department of Sociology at the University of Salford. Rather than claim cohesion the editor offers a collection that 'focus[es] on different aspects of spectatorship at football matches in Europe over the last few years'. This broad thematic ambition is certainly fulfilled by the volume.

Three of the early chapters in the book are written by Richard Haynes, who, at the time of publication, was a research assistant at the MIPC. Since this time, Haynes has had his own book published in the Popular Culture Studies Series. I have not as yet gained access to a copy of *The Football Imagination: The Rise of Football Fanzine Culture* but learn from Malcolm Maclean's excellent review (*Sporting Traditions*, vol. 13,

no. 1, pp. 139-44) that the book contains re-written versions of essays that appear in *The Passion and the Fashion*. This does not come as a surprise as the discussion of fanzine culture features in each of Haynes's essays in the earlier volume. Haynes holds much hope for the fanzine as a discursive alternative to the 'clichéd' and 'hackneyed' journalism of the mainstream press. Those who might care for an analysis in the style of Raymond Williams would read Haynes's depiction of fanzines as a form of 'emergent' culture that challenges the dominant. The important question from here though is whether this emergent form of culture takes an 'alternative' or 'oppositional' direction. Haynes's position would suggest that fanzines hold out oppositional potential. For example, his chapter subtitled 'Football Writing and Masculinity' envisages the growth and distribution of fanzines for an audience of female players and fans. He also mentions a Manchester-produced fanzine titled *The Football Pink* which is for gay and lesbian football supporters. The appearance of such fanzines promises much, according to Haynes. Indeed, they 'enable male producers and readers to redefine their ideas of masculinity when watching football'. While Haynes's optimism in this regard is encouraging I do not entirely share it. I am inclined to see fanzines as more of an 'alternative' form of emergent culture that provide an important channel of communication for those fans who are not catered for by the mainstream media. But fanzines enjoy a low circulation and tend to maintain cultural appeal within the subcultures from which they emanate. It is appropriate to consider football supporting women and gays in these marginal subcultural terms. Care also needs to be taken against seeing fanzines as a united front. By the very nature of the beast it is likely that a range of ideas will be aired in the pages of fanzines. The message of one fanzine will often be at odds with that of another. For example, anyone who has had opportunity to see the *Inside Soccer* fanzine that was circulated from Melbourne a couple of years ago will be aware that it portrayed an image of homosexuality that was hardly conducive to a libertarian spirit. However, from my own observations as an ethnographic researcher in the 'field' I can assure readers that it was a publication greatly enjoyed by many young football fans. The messages of fanzines might be uniformly disruptive, but some will not be comforting to those seeking emancipatory social change.

Another English contribution comes from Adam Brown who is

identified as a Master's student at MIPC. Brown, who is also a Manchester United supporter, provides a first-hand account of two trips abroad following the Red Devils in European competition. The chapter provides some interesting insights particularly with regard to how differing social control measures employed by police impact on fan behaviour. Even though the research is under-theorised (a problem which MacLean also finds with Haynes's later work), Steve Redhead is to be applauded for allowing a student to publish research findings that provides insight into football fandom from a first-hand perspective.

The penultimate three chapters in the volume provide translations of the work of two leading contributors to continental football scholarship — Alessandro Portelli from Italy and Christian Bromberger from France. Portelli's chapter locates football fandom within Italian political culture, which he refers to as a 'culture of poverty'. Football is seen as a cultural means of 'working class containment' whereby the masses afford support to the wealthy industrialists who provide them with the best football teams in the world. But the rules of the game are inherently conservative and those who do not abide by them can come unstuck. In this regard Portelli traces the fortunes of Messrs Agnelli and Berlusconi, managers of Juventus and AC Milan respectively. Agnelli is depicted as a monarch who enjoys a paternalistic relationship with his club and its fans. Accordingly, he retains a sense of noblesse oblige. However patronising this might sound it is preferable to the example of Berlusconi who is depicted as a member of the nouveau riche who merely buys football teams and holds no regard for tradition. Berlusconi might, like other monopoly capitalists, be responsible for the existence of the culture of poverty, but he does not belong to it. In contrast Agnelli might be responsible for the culture of poverty but he works within its cultural precincts by honouring the 'folk rules' that provide compensation to the impoverished.

As Bromberger's translator Justin O'Connor indicates, both Portelli and Bromberger deal with myth and ritual in Mediterranean soccer culture. This, however, is not to say that these writers provide similar accounts of the significance of this culture (or cultures). Like O'Connor I detect an 'implicit critique' within their respective works. The hope for soccer culture for Portelli lies in the retention of pre-modern (feudal) wisdoms (O'Connor p. 105). Although noting the pessimistic sense of

destiny retained by Torino supporters Bromberger's analysis steps from a premodern to postmodern analysis of rituals. While Portelli's chapter tends to place myth and ritual within the realm of the sacred, Bromberger's related discussion occurs within the realm of the profane. Thus proceeds a discussion of Naples fans parading effigies of the embattled, but not fallen, idol of Maradona in place of genuine figures of saintliness. Dichotomies of rich and poor remain in Bromberger's chapters but only in a way that enlivens an account which places the 'sociability (the social bond as it is felt and lived in specific situations)' (O'Connor, p. 104) of fans in the foreground.

Bromberger's description of mock funeral marches by Napoli fans as carnivalesque prompts comparison with the work of Richard Giulianotti who has previously used the term to discuss the social practices of Scottish fans at Italia 1990. Giulianotti's contribution to *The Passion and the Fashion* continues his attempt to analyse football supporting subcultures (or football supporting culture more generally) within a postmodernist framework. His endeavour in this regard has been enlightening and without peer. I thoroughly endorse Steve Redhead's comment on Giulianotti made in the opening chapter:

A writer on football culture who can innovatively combine the insightful, but disparate and confusing, theoretical approaches of such cultural icons as Pierre Bourdieu, Erving Goffman and Jean Baudrillard is rare indeed. To do so in order to illuminate the much misunderstood developments in the links between British 'casual' youth culture and soccer is a substantial achievement (p. 5).

In this chapter Giulianotti discusses the Aberdeen Soccer Casuals (ASC) as 'cultural intermediaries', a term taken from Bourdieu. We are presented with an image of the ASC as a social grouping engaged in the 'production . . . and dissemination of symbolic goods' (p. 158). Accordingly, the ASC is also depicted as a *communitas* which has carved out a social space based on cultural codes which defy interpretation through 'official' discourses. Ultimately the ASC might not satisfy Giulianotti's own criteria for 'micro-political and cultural enablement' but they stand as a 'vanguard youth subcultural grouping' nonetheless. Irrespective of the particular example, Giulianotti provides a theoretically sophisticated mode of analysis for

examining football supporting sub-cultures in terms of social agency. His chapter thus provides appropriate conclusion to a volume which goes a long way towards revealing the passion behind the fashion of contemporary soccer supporters.

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