

Football fandom and post-national identity in the New Europe

ABSTRACT

Through European club football, we can begin to detect the outlines of a new Europe of competing cities and regions which are being disembedded from their national contexts into new transnational matrices. Focusing on a specific network of Manchester United fans, broadly located in the city of Manchester, this article examines the development of European consciousness among this group of individuals. This consciousness does not consist of a European supranationalism but rather of a new emphasis on the locale of Manchester and an increasing recognition that Manchester United and the city of Manchester must compete autonomously with other major clubs and cities in Europe.

KEYWORDS: Football fans; Manchester; new Europe; cities

INTRODUCTION

As the European Union becomes an ever more significant political and economic reality, there has been extensive debate about the development of European identity. In particular, the issue of supranational identity which raises the national affiliations of the modern era to a higher, pan-European level has been a central concern to many commentators. Various theorists have insisted upon the need for a unified supranational identity among Europeans in order to overcome the so-called 'democratic deficit' (e.g. Chrysochoou 1996; Schmidt 1995) while others have looked upon the development of any such supranationalism as a dangerous and potentially fascist threat (e.g. Touraine 1994; Balibar 1991; Habermas 1993; Derrida 1992; Delanty 1995, 1996; Pietersee 1991; Morley and Robins 1990; Bance 1992). However, despite the genuine concerns which these theorists express, rather than giving rise to supranationalism, the new Europe is more likely to be contoured by a set of overlapping sovereignties and allegiances between transformed nation states,¹ emergent supranational institutions (the Commission and multinational corporations, for instance), regionally based institutions and cities, which complex situation

is usefully captured by the term 'new medievalism' (Woever 1995). In line with these overlapping political and economic networks, cultural identifications in the new Europe are likely to be similarly complex and overlapping. In the new Europe, 'post-national' identity is likely to consist not of a monolithic supranationalism but of shifting cultural identities which correspond to the simultaneous integration of individuals into different and competing networks of relations. In particular, it is important to recognize three key planes of identification and political and economic relations which are becoming increasingly significant in the new Europe – region, nation and supranation (see for instance, Smith 1992; Weiler et al. 1995; Tassin 1992; Schlesinger 1994). In particular, it is highly likely that the region and, particularly, certain large cities will become the most important and dynamic element in the new Europe (Castells 1998: 380–1; 1994: 23; Ohmae 1993: 80) and, consequently, the most important element in post-national identity will be a regional or local affiliation to a particular city.

Although many commentators would subscribe to this three-tier view of Europe and would see contemporary identifications as a complex mixture of the national, the supranational and the regional or urban there has been very little detailed empirical and ethnographic work on the way these identities are being re-invented in specific social practices. Yet, an adequate sociology of the transformation of Europe requires detailed ethnographic study.² To this end, this article focuses on the consumption of European club football by a particular network of Manchester United fans in order to highlight the potential development of 'post-national' consciousness in a specific context. European club football provides a very useful focus for the analysis of these newly emerging identities because it is a public arena in which urban, regional and national identities are vividly expressed and in which the relations between different cities and regions are articulated. The group of football fans, who are the focus of this study, consist of an almost exclusively male network of Manchester United supporters most of whom live in or around Manchester and who have been a prominent element in United's support, especially in the 1990s. They are the producers and key consumers of the two major fan magazines (fanzines), *United We Stand* and *Red Issue*,³ and have been central to the creation of the Independent Manchester United Supporters' Club which is now a prominent organization, especially after its role in averting the Sky takeover of the Manchester United, that lobbies the club, government and media over issues concerning the fans. It would be wrong to overemphasize the homogeneity of this network since there are tensions between different loose groupings within this network of fans. In particular, there is a blurred divide within this masculine group between those fans committed to IMUSA and those who are part of or closer to United's hooligan firm. However, despite potential differences which surfaces on certain issues, there are substantial areas of shared culture and understanding between these men. Arising out of the so-called 'fashion-wars' between certain

hooligan groups in the 1980s (see Redhead 1991; Allan 1989), the fans in this network almost exclusively wear 'casual' designer clothing rather than replica kits, which have become synonymous with the new fans being attracted to football in the 1990s (see King 1998: Chapters 12 and 14). In addition to wearing these expensive clothes, these fans also display their masculine 'pride' (or status) by singing in the ground and potentially fighting to protect their honour (see King 1997, 1998: Chapter 12). Moreover, there is a common rejection of the commercialization of the game which is stifling the ability of these men to express their solidarity with other men of their group by communal singing and celebration. Clearly in engaging in such a detailed, 'ideographic' approach with such a relatively small group, it is impossible to say whether the re-negotiation of identity among one relatively small group of fans is a phenomenon which has parallels across Europe, though it seems likely that similar processes may be going on elsewhere. However, it is only by engaging in detailed ethnographies, which illuminate the way individuals are actually re-negotiating their identities and social relations in specific circumstances, that statements about the nature of European identity become anything more than mere assertions.⁴

IMAGINED COMMUNITIES, INVENTED TRADITIONS: THE CONSTRUCTION OF REGIONAL IDENTITY

In his recent analysis of the construction of identity in the post-Fordist world, Appadurai has drawn upon and expanded Anderson's notion of 'imagined community' (1990) to consider the different ways in which communities – and not only national ones – are brought into being in this new and often bewildering environment.⁵ In particular, Appadurai discusses the significance of the concept of locality in relation to the creation of imagined communities in this globalized world. Interestingly, Appadurai claims that the fetishism of the commodity which was typical in the modern industrial period has been replaced by new forms of product and consumer fetishism in the global, post-Fordist period (Appadurai 1994: 306; also 1996: 41–2). For Appadurai, product fetishism refers to 'an illusion created by contemporary transnational production of loci; which masks translocal capital, transnational earning flows – in the idiom and spectacle of the local' (Appadurai 1994: 306). Multinational capital situates itself in certain localities and draws identity from those localities into order to hide its global anonymity. Although Appadurai might overemphasize the conspiratorial nature of global forces which have to conceal themselves as local, his analysis is illuminating because he demonstrates, following Anderson (and Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), that communities are continually re-invented or re-imagined in the face of new developments. Locales should not be thought of as self-evident places. The apparently obvious geographic space – the region or city – does not determine the kinds of social networks

which arise in it and the locale is not prior to these relations. Rather, a local geographic space only becomes a meaningful locale which informs action when individuals in particular social networks invest that locale with significance. The 'locale' becomes the symbol of the social network; it is a shared understanding developed by a particular group about the nature of their social group which is employed by members of the group to maintain and regulate their relations with each other and to denote appropriate forms of conduct. The locale comes to embody the central understandings of the group and acts as a common cultural resource by which members of the group are called to order. The emergence of these new forms of local urban or regional consciousness is connected to the growing importance of regions and cities in the New Europe as global capital bypasses nation-states to reconfigure European geography into a new, hierarchical network of increasingly autonomous cities.

As Appadurai and Anderson suggest, the notion of the locale of Manchester, to which the masculine Manchester United fans now appeal, has emerged in the specific context of the 1990s and refers not primarily to birth or residence in Manchester, though they are certainly not irrelevant, but rather to the adoption of the central forms of practice of this group such as the wearing of designer clothing which are seen as properly Mancunian. Thus, there are many fans who live in Manchester but are not part of the 'locale' for these masculine individuals because they do not accord with the forms of consumption which this group have adopted in the 1990s. Moreover, there are many other fans who are not Mancunian – by birth or residence – but which are part of this network because they do adopt these masculine practices and, through supporting the team, have become part of this network.⁶ The increasing place which Manchester has in the imagination of these men so that the city is frequently employed as a common symbol which the fans invoke to define appropriate behaviour in their relations to others is intrinsically connected to the transformed economic circumstances in the 1990s in football and in society more widely. Consequently, in the growing importance with which these men invest Manchester, the outlines of a new post-national identity which highlights regional or local urban interests and affiliations above national ones can begin to be traced.

FOOTBALL IN THE NEW EUROPE

Although there are very wide historical contexts which have given rise to the particular culture of this network of fans, such as the post-1950s decomposition of the traditional working class and the shift to a post-Fordist settlement in Britain, the immediate context which has produced the particular social practices and beliefs of this group is the transformation of English and European football in the 1990s; in particular, Manchester United's dominance of the domestic league and the striking

commercialization of the club.⁷ Moreover, as a result of Manchester United's financial and footballing dominance in England, the club has become more closely integrated into European football in this decade especially since the amount of European football has increased markedly over the last few years. Since the early 1990s, there has been ever greater pressure on UEFA (Union of European Football Associations) from European media groups and from the big city clubs in Europe⁸ to expand European competition, as a result of which, UEFA enlarged the European Champions' Cup for the 1991–2 to include a league format, subsequently called the 'Champions League'. This league format was further expanded in 1997 so that the runner's up in certain national Leagues were included, and again in 1999 so that those countries (England, France, Germany, Italy and Spain) with sufficient playing success (and television audiences) were allowed to enter the third and even fourth placed teams from their domestic leagues into the competition. This expansion has doubled the number of games which most even moderately successful teams will play in Europe and it is widely and reasonably believed that this expansion to a league format is not complete. At the same time the European Cup Winner's Cup has been merged with the UEFA Cup to produce a much larger competition. Many believe that a genuine European superleague in which European teams are played every week throughout the season in the format of a national league is now 'inevitable'. It is uncertain whether such a league will ever occur but further expansion of the present quasi-league system does seem certain.

The growing connections between the big city clubs of Europe and the increasing frequency of their encounters on the pitch, which are watched on television by millions across Europe is an important factor in European integration. On a purely business level, the development of networks between the biggest clubs and the media and between the large media consortiums in Europe such as News Corporation, the Kirch Group, Mediaset and Canal Plus constitutes a significant thickening of business links across Europe. However, since football is not simply a business in the usual sense, but is an arena for the expression of identities and solidarities, this thickening of ties between the biggest football clubs in Europe brings into question and highlights the issue of European identity. The matches which are broadcast on mid-week nights communicate and express the confrontation between different regions and cities, highlighting the financial and symbolic statuses of these cities. Like the Balinese cock-fight, which Geertz argued was an arena in which the Balinese told a story about themselves and expressed their standing in the social network, so is the story of what Europe is about told through European club football (Geertz 1973). Like Geertz's cock-fight, through European club football, the clubs, the fans and sponsors express their understanding of their social and economic relations and, indeed, bring these relations into being. European football communicates which cities (and regions) are financially powerful in the New Europe and which are marginal. The growing integration between the

biggest European football clubs in the 1990s had a marked impact on the social relations and identity of the network of masculine supporters at Manchester United. In particular, it has highlighted the increasingly close and intense competition between European cities which is one of the fundamental aspects of European integration and which inter-city competition is giving rise to expressions of regional and urban identities as individuals recognize that their interests are increasingly connected to their city or region rather than their nation.

FOOTBALL FANDOM AND THE NEW EUROPE

The Development of European Consciousness

The development of European club football in the 1990s has most obviously provided these football fans with the opportunity to experience Europe more frequently. This has been particularly important for the masculine fans on whom this research is based since the European away trip is regarded as the best form of football trip available and has been central to this group's support. The European away provides these fans with several days together in an unknown and potentially exciting foreign city in which their celebrations can be extended. Indeed, one fan commented on a trip to Munich that many of the masculine supporters of United who had been prominent to the clubs' support in the 1980s, mainly due to their violent conduct, went to no games except European aways because they found Old Trafford intolerably restrained and the installation of seats restrictive (Chris, fieldnotes, 30 September 1998). Consequently, masculine fans look upon European trips as the best 'craic' available to them and emphasize 'the buzz you receive from each trip' (Chilton et al. 1997: 3-4)

Following your team in Europe is an education and what's more, is like a drug . . . you just want more and more, visiting countries where licensing laws mean you can only drink for twenty-four hours a day. (Chilton et al. 1997: 5)

Since the European away trip is viewed as the best supporting experience available to the fans, masculine United fans have taken the opportunity provided by the expansion of the Champions' League and United's playing success to travel extensively in Europe. As a result, these masculine United fans have become more familiar with many of the major cities in Europe. This growing familiarity with the cities of Europe was much harder in the 1970s and 1980s even for those clubs like Liverpool which were highly successful in European competitions because of the knock-out format of the European Cup then. The knowledge which these United fans have of Europe may be directed at a narrow range of masculine interests, revolving around bars and clubs (though this is certainly not universally the case),⁹ but there is nevertheless a growing awareness of Europe and its cities

among them as well as a sophisticated knowledge of the transport system in Europe.

The fans go out there and in three days in a foreign city, you cannot help but pick up certain things. And those who go to every game, they have racked up a really good list of away trips. They have become what we would now call European citizens. They are at ease in all the capitals, they know the different culture, what you can do with a woman in one place, what you can't in another. That is a socialization process and that is very new. (Richard Kurt, personal interview, 12, May 1998)

Furthermore, as a result of the increase in the number of matches, fans are beginning to develop contacts with other fans. For instance, Richard Kurt noted that United fans were developing the beginnings of a violent rivalry with the fans of some clubs, such as Juventus (Richard Kurt, personal interview, 12 May 1998) while Mike Adams suggested that a similar relationship was developing with Feyenoord (personal interview, 15 May 1998). Significantly, for some fans among this network, the extension of European travel had meant that they had become almost too familiar with certain cities in Europe. Andy Mitten emphasized that originally he could only dream of seeing United play Juventus or Barcelona in the Nou Camp, but having played these teams several times in the last few seasons, the 'buzz' of going to Barcelona or Turin had worn off; he concluded that 'familiarity breeds contempt' (Andy Mitten, personal interview, 30 April 1998). The point is that if fans are to spend substantial amounts of money travelling to see their team, they would rather visit new cities than return to familiar destinations. Despite the claim that familiarity has bred contempt in relation to certain destinations, these masculine fans still look upon the European away trip as an 'oasis in a desert of mediocrity' (Mike Adams, 15 May 1998) for, although a trip to Barcelona may not inspire the excitement it once did, it is certainly regarded as substantially more attractive than an away trip to a domestic league ground, not least because it simply offers the fans more time to celebrate with each other. Other fans suggested that it was not simply the expanded opportunities for travel which had increased these United fans' familiarity with Europe but the increased prominence of European football on television had produced greater interest in European leagues than was formerly the case (Richard Kurt, 12 May 1998; Andy Walsh, 30 May 1998). Many United fans now know the positions of clubs in other European leagues, their players and those clubs' main domestic rivals.

This familiarity with Europe is significant because it could potentially play a part in the development of a supranational European identity, where these United fans genuinely begin to see themselves as primarily Europeans rather than as British. There seems to be some evidence that this extensive travel across Europe had had an effect on the attitudes of this group of fans towards Europe. It was a recurrent theme in interviews and in the fanzines that these United fans had begun to see themselves as more

European and had substantial knowledge of other European countries than previously.

The little Englander resides in every single one of us – that islander. It is only through education, through experience that it is driven out of you but I think it is in-built, in-bred within every single one of us, that Englander, that islander, that isolationist. The more you go and experience the taste and absorb different culture, the more you do become a European, a Europhile. (Mike Adams, 15 May 1998)

Among the fans you will find few Eurosceptics, they've enjoyed some great times on the continent indulging in the delights of fine cities like Barcelona. (*United We Stand* 1996: 8, also Chilton et al. 1997: 98)

However, although these United fans are certainly more familiar with Europe, and employ the terms Europhile and Eurosceptic which refer to specific political positions in relation to monetary union, their use of these terms and specifically their notion of themselves Europhiles cannot be taken as evidence that they think of themselves as distinctively European in the supranational way that the Commission or a theorist like Chrysochoou envisage. They do not draw on a common cultural heritage with other European fans, with whom they do not interact sufficiently to know in the way that they know Liverpool or Leeds fans.¹⁰ They feel no bond of supranationhood with these other European fans and they have not transferred their political and cultural allegiances to some ill-defined entity called Europe or some little-known supranational institution like the European Commission. Indeed, the fans explicitly rejected the suggestion that any such supranational identity might be emerging among them. Richard Kurt echoed the point of made by many sociologists (e.g. Delanty 1995), that Europe could never constitute a coherent identity because there is 'no external opposition' to it. Without that common other, Europe could never be the source of identity in the way that nations have sometimes been. Mike Adams, echoing many cultural critics, added that not only was there no evidence of a genuine pan-European identity among United fans but the emergence of such an identity was unwanted.

God forbid if there was any Euronationalism because any rampant nationalism that gets out of control is dangerous. It would be too much of a leap. Too much of a presumptuous on my part to believe that United supporters saw themselves as being in the vanguard of some pan-European movement. (Mike Adams, personal interview, 15, May 1998)

Yet, while rejecting a notion of pan-European nationalism, Mike Adams did comment that 'a lot of United fans I know and speak to see themselves as being or would want to see themselves as being European before British or English – I would, certainly' (Mike Adams, personal interview, 15, May 1998). Given that he and other fans have rejected the notion of pan-Europeanism and the emergence of some homogenous cultural identity, this

claim that United fans see themselves as Europeans before British and see themselves as Europhiles because they are increasingly familiar with Europe seems strange and even contradictory. It is peculiar to claim to be European and, yet, have no idea of the common cultural traditions, experiences and interests which would constitute a European identity – and, indeed, if anything to reject any idea of homogenized and exclusive supranationalism.

However, this apparent contradiction between a growing integration into European relations and familiarity with Europe without the development of any kind of supranational cultural consciousness can be reconciled by understanding the significance of the appeals to Manchester United and Manchester by these fans. They are European only in the sense that they want Manchester United and Manchester to be at the core of football and business networks in the New Europe. For these fans, European integration has begun to raise the importance of Manchester above the nation and their Europeanness lies in the fact that they now increasingly want the city of Manchester and Manchester United to be fully integrated into the flows of capital and culture in this New Europe. They want Manchester and Manchester United to compete at this emergent transnational level so that the city and club can be recognized as the equal of the other great clubs and cities in Europe. For these men, post-national identity does not involve the elevation of their identities and interests to a supranational level but, on the contrary, an increasing devolution of interests and affiliations down to the level of the local and the urban. This local level is then re-connected into a new transnational context.

The Emergence of Mancunian Identity: The Rejection of Englishness

Manchester United's domestic success has not only increased the familiarity of its fans with Europe but it has also altered the relations of United fans with the fans of other English clubs. In particular, as Manchester United has dominated English domestic football and has also been at the forefront of commercial developments in the game in the 1990s, the fans of other clubs have increasingly rejected Manchester United. The fans of other clubs and England fans have sung chants which vilify Manchester United, its players and David Beckham, in particular, especially after his dismissal in the quarter-finals of the World Cup against Argentina in 1998, as well as claiming that United fans are not from Manchester. The chant 'Do you come from Manchester?' asserts that the commercialization of Manchester United has rendered the club inauthentic since it is supported not by the local working class but by middle-class fans from outside Manchester who attend only because it is successful. Significantly, the fans of other clubs are simultaneously recognizing (and rejecting) the new global forces which are reconfiguring Europe, marginalizing some cities and regions while favouring others, and their rejection of Manchester United is a half-articulated resistance to the forces which have promoted an institution like

Manchester United while threatening more the marginal clubs and cities to which they are affiliated. However, whatever the rationale behind the claim that Manchester United is an inauthentic club, it has seriously threatened the status of this network of masculine fans organized around *Red Issue*, *United We Stand* and IMUSA because at the very moment of the club's superiority, their support is not recognized by their rivals at other clubs and it is only by this recognition from others that they are able to assert their status. Consequently, in response to the claims of the inauthenticity of Manchester United, this network of masculine United fans have re-emphasized their Mancunian identity in order to assert their status as masculine fans and to gain recognition from other fans. Certainly since the 1960s at least, with the development of large away followings and hooliganism, Manchester United fans have often expressed some allegiance to Manchester, particularly in their songs, which have overwhelmingly directed abuse at their rivals such as Liverpool and Leeds. However, these fans now emphasize the importance of being Mancunian, which was never a particularly important issue while United were unsuccessful in the 1970s and 1980s and before commercialism had increased the number of out-of-town supporters encouraging other fans to question the authenticity of United. For instance, the heated and extensive debate over the importance of United fans being from Manchester only became a topic of discussion in informal conversations and in the fanzines in 1993, after Manchester United won the Championship for the first time in 26 years and were first subjected to the chant, 'Do you come from Manchester?'. This so-called 'out-of-town' debate became from then a dominant theme in the fanzines for the following two years and is still a point of discussion. In the course of this 'out-of-town' debate, the issue of Mancunian identity has gained a new self-conscious significance for this network of fans which was never the case in the past, where their Mancunian identity was merely taken for granted and had no special significance. Different fans have now adopted different positions with regard to the out-of-town debate so that many Mancunian fans see any non-local support as inauthentic but for most local masculine fans in the 1990s, it is possible to be a United fan without being a Mancunian but the Mancunian identity has been increasingly highlighted. In particular, it is better to be a Mancunian United fan because a Mancunian fan's understanding of the club and its relationship to the city is deeper. Thus, for instance, a contributor to *United We Stand*, significantly calling himself 'Abbey Hey', after a district in the city from which this writer presumably comes to denote his authentic attachment to this network writes:

The Manchester in MU means so much more to Mancunian Reds and there for me is the difference – Manchester is not just the love of the club in the west of the City, it's our home, it enlivens our experience, it forms our ways, it loves you back. East-Central Manchester for is the J-Stand of Manchester – quiet, unassuming but beats with a deep heart. (*United We Stand* 1995: 26–7)

In addition to this new emphasis on the locale of Manchester, there is a widespread rejection of England among these masculine fans. Clearly, there were fans in the past who would have been uninterested in the England team and there are obvious examples such as Celtic, where fans do not support their national team but the difference at Manchester United in the 1990s is the extent to which this disconnection from England – and particularly the England national team – has been emphasized, paralleling the growing significance of Manchester to these fans. In the past, whether fans supported or did not support the England team was irrelevant to their support of United but it has now become a contentious issue, where fans either self-consciously reject (or continue to support) the England team. Increasingly, however, the majority reject allegiance to the English national team.

I said, ‘I’m being totally honest; I hope England get sent home after the first round [of the 1998 World Cup] so that our players can get a rest before next season’. And he said, ‘Do you mean that?’ And I said, ‘I mean it’. For United in Europe, the cause is a lot greater than England’s. We pay the wages, they’re our players. If they can get a rest before next season, that will be a bonus. (Gordon, personal interview, 30, April 1998)¹¹

Gordon explained this rejection of England: ‘“Stand up if you hate Man U” at England game – that’s happened this year, hasn’t it? (Gordon, personal interview, 30 April 1998). In rejecting the England football team, these United fans make an interesting and potentially important critique of English nationalism which they no longer see as a universal identity which encompasses all English people but rather only an expression of the particular interests of regionally located groups. For these United fans, English nationalism is the appropriate identity of the South (which has benefited from the free market policies of national governments, particularly under Thatcher) or of those small clubs (also often in the South) whose fans’ only hope of foreign travel (and status) is with the England team.

Most cities in the north of England have got less reason to feel a national identity than down south. (Gordon, personal interview, 30 April 1998)

The national team is there to give supporters of small time crap little clubs – West Ham, Millwall, Leeds, City etc. – the chance to lord it up abroad watching a team that at least has a chance of winning, unlike their own tin-pot lowly outfit. This is the view of the majority of United fans and indeed supporters of other big clubs, usually in the North (Liverpool and Everton), subscribe to firmly. (*United We Stand* 1998: 8)

It should be noted that these United fans are not rejecting appeals to all forms of nationalism or allegiance to the British state but rather they are specifically withdrawing themselves from relationships with other (mainly masculine) football fans from other clubs who support the England team. They are rejecting a group of identified individuals – the supporters of

smaller and especially southern teams – with whom they no longer wish to be associated through supporting England.¹² Significantly, while these Mancunian fans may reject nationalism as a particularistic identity of the South, the fans who vilify Manchester United and its players at England games are simultaneously transforming their own once universalist nationalist ideas into an avowedly particularistic one for their allegiance to England now excludes Manchester United and its fans. Thus, even those fans who continue to espouse nationalism and, therefore, seem to affirm long-standing, universal traditions have in fact quite radically altered the form which their nationalism takes. It is a nationalism which has become increasingly regional in orientation and which now sees parts of England as alien to the nation; Manchester United and its supporters are seen as being outside the imagined community of men to whom these fans commit themselves when they support the England team.

Given United fans' rejection of the English national team, its fans and, at some moments, English nationalism more generally, the question of the appropriate conduct in Europe has become a central concern for United fans, especially in the light of the prominent coverage given to the often violent and xenophobic conduct of England fans abroad. It is increasingly important for these United fans that they distinguish themselves from England fans abroad by their behaviour if they are to establish themselves as distinctively Mancunian.

You're going away. You're taking your club. You're taking your city to a foreign field. That sort of theory's been espoused on behalf of why England supporters cause trouble. United fans don't necessarily not cause trouble but they don't take their national identity abroad, they take their identity as Man United fans abroad. They are more cosmopolitan, more clued up, they're more hospitable and less antagonistic to foreign supporters. They go over in big numbers, they drink lots of beer, they sing lots of songs but they get on with the locals. (Mike Adams, personal interview, 15 May 1998)

However, since many United fans, especially (according to this group) non-Mancunian ones, still appeal to national affiliations when abroad, often singing songs associated with England such as the national anthem, this 'local' network of United fans have had to distinguish themselves from a significant body of United fans if they are to sustain their distinctively Mancunian identity. This rejection of nationalist United fans is often ferocious

Why do certain United fans feel they have to behave like cretinous arseholes every time they step foot on foreign soil? All this chanting 'Engerland, Engerland' and 'No surrender to the IRA' etc. has no place on a United away trip. (*Red Issue* 1997: 1)

Significantly, the fans who are rejected for their nationalism by the Mancunian fans are connected by these fans to the commercialization of the club. The fans who inappropriately sing nationalistic songs are also seen to

be those who wear replica shirts rather than 'casual' clothing, thereby, demonstrating a double inauthenticity: they are English nationalists rather Mancunians and are the creation of commercialization. For instance, an article in *United We Stand* called 'Men Behaving Badly' which complained about the increasing presence of fans who threaten the reputation of Manchester United featured a photograph of a replica shirt-wearing United fan cavorting with a belly dancer which was intended to demonstrate graphically the kind of embarrassing practices which the author regarded as inappropriate for true (Mancunian) fans (*United We Stand* 1998: 18). This linkage between inappropriate behaviour abroad and the commercialization of the club is significant for throughout the 1990s, as Manchester United has converted itself into a very successful leisure company, the masculine fans, who have constituted the dedicated part of United's following from the 1960s onwards, have increasingly sought to differentiate themselves from 'new' fans attracted by the club's success (see King 1997; 1998). These 'new' fans who are seen as a threat to the masculine fans since they are both taking the place of masculine fans in the ground and also putatively ruining the atmosphere in the ground by not singing are symbolically identified by wearing the replica-shirt. The same individuals who are seen as emblematic of the commercialization of the club which the masculine fans reject are now seen as threatening the status of these masculine fans abroad. Typically, these nationalist, commercialized fans are also seen as not properly masculine.

Yet it's the other end of the spectrum where arguably the biggest lesson in United conduct abroad is required. The lot who actually believe that they are somehow the true Reds abroad. The lot whose first whiff of foreign air reduces them to absolute arseholes. Acting up as Jack Large in a foreign bar doesn't mark you down as a leading face [a well-known hooligan], likewise ripping Italian cab driver's doesn't mark you down as jib master general.¹³ (*United We Stand* 1999: 23)

These non-Mancunian fans have adopted specious forms of masculine practice which they believe gives them status in foreign cities but which, in fact, only demonstrates their backward insularity.

By contrast, for the Mancunian network of masculine fans, demonstrating their non-Englishness and their masculine Mancunian identity, involves potentially more considerate behaviour in Europe or, at least, it requires restrained and inconspicuous behaviour when there is no significant threat to the status of these men. By behaving more casually in Europe, Mancunian United fans seek to denote both their distinction from English fans but also to demonstrate that they are thoroughly familiar with the Continent and do not feel the need to assert themselves publicly when in foreign cities. However, while these United fans prefer inconspicuousness for the most part, highly visible forms of public disorder in the form of confrontations with the police or with opposing fans are certainly condoned if it is necessary for the defence of their masculine status.

As Feyenoord last season showed we can still tear it up a bit when the need calls for it. But there is a time and a place, and Milan wasn't the place, just as Barcelona wasn't and Porto wasn't. We are talking about the great cities of Europe here, playing the great clubs of Europe and yet an increasing number of Reds insist on playing the village idiot that we accuse so many of our rivals of being. (*United We Stand* 1999: 23)

For masculine fans, the mark of a true Mancunian United fan is one who is able to fight but will only do so if it is unavoidable or, in the case of the hooligan elite, if the opposition is worthy of attack. This network of United fans claim that they are not interested in asserting their masculine status on a parochial and insular level like nationalist fans by abusing all foreigners, but want to establish their status as representatives of Manchester United by acting in a way which demands the respect of the locals, not merely their hatred. Random abuse of innocents is dishonourable and brings Manchester United into disrepute.¹⁴ Of course, it is not clear whether the locals see these fans in this way.¹⁵ Moreover, there is no objective standard of when it is the appropriate time to 'tear it up'. Rather the appropriately masculine and Mancunian place to fight is often determined, in fact, when the masculine fans who are recognized as part of this group – and especially the members of this group associated with United's hooligan group – engage in fighting. As Mike Adams commented, United fans do not necessarily not fight but, it might be inferred, when they do their violence is interpreted as being in the name of Manchester rather than a nationalist assault on and it is justified by the provocation of opposing fans. It is, therefore, legitimately masculine and Mancunian rather than nationalistic. Inhabitants of foreign cities may well miss that distinction but to this network of United fans, this definition of violence is crucial to them; it constitutes the basis of a newly imagined community grounded in the re-invented 'locale' of Manchester.

Thus, these United fans reject England and see themselves as European but this notion of Europeanhood has nothing to do with any putatively common cultures and histories shared with the other nations of Europe. Rather these United fans want Manchester United to be recognized as the equal of the biggest European clubs and they want themselves to be seen as the equals of the fans in these clubs. For these fans, European integration involves ever greater competition with the largest and most famous clubs in Europe. It is only by competing with and beating these other clubs both economically and on the field that their status as masculine fans is sustained and enhanced. Increasing European competition has expanded the horizons of these United fans so that they now situate Manchester United in a specifically European context rather than a merely national one and they see that European context as the crucial arena in which to assert their status in their relations with other fans both domestic and European. Consequently, the putative Europhilism of these fans ironically involves an increasing sense of their difference from other European clubs and other

European fans and, indeed, in the case of Feyenoord and Juventus, a growing and increasingly intimate hatred of them. The 'other' against which they are beginning to develop a European consciousness is not an 'other' which is external to Europe, which has concerned philosophers such as Habermas and Derrida, but an internal European other; the great clubs of Europe and their fans.

United's real rivals are now in Europe. The standard of English football has declined sharply and United are getting so much bigger than every other English club that we are miles ahead of our domestic opponents both on and off the pitch. (*United We Stand 2000*: 7)

These fans are increasingly re-positioning Manchester United and themselves as fans in a transnational competition with the other big clubs of Europe which is gradually becoming more significant than domestic competition – especially against the smaller teams in the League – and the national team itself. However, while these United fans are increasingly regarding Manchester United as the competitor of the likes of Juventus and Barcelona and rivalries with the fans of those clubs are developing somewhat, the key rivals for these United fans remain the masculine fans of other big local clubs, in particular, Liverpool, Leeds and Manchester City and Mancunian fans wish to demonstrate their superiority primarily to the fans of these clubs. The demand for status on a European scale has in no way effaced their rivalries with these fans of their domestic opponents for European triumphs are a central means of establishing superiority over these rivals. Thus, although these United fans increasingly view the club as connected to competitions and networks which have extended well beyond English league, their demand for success at this European and even global level derives primarily from their desire for status in their interactions with these fans whom they encounter in their everyday lives and at games against these domestic teams. The development of a post-national consciousness among these men is not inculcated from on high by the idealistic rhetoric of the Commission but, on the contrary, emerges organically out of the struggles for recognition and status which occurs in the frequent interactions between the masculine supporters of rival clubs in and around Manchester.

Europe and the City of Manchester

Significantly, these United fans do not only think that Manchester United should be part of these wider European flows but that the city of Manchester itself should also strive to integrate itself and compete as fully as possible with the other cities of Europe. Echoing the rejection of nationalistic practices by certain inauthentic United fans, this network increasingly re-imagines the city in line with their anti-English and cosmopolitan sentiments. Thus, the Abbey Hey contributor, cited above, was specific that the

greatest source of pride which he had in Manchester was its celebration of diversity.

I'm proud of the city's diversity, it's no surprise the gay village in Manchester is so vibrant . . . I'm proud of my Dad and Lenny Johnson (a famous Beswick boxer of the thirties) who went down to Belle Vue in 1962 to give it Oswald Mosley when he attempted to march. (*United We Stand* 1995: 27)

This theme of Manchester's diversity was repeated elsewhere both in the fanzines and in interviews.

Manchester has never been about boundaries, never been about lines on the map or about local authority bureaucracy. Manchester is not so much a city, as a state of mind. The whole history is one of progress and one of change but more importantly one of people. People who refuse to accept the boundaries of the mind. The least English city in the country, a city that drew influence from all over the world. To deny that is to deny your history, to deny the essence of Manchester. That's the Manchester that [Manchester] City fans seek to deny as they increasingly resemble small-town hicks, little-Englander mancs, insular, backward and decidedly non-mancunian. (*United We Stand* 1996: 6)

In line with these claims, Richard Kurt also emphasized this Mancunian diversity referring to Manchester as a 'celtic and immigrant city' (personal interview, 12/5/98). Significantly, the fans are re-describing the city in accordance with the new self-understandings which are emerging in this group. Since they see themselves as cosmopolitan, they have re-invented the city as a diverse place so that it can stand as an appropriate symbol for their network informing the fans' actions. The locale has been re-negotiated to embody the common values of this group.

This notion of Manchester as a diverse, Celtic city and of Mancunian United fans being unconcerned with national identity or open towards foreigners is an imagined claim which deliberately illuminates those features of Manchester which these fans now find politically and culturally meaningful but which in the past were irrelevant. Even in the present they are by no means the whole truth about United or Manchester. For instance, there is no evidence to suggest that Manchester City and its fans are 'little Englanders' and 'non-Mancunian'. Moreover, many Mancunian United fans celebrate their Englishness and find no contradiction between the local and national identifications. For instance, in a reply to a letter dismissing England and Englishness published in *United We Stand*, another fan insisted that the support of the national team and nationalism itself were entirely compatible with supporting United (*United We Stand* 1998: 11). Yet, even though some of these masculine fans still support the England team and consider themselves English, the idea of Manchester described above has emerged as a recognizable and reasonably stable symbol and is widely called upon to inform their actions.

Not only do fans among this network emphasize the cosmopolitanism and diversity of Manchester, but these fans have become increasingly aware of the economic development of the city from a formerly decaying industrial city into a post-Fordist, service-oriented city of international significance which is capable of competing with the major cities of Europe. In a vitriolic piece in *United We Stand*, a regular contributor called 'Manky' John, produced a piece entitled 'A Tale of One City' in which the contributor vilified Bolton (which he termed a 'parochial hill-billy hick town'). This piece was the third in a series, called 'A Tale of Two Cities', in the previous parts of which the author had sought to demonstrate the superiority of Manchester over Birmingham in Part One (*United We Stand* 1999: 22–23) and Leeds in Part Two (*United We Stand* 1999: 16–17). Although by no means all United fans in this network would subscribe to the contributor's views about Bolton itself, the interesting point of the article was 'Manky' John's complaints about the media representation of Manchester as a city. He complains that the image of Manchester was created by the well-known Boddington's adverts produced by 'London based, ex-Thatcher loving Saatchi and Saatchi' (*United We Stand* 1999: 28) and is, consequently, a false and damaging image of Manchester produced by outsiders. Echoing the fans, cited above, who see English nationalism as the expression of southern interests, John highlights the way in which London and the South (which often employs universalistic nationalist rhetoric) in fact threatens the interests of other cities and regions in Britain. Significantly, John blames Bolton for the ability of media companies in the south to put false and damaging images on Manchester.

The media image of Coronation Street should have ceased to represent Manchester years ago, but until our surrounding pie-towns learn the meaning of progression the stereotype ain't going anywhere. And it won't matter what image of the city we try to paint in the meantime, there'll still be some Bolton mill-chimney defacing the skyline like an ugly cousin in a wedding photo. (*United We Stand* 1999: 28)

Although it is a mere assertion that Bolton threatens Manchester's attempts to re-position itself in global networks, the significant point about the contributor's complaint is that he views the architectural legacy of the cotton industry on which Manchester's initial wealth was founded as a threat to Manchester's current economic position. The author rejects the industrial image of Manchester and promotes the post-Fordist, service-oriented transformation of Manchester, which is re-configuring the cityscape. Crucially, as far as this fan is concerned Manchester can only renovate itself successfully if it is allowed to operate autonomously without interference from the exploiting south or from regressive areas in the North.¹⁶

The independent transformation of Manchester into an 'informational' city, as Castells would call it (1996), was also emphasized by other fans. Although less vitriolic than the contributor to his fanzine, Andy Mitten, the

editor of *United We Stand*, also confirmed the importance of transforming Manchester and its image. Significantly, he regards the football club as having an important role in this renovation.

There is no doubt that Manchester United has raised the profile of Manchester as a city. There's been features done on Manchester as a city which would never have been done if it wasn't for Manchester United and it is good to be given a chance to shatter this dirty northern, industrial, smoking chimney-stacks image which Manchester has been type-casted with – and it has. (Andy Mitten, personal interview, 30 April 1998)

He was not alone among the fans in connecting the development of Manchester United and the city as a whole.

Sport has generated an enormous amount of business activity, economic activity, cultural activity, tourist activity. It's tremendous now. Manchester is unrecognizable to ten years ago. Certainly from a business point of view, economically, tourist-wise, cultural-wise; there's a different culture now, a 90s culture which started or seemed to start from the bid [for the 2000 Olympics]. We knew we were never going to win the Olympic bid but the belief that the Olympic bid subconsciously gave the city . . . I think there are a lot of far-sighted and innovative people in Manchester. I actually look at it sometimes in the cold light of day – certainly from a business point of view – it's booming. (Ray Ekersley, personal interview, 13 May 1998)

Although Ray Ekersley does not specifically talk about football here, he notes like Andy Mitten the symbolic importance of sporting success such as the staging of a major event in a city or the possession of a major team, like Manchester United, in raising the international profile of the city and in encouraging development. The success of Manchester United is seen as part of the economic development of Manchester as a city by these fans and both developments are increasingly situated at a transnational, European level in which Manchester and Manchester United must detach themselves from hobbling national ties to compete for status and economic rewards at the highest level.

In the light of the growing importance of Europe to this network of fans, their recognition of the connection between the city's economic renovation and the success of Manchester United is significant. For just as they are concerned that Manchester United competes with the best clubs in Europe and that they as fans gain recognition in the great cities of Europe, these fans are beginning to recognize the increasing economic competition between the major cities in Europe. They want Manchester to be part of the '90s culture', as Ray Ekersley puts it, that is, part of the entrepreneurial, informational and service-oriented economy so that Manchester can compete with other cities across Europe. For these fans, European integration means increasing competition and struggles for status and financial rewards not only with other European clubs but also with other

European cities and the declining importance of and growing disembeddedness from national ties. Just as they view competition with clubs like Coventry as of little significance in comparison with games against the likes of Juventus and Feyenoord (*United We Stand* 1997: 29), so has Manchester's standing as a major city in Europe in relation to other European cities become an increasing concern to these fans. Mirroring the process of globalization which increasingly undermines the formerly national framework and brings regions and cities in different nations into more direct competition, the post-national identity of these United fans is not demonstrating any supranationalism, as various theorists have discussed, but rather a growing emphasis on the local and urban. Their consciousness matches the complex processes of globalization which is cutting across national boundaries to produce new transnational networks of inclusion and exclusion and of success and failure. Through their support of Manchester United, these fans reveal the way that these complex globalizing processes are reconfiguring social interactions and solidarities at the everyday level to highlight the new salience of local or regional affiliations which are increasingly situated in a transnational context.

CONCLUSION

It would be wrong to overstate the significance of the emergence of a 'post-national' identity among this group of United fans who are increasingly drawing on a re-invented notion of Manchester in their social practice. This is a relatively small network of individuals and their emphasis on Manchester is neither fully established nor completely universal among this group. However, the attempts by these fans to assert the status of Manchester United and the city of Manchester in the context of European competition at least provides some ethnographic evidence to suggest that the increasingly intense economic competition between regions and cities in Europe which has been discussed by Castells (1994, 1998), for instance, is being reflected in the organic transformation of social relations and identities in everyday life. This network of Manchester United fans may highlight a wider process where individuals across Europe are increasingly attaching themselves to their local city or region as the interests of that city or region become increasingly detached from the former national context to be re-integrated into wider European flows.

However, the exclusiveness of this nascent local identity even among those individuals who do demonstrate this post-national localism must not be exaggerated. Although in their participation in one form of consumption, certain fans increasingly highlight Manchester and its place in Europe, there are many cross-cutting relations in the lives of these individuals which link them to England and to Britain. When the occasion arises, these relations may be more important than their relations to the network of fans which they have established through following United and at that moment,

appeals to Englishness may become important to them. In their consumption of football, these United fans express a new Mancunian identity but these new networks have not effaced all other social relations such as their relationship to the British state or to other English people with whom they share a common culture, despite their present rejection of certain appeals to Englishness. To insist that this local affiliation is essential and primary to all others and to ignore the other networks in which these individuals are bound is to maintain an anachronistically monolithic concept of social life. The New Europe is likely to be about emergent regional competition and identities but national identities and states will remain extremely important for the foreseeable future at least, at odds with these regional affiliations at different moments and in different ways depending on the allegiances which particular networks of social relations demand. However, if we are to understand the nature of the New Europe, it must be through detailed immersion into the social networks and practices of individuals who are part of the new entity, rather than mere assertion about what individuals in their actual lives must do and think. These Manchester United fans are a small group of individuals involved in one particular aspect of European integration but, in themselves their experiences are valid, and may point towards a re-negotiation of identities which is going on much more widely across Europe.

(Date accepted: April 2000)

Anthony King,
Department of Sociology,
University of Exeter

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To two anonymous referees for their useful comments on this paper, to the University of Exeter and the ESRC for funding the research projects on which this paper is based and to the individuals who were agreed to be interviewed for this research.

NOTES

1. There has been an extensive debate about the nation-state in the post-Fordist era, some proposing that the nation-state is on its last legs (Schmidt 1995; Ohmae 1993), some claiming that it has never been stronger (Milward 1992), while others have argued most plausibly that it is has transformed itself so that it is losing some of its tradition roles while developing new ones (Mann 1993; Cable 1995; Strange 1995).

2. In this, the article echoes the approach of recent European anthropologies, whose close engagement with the actualities of everyday life flesh out and illuminate more 'structuralist' macro accounts of the new Europe (see, Nadel-Klein 1991; Gal 1991; Goddard et al. 1994).

3. Although *United We Stand* and *Red Issue* are sold to fans outside the network of Manchester-based fans, the majority are read and contributed to by local masculine

supporters from the network on which this research is based. The fanzines are, therefore, an excellent source of information on these groups because they are primarily written and read by these masculine fans. Moreover, the fanzines serve to triangulate the findings from the interviews and to demonstrate their widespread applicability to this group because the fanzines overwhelmingly repeat and re-assert the claims which the fans made in interview and in fieldwork research. They suggest that the small sample of interviews with this group provides a valid and accurate account of the wider understandings of this group.

4. This paper is based on research initially funded by Exeter University among a specific group of Manchester United fans, who were originally informants for my doctoral research (see King 1995), involved a field trip with these fans to Munich for a Champions' League match in September 1998, a set of interviews with a selection of these fans in 1998 and analysis of the two main club fanzines, *United We Stand* and *Red Issue*. This research is presently being extended as a result of an ESRC research award, including more fieldwork which will culminate in further interviews with fans as well as research into the business developments within the game. The fans who are part of this network are generally situated in the more affluent new working-class positions of the white-collar workforce although this network does include some individuals, especially in United's hooligan firm (members of which have not been interviewed here) who are involved in criminal activities. The following fans were interviewed for this study (names of individual who do not hold formal, public positions have been changed): Mike Adams, IMUSA committee; Paul, clerk; Gordon, ex-crane driver, now mature student; Jeff, clerk; Ray Ekersley, IMUSA committee, owns local business distributing coffee machines; Richard Kurt, author, fanzine contributor; Dan computer analyst in holiday firm; Andy Mitten, *United We Stand* editor, free-lance journalist; Stuart, clerk; Mark, student, fanzine contributor; Andy Walsh, computer consultant, Chairman IMUSA. Chris was employed at a white-collar level at a Leeds fabric factory, until recently made redundant. Although

this is a small group of fans on which to base any research, the individuals views accord with wider understandings expressed in informal conversations with other fans in the network (especially in the course of current ESRC-funded research trips to Graz, Marseille, Zagreb and Florence). Furthermore, the fans in this group were interviewed because they are formally involved in IMUSA or the fanzines, *United We Stand* and *Red Issue*, or connected to individuals who are. Their views are particularly relevant, therefore, because they have intimate access to the network on which this research is based and are, in fact, among the key opinion formers in this group, being frequently called upon in the media to represent the opinions and attitudes of this group, although there are differences of opinion in this group especially between IMUSA and the hooligan firm.

5. Appadurai has postulated five 'scapes' in which differing, overlapping and potentially contradictory communities are imagined in the contemporary world; namely, ethnoscaples, mediascaples, technoscaples, financiescaples and ideoscaples (Appadurai 1994: 296; 1996: 33). For reasons of space and relevance, I omit discussion of these terms here.

6. There is a potential divide in this fan group between those individuals who are strictly Mancunian and those who are from Salford but since the appeal to Manchester usually encompasses Salford (and the rest of Greater Manchester), the notion of Mancunian identity used throughout the article includes references to Salford which are sometimes made by the fans.

7. On 4 October 1999, Manchester announced its yearly 1999 turnover as over £110 million with profits of over £32 million.

8. Since November 1998, the biggest European clubs formally recognized themselves as a distinct interest group and now call themselves somewhat pretentiously, the G14. The G14 clubs are: AC Milan, Ajax, Arsenal, Barcelona, Bayern Munich, Porto, Borussia Dortmund, Inter, Juventus, Liverpool, Manchester United, Olympique de Marseille, Paris Saint-Germain and Real Madrid.

9. Several fans said that they liked to

see the cities they were visiting and not just spend the time inside bars.

10. Several fans stated that the rivalries with European fans could never get to the level of those with certain English clubs such as Liverpool, City and Leeds because United fans simply did not interact with European fans enough (Andy Walsh, personal interview, 30 April 1998).

11. The growing conflict of interest between the national team and the clubs has been an increasing aspect of European football as player salaries have increased: 'Clubs are now paying players such enormous wages that it does not make business sense to pay them for a week or ten days when they are away with the national team' (Uli Hoeness, general manager, Bayern Munich, *World Soccer*, January 1999: 27).

12. There is some evidence that English nationalism is rejected by other United fans. Anti-England chants have been sung widely by crowds at Old Trafford in the 1998–9 season and, before the game against Croatia Zagreb, fans mainly from Wales and London spontaneously sang anti-English songs in a pub near Old Trafford (14 September 1999).

13. The term 'jib' means to gain entry without paying. In the 1980s, a section of United's hooligan firm called themselves the 'Inter-City Jibbers', a play on West Ham's famous ICF (Inter-City Firm), which referred to their avoidance of payment on trains to away games as well as any other event which required entrance fees.

14. Clearly, there are many United fans in this group that never fight.

15. In several interviews fans (e.g. Richard Kurt, Ray Ekersley) revealed that European fans may not recognize the distinctions which United fans are so careful to make in order to distinguish themselves from England fans. In the game against Juventus in Turin in 1999, there were many abusive signs displayed by Juventus fans, including some which referred to the Heysel disaster and which apportioned the blame to United, presumably on the grounds that they are English, even though it was Liverpool fans that had been involved. The United fans found this confusion of themselves for their most hated rivals extraordinary.

16. It is interesting that in recognizing the need for the city of Manchester to compete with other European cities, the fans reflected the views of many of the most important business and council leaders in the city of Manchester, the so-called 'Manchester Mafia', who have since the mid-1980s tried to place-market the city in order to improve its position in the global economy (see Peck and Tickell, 1995; Peck 1995; Harding 1997; Cochrane et al. 1996).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allan, J.** 1989 *Bloody Casuals*, Scotland: Famedram.
- Anderson, B.** 1990 *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso.
- Appadurai, A.** 1994 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy', in M. Featherstone (ed.) *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*. London: Sage.
- 1996 *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Balibar, E.** 1991 'Es gibt keinen Staat in Europa: Racism and Politics in Europe Today', *New Left Review* 186 March/April: 5–19.
- Bance, A.** 1992 'The Idea of Europe: from Erasmus to ERASMUS', *Journal of European Studies* 22, Part 1, (85): 1–19.
- Cable, V.** 1995 'The Diminished Nation-State: a study in the loss of economic power', *Daedalus* 124(2): 23–53.
- Castells, M.** 1994 'European Cities, the Informational Society and the Global Economy' *New Left Review* 204: 18–32.
- 1996 *The Informational City*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- 1998 *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. Vol 1. The Rise of Network Society*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Chilton, B., Day, M., Holt, P. and Williams, P.** 1997 *If the Reds Should Play . . . in Rome or Mandalay*, Sheffield: Jama.
- Chrysochoou, D.** 1996 'Europe's Would-be Demos: Recasting the Debate', *West European Politics* 19(4): 787–801.
- Cochrane, A., Peck, J. and Tickell, A.** 1996 'Manchester Plays Games: Exploring the Local Politics of Globalisation', *Urban Studies* 33(8): 1319–36.

- Delanty, G.** 1995 *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality*, London: Macmillan.
- 1996 'The Resonance of Mitteleuropa: a Habsburg Myth or Anti-Politics?', *Theory, Culture and Society* 13(4): 93–108.
- Derrida, J.** 1992 *The Other Heading: reflections on Today's Europe*, Indiannopolis: Indiana University Press.
- Gal, S.** 1991 'Bartok's Funeral: representations of Europe in Hungarian political rhetoric', *American Ethnologist* 18(3): 440–58.
- Geertz, C.** 1973 'Deep Play: notes on the Balinese cockfight', in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books.
- Goddard, V., Llobera, J. and Shore, C. (eds)** 1994. *The Anthropology of Europe*, Oxford: Berg.
- Habermas, J.** 1993 'The Second Life Fiction of the Federal Republic: we have become "Normal" Again', *New Left Review* 197(1): 58–66.
- Harding, A.** 1997 'Urban Regimes in a Europe of Cities', *European Urban and Regional Studies* 5(4): 291–311.
- Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (eds)** 1983 *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hutchinson, J. and Smith, A. (eds)** 1994 *Nationalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- King, A.** 1995 *The Premier League and the New Consumption of Football*, Doctoral Dissertation, Institute for Social Research, University of Salford.
- 1997 'The Lads: masculinity and the new consumption of football', *Sociology* 31(2): 329–46.
- 1998 *The End of the Terraces: the transformation of English football in the 1990s*, London: Leicester University Press.
- Mann, M.** 1993 'Nation-States in Europe and Other Developing Continents: diversifying, developing, not dying', *Daedalus* 122(3): 115–40.
- Milward, A.** 1992 *The European Rescue of the Nation State*, London: Routledge.
- Morley, D. and Robins, K.** 1990 'No Place like Heimat: images of Home(land) in European Culture', *New Formations* 12 (Winter): 1–23.
- Nadel-Klein, J.** 1991 'Revealing the Fringe: localism, tradition and representation in British ethnography', *American Ethnologist* 18(3): 500–17.
- Ohmae, K.** 1993 'The Rise of the Region-State', *Foreign Affairs* 72(2): 78–87.
- Peck, J.** 1995 'Moving and Shaking: Business Elites, State Localism and Urban Privatism', *Progress in Human Geography* 19(1): 16–46.
- Peck, J. and Tickell, A.** 1995 Business Goes Local: dissecting the business agenda in Manchester', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 19(1): 55–78.
- Pietersee, J.** 1991 'Fictions of Europe', *Race and Class* 32(3): 3–10.
- Redhead, S.** 1991 'An era of the end, or the end of an era: football and youth culture in Britain', in J. Williams and S. Wagg, (eds) *British Football and Social Change: getting into Europe* London: Leicester University Press.
- Red Issue* 1997 'Editorial', 9(10) April: 1.
- Schlesinger, P.** 1994 'Europeanness: a new cultural battlefield?' in J. Hutchinson and A. Smith (eds) op. cit.
- Schmidt, V.** 1995 'The New World Order, Incorporated: the rise of business and the decline of the nation-state', *Daedalus* 124(2): 75–106.
- Smith, A.** 1992 'National Identities and 'Europe': National Identity and the idea of European Union', *International Affairs* 68(1): 55–76.
- Strange, S.** 1995 'The Defective State', *Daedalus* 124(2): 55–74.
- Tassin, E.** 1992 'Europe: A Political Community?' in C. Mouffe (ed.) *Dimensions of Radical Democracy*. London: Verso.
- Touraine, A.** 1994 'European Countries in a Post-National Era' in C. Rootes and H. Davis (eds) *Social Change and Political Transformation*, London: University College London Press.
- United We Stand* 2000 'Gus', Issue 90 March: 7.
- 1999 'A Tale of One City', Issue 81 May: 23.
- 1999 'A Tale of Two Cities: Leeds', Issue 80 April: 16–17.
- 1999 'A Tale of Two Cities: Birmingham', Issue 79 March: 22–3.
- 1998 'Men Behaving Badly', Issue 71 May: 18.
- 1998 'UWS Letters', Issue 68 February: 11.
- 1998 'UWS Letters: England for me means nothing', Issue 67 January: 8.
- 1997 'Redheaded: we people who

are darker than blue', Issue 66 December: 29.

— 1996 'Irwellian Thoughts', Issue 58 December: 6.

— 1995 'Abbey Hey', Issue 49 October: 26–7.

Weiler, J., Haltern, U., Mayer, F. 1995

'European Democracy and its Critique', *West European Politics* 18(3): 4–39.

Woeber, O. 1995 'Identity, Integration and Security: studying the sovereignty puzzle', *Journal of International Affairs* 48(2): 389–431.