

1 **Beers and Blurred Boundaries: The Spatial and Gendered** 2 **Organisation of Pre-Match Venues for English Football Fans**

4 ***Abstract***

5 Academic research into sports fans has grown in recent years with studies examining a variety
6 of aspects associated with fandom. However, recent changes in the professionalisation and
7 commercialisation of sport have resulted in the creation of new spaces for fan experiences. In
8 this paper, we examine one of these created spaces, the fan zone. Through a case study on
9 match going fans of Everton Football Club we explore how this new space sits alongside
10 traditional pre-match gathering places such as the 'pub' and examine the gendered organisation
11 of these spaces. Drawing on Bale's concept of boundaries within sports fan communities we
12 show that traditional venues for pre-match activities enhance, maintain and legitimise
13 masculine boundaries within sports fandom. We argue that fan zones provide an alternative
14 match-day atmosphere and experience that is centred on a family friendly or at least family
15 inclusive culture.

16 ***Keywords***

17 Sports Stadiums, Football, Space, Ethnography, Gender, Fandom, Sportscape

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19 Football stadiums have been described as emblems of local identity that are inherently
20 influenced by norms of masculinity (Giulianotti & Armstrong 2002 see also Armstrong, 1998;
21 Armstrong & Harris, 1991). As a site, they have long been cast as masculine spaces (Bradbury,
22 2011; Hughson, 1999; Rubin, 2009; Wenner, 1998), and spaces for the construction and
23 maintenance of masculinity (King, 1997; Levant, 1997; Pearson, 2012; Pope, 2010). However,
24 changes made to spaces in and around football stadiums have disrupted this masculine
25 tradition. Clubs are increasingly marketing their brand as family friendly, or at the very least
26 family inclusive (see Cashmore & Cleland, 2012; Hughson & Poulton, 2008; Tapp & Clowes,
27 2000). The development of new sporting spaces that these fans engage with *en route* to a
28 stadium then challenges the naturalised and taken-for-granted hyper-masculine discourse
29 traditionally associated with match-day culture. The creation of official fan zones, we suggest,

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1 provides alternative experiences for some fans where pre-match entertainment is used to
2 engage and maintain fans' interest (and generate income) before they take their seats in the
3 stadium (Gladden and Milne 1999). However, these spaces remain on the periphery of football
4 culture, which still promotes a conventional 'masculine space and image' (Pope, 2017: 171).

5 In this study we consider how these new spaces coexist within traditional masculine
6 football cultures through physical and cultural gendered boundaries instituted by male and
7 female fans alike. Through a qualitative case study of Everton Football Club (hereafter
8 Everton), this paper explores two popular pre-match locations that highlight how the spatial
9 dimension of the sport environment remains crucial to understanding match-day fan behaviour.
10 In doing so we aim to show that the spatial and social environment of match-day influences
11 and encourages various types of sports fan behaviour within particular locations through
12 physical and cultural boundaries. The concept of boundaries describes the complex structures—
13 physical, social, ideological which establish differences and commonalities between women
14 and men, among women, and among men (Gerson and Peiss, 1985). Applied to the sporting
15 context, we consider how the symbolic and physical spaces within the match-day setting
16 reaffirm localised, heteronormative and gendered boundaries that naturalise football as a 'male
17 preserve' (Dunning, 1994). However, we also explore how the creation of new match-day
18 spaces can challenge traditional forms of hyper masculinity and male gatekeeping within the
19 sporting context.

20 **Conceptualising (Gendered) Boundaries in Sports Fandom**

21 This use of the concept of boundary within a sports fan community has been applied by Bale
22 (1993a, 1993b, 1996, 2000, 2002a, 2002b), who highlighted that sport with its enclosures and
23 rivalries is an important site for spatial analysis. Bale recognised that although sports fans may
24 support the same team, a categorical and physical distance separated different groups of fans
25 inside the stadium. The focus of boundary in his work remained predicated on social class,
26 where fans from primarily the working classes were spatially segregated from other fans as the
27 more socially and economically desirable groups of spectators were located in corporate boxes
28 (Bale, 1993b). We broaden his perspective to account for the continuity, shifts, and strains in
29 the construction of gendered boundaries in the contemporary football crowd. This focus builds

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1 on recent academic interest in how physical and social spaces can reflect gendered norms
2 within society (Carr, 2017; **Mowl & Turner, 1995; Pavlidis, 2018;** Van-Ingén, 2003; Waitt,
3 2008;). Recently, an edited collection by Koch (2017) explored the issue of sport, space, and
4 power and advocated the importance of advancing a critical geography of sport. Turcott (2018)
5 suggested that the collection provided a much needed 21st century rendition of Bale's work.
6 Written as a diverse set of case studies from a wide range of sports, the collection foregrounds
7 gender and the role of sporting spaces in (re)producing gender hierarchies (Koch, 2017: 5).
8 Building on such work, this paper also extends Bale's work in response to socio-spatial and
9 cultural changes to the match-day routines of football fans. 'New' spaces such as official fan
10 zones remain largely absent in his work, but which we consider as inscribing an alternative
11 experience to match-day that celebrates 'family friendly entertainment value' (Myrdahl, 2009:
12 294).

13 Scholars exploring the relationship between space and gender within a sporting context
14 have built on Bale's (1993a, 1996, 2002b) concept of sportscape, which refers to the
15 monocultural space within a city that is devoted to sporting practices. This includes the football
16 stadium and also the immediate material surroundings that encompass the sports field/stadium
17 (Bale, 1996). The sportscape is often the focus of intense power struggles over, for example,
18 the building of stadiums and/or the temporary or permanent closing of public space for sporting
19 events (John, 2015). In the modern context of football, the sportscape includes the stadium as
20 well as 'spaces' such as public houses (pubs), take-away shops, and the streets that surround it
21 that are frequented and transformed on match-day. Traditionally, it has been the local pub that
22 has provided the setting for pre-match gatherings of fans which, as detailed by Collins and
23 Vamplew (2000) has a long association with football. Fans (predominantly males) have
24 gathered at pubs for many years (both pre and post-match) and these spaces have been
25 described as 'an enduring site for fandom practice' (Dixon, 2014: 382). More recently, pubs
26 have also become venues for watching 'live' sport on the television, particularly for those
27 without access to sport on subscription television (Weed, 2006; 2007; 2008) further
28 highlighting the importance of this space and the evolving nature of fandom.

29 However, the need for football clubs to improve aspects of safety following stadium
30 tragedies such as the Hillsborough disaster and the Taylor report in the UK (Turner, 2014) has

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1 necessitated changes in the built environment of sportscape (Malcolm, Jones & Waddington,
2 2000; Finnegan and Rookwood, 2008). Recent stadium developments have also been driven
3 by commercial imperatives with a desire for venues to be used for a variety of business
4 activities and even other sports (Church & Penny, 2013; Kennedy & Kennedy, 2010). Weed
5 (2006) has argued that this ‘sanitising’ of stadiums has resulted in a culture of ‘pub supporting’,
6 with pubs assuming greater importance as a male-oriented ‘third-space’. As a site, the pub is
7 considered a public space where men can ‘mobilize and exert forms of control’ (Campbell,
8 2000: 564). Yet these developments are also shaping stadium spaces for fans to frequent.
9 Subsequently, new spaces such as official fan zones are considered in this paper as legitimate
10 sites of match-day engagement. It should be noted that Bale remains somewhat critical of
11 changes to traditional football stadiums, charting how the earlier suburban ground is slowly
12 being replaced by new multipurpose football stadiums, what he describes as the ‘tradium’ - a
13 commercialized space centred on mass consumption (2002a: 135). He considers such
14 landscapes to be ‘inauthentic’, warning that modern football stadiums may become
15 synonymous with concrete bowls or bland forms of container architecture (Bale, 1993b: 128).
16 However, we argue this criticism only applies when describing the atmosphere favoured by
17 those whom follow the traditional match-day routines discussed earlier.

18 Whilst fan zones have received some scholarly attention (Brannagan and Rookwood
19 2016; Klauser, 2012; Lauss & Szigetvari, 2010; Schnitzer & Stickdorn, 2012), the large
20 majority of this work focuses on mega-events and international football competitions.
21 Hagemann for example, investigated the UEFA European Football Championship in Zurich
22 and describes fan zones as extensions of the carnival where ‘the streets chosen as routes for
23 visitors, referred to as ‘Fan Miles’ or ‘Fan Boulevards’, carefully stage-manage the walk
24 through each downtown area to the fan zone’ (2010: 725). Fan zones at English football
25 stadiums, however, are tailored towards a family match-going crowd, where offerings appeal
26 particularly to young children. In these spaces, fans often partake in activities that include
27 football-related games for children, jumping castles and other inflatable obstacles, and ‘meet
28 and greets’ with players prior to the match. Therefore, we define fan zone as bounded spaces
29 external to the stadium that are set aside for family friendly fan engagement activities.

1 We suggest that as football has been institutionally organised with a focus on
2 'competition and hierarchy amongst men and the exclusion or domination of women' (Connell,
3 2005: 54), further consideration should be paid to the gendered nature of the football
4 sportscape. More specifically, how masculinity is not only constituted through fan behaviour
5 inside and around the stadium, but also how the spaces where these engagements take place
6 actively encourage or discourage particular fandom performances. In English football, these
7 behaviours have included violent and exaggeratedly aggressive practices in resistance to
8 authority and the use of language that is often sexist or homophobic (Jones, 2008). Jensen
9 (1992:15) paints a colourful image of typical fan behaviour being 'drunken destructiveness, a
10 rampage of uncontrollable masculine passion that is unleashed in response to a sports victory
11 or defeat'. Such behaviours have forced female fans to downplay their gender identities (Jones,
12 2008) for fear of being labelled as 'inauthentic' sports fans (Pope, 2014a). Sport is considered
13 a crucial site for the demarcation of gender as it 'serves to reproduce males as the standard and
14 hegemonic hyper/masculinity as the norm' (Mean, 2010: 144). Each of the spaces, traditional
15 and new, explored in this article will be shown to have created boundaries that mark belonging
16 and exclusion. This study contributes new insights into match-day experiences of sport fans
17 and gender relations in society more widely, demonstrating that space is political and
18 contestable. We contend that the dynamics of gender power relations exert control over who
19 belongs in particular spaces as well as the nature of particular interactions that occur within
20 these spaces,

21 **Method**

22 An interpretivist, qualitative case study method was adopted for this study. Case study research
23 is a stand-alone method that involves an in-depth investigation of a phenomenon within its
24 'real-world' context. Multiple sources of evidence are used and the case study method is often
25 seen as synonymous with qualitative research (Edwards & Skinner 2009). In this instance, an
26 ethnographic approach was adopted, utilising participant observation and qualitative
27 interviews. Drawing on data generated for a study that focused on the match-day experiences
28 and spatial location of Everton fans, this paper describes the process of travel to and subsequent
29 engagement in spaces surrounding Everton's home stadium of Goodison Park (hereafter
30 Goodison).

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1 Participant observation has been used to study marginalised subcultures in sport, with
2 a particular focus on dysfunctional fans and hooligans (Armstrong & Harris 1991; Giulianotti
3 1999; Hughson 1999;). Fieldwork data was collected over three Premier League football
4 seasons. In total, 20 matches were observed at Goodison by the lead author. Each match
5 generated approximately 4.5 hours of observation (including travel time), which totalled
6 approximately 100 hours in the field. The field consisted of Goodison and various sites that
7 fans favoured on match-day. In this way, observations extended to the streets leading up to
8 Goodison, food and merchandise stalls, as well as the pubs and fan zones. Due to the confines
9 of a research article, we have chosen to discuss observations of a typical pub on County Road
10 and Everton's fan zone. The selected pub is a large white building that is a 5-minute walk (0.2
11 mile) to Goodison. It has eaves painted in the blue of Everton's club colours, with some black
12 paint forming a perimeter at the bottom of the building. The bright and dominant colours of
13 blue, white, and black, are associated with Everton and act as symbolic markers (Cohen, 1985)
14 to reaffirm to local residence that this is a 'blue pub'.

15 Recording fieldwork notes would have been impossible to do whilst in the field and so
16 the researcher wrote them after match-day observations, usually on the night of the match. A
17 mobile phone was often used to write 'buzz words', or what Bernard (2006: 389) refers to as
18 'jotting notes' during observations. These in effect were short sentences or words that would
19 later act as trigger material and assist in recalling events that had happened during the
20 observations (AUTHOR A, 2016). The use of mobile devices by sports fans is now relatively
21 common at sports matches, with many teams and stadiums offering free Wi-Fi and encouraging
22 the use of mobile devices (Turner, 2014). Therefore, using devices to make initial observations
23 and thoughts did not need to be furtive, and was seen as acceptable fan behaviour by those
24 around the researcher. Using a mobile device with in-built photographic capabilities had the
25 added benefit of allowing events to be recorded "in multiple modalities" (Yin, 2011: 161).

26 This research also involved 25 semi-structured interviews with participants aged
27 between 20 and 70. Of those interviewed, fifteen were male and ten were female. One
28 participant had a physical disability, and two of the participants were mothers to young
29 children. The participants were all season ticket holders (club members), apart from two who
30 attend Goodison regularly with friends. In this way, the research subscribed to 'purposeful

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1 sampling' where suitable participants were sought out to discover, understand, and gain insight
2 about a particular phenomenon (Merriam, 1998). As the research became more refined in its
3 focus, the 'maximum variation purposeful sampling' technique was applied to refine and guide
4 the types of participants that were recruited.

5 What became apparent was the diversity in the football crowd with notable differences
6 in fans that were not entirely influenced by just gender and age. As a result of this observation,
7 the researchers shifted to recruiting fans, such as family fans (identified as mixed-gender
8 groups of adults and children), whose match-day experiences have often been overlooked
9 (AUTHOR A, 2018 in press). This adaptability enabled the research to expand on the typical
10 framework of sports fandom that homogenises the sports crowd as a single unit. The aim of
11 utilising this approach was to build on such work, by examining a wider spectrum of fans on
12 match-day, rather than focusing primarily on one fan type. Whilst this approach has limitations,
13 including lacking Geertzian's (1973) 'thick description' of one subcultural group that is
14 favoured by many football scholars, in many ways its breadth, as will be explained later in this
15 paper, gave a voice to fans that have typically been silent in academic literature.

16 **County Road: Beer and Banter**

17 I met Angus's wife tonight at the pub. I sat with her and their two children before
18 the match at the tables near the window. Angus didn't really hang around, but
19 left me there while he spoke to some of his friends near the bar. I can't remember
20 her name, but we spoke about her son playing football this weekend. I asked
21 why she comes to the pub but does not attend the matches. She remarked that it
22 was 'his' [referring to Angus] domain. She noted that she enjoyed coming to the
23 pub and hanging out with everyone but really had no interest in football, and
24 was actually, if anything, because of her family was a Liverpool fan. But I was
25 told in a joking matter to not remind Angus of this fact.

26 **(Fieldwork Note: 1/11/2014 vs. Norwich City)**

27

28 County Road sits just behind Goodison and is an iconic and revered space for Everton fans.
29 The street is lined with pubs and a variety of take-away shops, grocery stores and
30 gambling/betting agencies. Observations on County Road revealed fans that spent time here
31 prior/post-match were very familiar with the site. No one appeared lost, no one asked for

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1 directions, and no fans were observed taking photos of the landscape. Perhaps this is not that
2 surprising considering it is not a particularly attractive streetscape. In fact, some fans actively
3 avoided the street due to the unappealing streetscape or because it was considered to be ‘too
4 busy’ and/or ‘full of young drunk people’. As Cathy notes,

5 If my plan was to drive in, well there’s nowhere to usually go in Walton¹, you
6 know. Whereas in town, you know, you can go to the coffee shop or
7 whatever...but you know, let’s face it, Walton’s not a gentrified area and I think,
8 well I’m gentrified now (laughs).

9 **(Interview: Cathy, 50-60).**

10 However, for some fans, visiting Country Road prior to the match was just as, if not
11 more than, important than the match itself. These fans were overwhelmingly young males and
12 tended to be heavily involved in activities such as singing and chanting fan songs in and around
13 the pubs (and at games). As a group, they appeared to embody a hedonistic lifestyle centred on
14 mass consumption of alcohol (prior to entering Goodison). It is pubs that assume the greatest
15 importance for many Everton fans where socialised drinking served to legitimate and reproduce
16 masculine bonding as a ritual (Rowe & Gilmore, 2009). As Chris explained when describing
17 his early experiences of going to the match,

18 And then when I was old enough to drink or almost old enough to drink...a
19 drink in one of the locals before going in [to Goodison].

20 **(Interview Chris 30-40)**

21 The relationship between hyper-masculine, boisterous fan types and pubs has been well
22 documented in literature, with Weed describing the relationship between football, alcohol and
23 male bonding as “the holy trinity” (2007: 400). Armstrong notes that pubs form the meeting
24 spot before the match, and ‘the ones favoured by fans were within walking distance of the
25 football stadium’ (1998: 195). Similarly, Pearson described pubs as ‘factories’ where these fans
26 would work together to create songs and build social solidarity before the match (2012: 66).
27 Bale’s work on sportsapes highlights that locations such as pubs work to evoke the different

¹ Walton is the area where Goodison Park and County Road is located.

1 senses – mainly sight but also smell, sound and nostalgia which contribute to a positive sense
2 of place for a sports fan (2002b: 19). Dixon further noted how pubs are also a site for masculine
3 bonding in relation to football that he contends is ‘an acceptable leisure pursuit for men that is
4 passed down by football fans from one generation to the next’ (2014: 388). The findings of this
5 research suggest something different. Pubs on County Road were not just for hyper-masculine
6 fans and men generally, but are rather a melting pot of a variety of fan types on match-day.

7 Historically, pubs are conceived as a space for male bonding on match-day (Brown,
8 2010; Wenner and Jackson, 2009). Leyshon describes how they are a highly territorialised
9 place colonised mainly by different groups of men, resulting in women and the spaces that they
10 occupy being in marginal areas such as the corners, along the sides, and in beer gardens (2008:
11 276). Within this pub there was an organised structure in relation to where particular fans were
12 situated. For example, family fans sat together at the front, with the standing area immediately
13 around the bar dominated by mostly male fans. Female family fans were observed to be more
14 likely to take on primary childcare responsibilities in the pub setting, reflecting how gendered
15 norms pertaining to motherhood and parenting remain in match-day settings. Male family fans
16 were observed to be more fluid, moving between sitting/standing at the tables and standing
17 around the bar located in the centre of the pub. They were not bound by the space and had the
18 ability to move freely between sections. This fluidity of movement between social groups and
19 locations was not afforded to female family fans during observations. In this way, gendered
20 spaces do not just simply exist, but are produced through the expectations of gender stereotypes
21 inscribed into space. As females had the primary responsibility for caring for children they are
22 confined to this peripheral space and become marginalised. Put simply, the front section of the
23 pub was designated as the family space and therefore this is where females were ‘expected’ to
24 sit. As a result, family fans were located in a peripheral position of the main bar and overall
25 space of the room, seated at the front tables. From observations, female family fans used this
26 space to socialise; football was secondary or sometimes completely absent from discussions.

27 Female family fans often sat with others at the front of this pub where groups of young
28 children would play, at times unsupervised. As such the front section of the venue is an example
29 of a feminine community of practice, where children were taught localised masculine and
30 feminine practices through the constant production, reproduction, and negotiation of what it is

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1 (or what it means) to be a male or female in this environment (Paechter, 2003). As the quote at
2 the start of this section reflects, Angus took his young son into the middle standing section
3 where he was encouraged to interact with other older, 'traditional' male fans. This group were
4 distinguished by the longevity of their support and their in-depth sport knowledge associated
5 with Everton. His daughter (of similar age) on the other hand, remained seated with his wife
6 and the (female) researcher at the table. Therefore, his son was introduced to the masculine and
7 engaged space of football and being a football fan, while his daughter remained on the fringes
8 by being seated with her mother and the other family fans in this front section of the pub.

9 I think it's the culture of the game. It's how it happens in England. It's a case
10 of the way families are perceived. It's like the boys go with their Dad's to the
11 game and the girls go shopping with their Mum but you know on the day of the
12 game. That's how it has always been sort of thing but I think it's starting to
13 break, you know, you can see a difference but it's slow in coming. But I think
14 that's the only reason why it's just a habit, nothing more.

15 **(Interview, Alison 30-40)**

16 Paechter (2007) argues that relations within and between localised masculine and
17 feminine communities of practice underpin strict gender relations. As the above quote reflects,
18 this resonates with how fans perceive the gendered landscape of football culture in England.
19 This assumption is further supported when juxtaposing the family section of the bar with the
20 area behind it. The section behind the group of tables that family fans occupied was a standing
21 area (there were no seats and tables) where mostly male fans formed a tight circumference
22 around the bar that was at times five people deep. Although some females were present in this
23 section of the pub, fans here embodied a hyper-masculine gender display regardless of their
24 gender (Butler, 1988, 1990).

25 I overheard a male fan decline a beer, with his friend calling him 'soft' and
26 'weak' and suggesting that he was 'unworthy' of being an Everton fan.

27 **(Fieldwork Note: 1/2/2014 vs. Aston Villa)**

28 This accusation aligns with working class masculinities discussed above, where through
29 the public performance of drinking alcohol, dominant understandings of legitimate masculine
30 behaviour are reinforced and defended (Campbell, 2000; Connell, 2005). This type of fan

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1 behaviour is described as a masculine celebration of community, displaying strong forms of
2 local identification and an equally strong tendency to denigrate other (opposing) suburban
3 communities by means of songs and chanting (Bale, 2002b: 18). It was observed that female
4 fans who stood in this section were always in a group, and the group's composition was mostly
5 men. Wenner (2009: 214) describes this as one of the core features that makes the space of a
6 pub a masculine domain or a 'symbolic site where women are excluded, marginalised, or
7 required to be accompanied by men'. Significantly, even when these female fans were not
8 physically marginalised and restricted to the front section, they are symbolically marginalised
9 as will be detailed below.

10 The power dynamics of sports knowledge, as Messner (1988) has suggested,
11 reproduces hegemonic masculinity of which gender difference is shown to be a key part. For
12 example, in interactions in spaces such as pubs, females are more likely to be 'interrupted and
13 contributions undermined by men' (West and Zimmerman 1977 in West, 1996: 359). On
14 multiple occasions the explanation of simple rules to some female fans (including the
15 researcher) was imbued with unnecessary jargon. Interactions such as these positions male fans
16 in a privileged, powerful position in the Everton community. This type of 'sport talk', further
17 reinforced boundaries that worked to exclude females from the culture of football. These
18 boundaries translate informally into influence and authority that further strengthened the
19 masculine boundary that exists in this space (Cohen, 1985). However, this is not to say that
20 some female fans were not knowledgeable or capable of 'sports talk'. As Jones (2008: 519)
21 found, some female fans in this setting adopted traditional performances of masculinity, such
22 as excessive drinking and criticising female fans who embodied femininity. On occasion, these
23 female fans would call their presence on match day 'a waste of a ticket'.

24 Well, I go as a woman, but I feel I probably behave like a man...I enjoy talking
25 football at the level that men talk about football...I am the only girl and I like
26 that. Because generally, I suppose I think the girls who go to Everton are scouse
27 girls² and I don't identify with them. You see them, women tossing their hair

² 'Scouse Girls' is a term commonly used to describe women and girls who are born in Liverpool that adopt hyper femininity.

1 around and in their high heels and I don't ... that isn't me. So I think you're here
2 not doing women who understand football any credit

3 (Interview, Samantha, 30-40)

4 In observations, these 'Scouse girl' fans would usually arrive late to the match, a practice
5 which remains synonymous with post-all-seater stadium culture. They would seek to stay as
6 long as possible in pubs where they were able to consume alcohol in a less regulated
7 environment compared to the stadium (Pearson, 2012). The behaviour of these fans on the walk
8 up to Goodison reflected a socio-spatial transition from an unregulated environment (in so far
9 as Everton was not affiliated with the pubs) to the stadium environment. This transition was
10 marked by distinctive changes in behaviour, where fans were observed to conform to what they
11 perceived to be strict regulations around intoxication within and around the stadium. As the
12 following fieldwork note illustrates, this was mostly achieved by pretending to be sober before
13 entering into the stadium.

14 On the walk up tonight, one of the lads remarks- 'oi, sober face on lad,
15 you've got to just get through the gates'.

16 (Fieldwork Note: 1/02/2014 vs. Aston Villa)

17 However, prior to entering into the stadium, most fans would bypass or transition
18 through the carpark that surrounds Goodison. This location hosts the official fan zone that is
19 organised and run by Everton and Everton in the Community (charity affiliated with the
20 football club). Although Bale does not discuss this type of landscape in his work, we consider
21 the fan zone as a space that prescribes and advances his conceptualisation of the sportscape.

22 A Different Kind of Atmosphere: The fan zone of Goodison

23 Stacey tells me today that you just can't be drunk in the fan bit because there are
24 children everywhere. She described and then actually took me to the entrance of
25 the fan zone, near the van, and points to the Main Stand entrance and says that
26 drunk people walk past all the time to get into Goodison, but she had not seen
27 anyone drunk in there [the fan zone] before. She then commented on how she
28 hated that people smoked inside the confined area of the fan zone, saying that
29 she didn't think it was good and that smokers should move outside.

30 (Fieldwork Note: 6/1/2015 vs. West Ham United)

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1 The Everton fan zone on match-day is a small partitioned off space inside Goodison's car park.
2 During the week this space functions purely as a car park, but on match-day it is transformed
3 into a location where fans can partake in a variety of activities, games, and purchase official
4 Everton products from merchandise vans. Framing the fan zone are food stalls, where fast food
5 offerings similar to that inside of the stadium such as burgers and fish and chips are available
6 prior to the match. It was observed to be mainly occupied by male and female family fans that
7 transition through this space *en route* to Goodison, usually interacting with the zone for one to
8 two hours before kick-off. Given this space is primarily created for families and children,
9 inclusion remained predicated on women and girls performing a particular type of femininity,
10 mostly in the capacity of a nurturing feminine role (AUTHOR A, 2016).

11 Although there were some male fans present in this section, compared to the
12 observations made in the pub, there was a stronger female presence. On one hand, official fan
13 zones can be seen as breaking down the traditional gender-bound divisions of weekend time,
14 and replacing the masculine pre-match ritual of drinking in local pubs before the match with
15 more family orientated fan engagement. On the other, this introduction ensures that the existing
16 culture of football remains upheld with family fans separated from the traditional locales of
17 masculine football culture and spaces interacted with on match-day.

18 Twenty-first Century football has been accused of lacking atmosphere, attributed to
19 topographical changes in football stadiums and the commercialisation of sport (Charleston,
20 2008; Nash, 200). However, that line of argument can only be applied when describing the
21 atmosphere favoured by the hyper-masculine fans discussed in the previous section. Although
22 Bale has discussed at length the modernisation of sports stadiums, particularly those developed
23 and designed with improved satisfaction and performance, he argues that the overall sports
24 experience is diminished in such environments (Bale, 2002b: 159). This paper advances these
25 discussions, by exploring how the fan zone sportscape provides a 'new' atmosphere.

26 The atmosphere generated in the fan zone is not built on history, memory or tradition,
27 but rather developed from fans engaging with prearranged activities and entertainment,
28 commercial products, and technology-based artefacts and practices. For example, fans were
29 encouraged to take photos of their children inside of the fan zone, either doing activities or

1 having photos with invited guests. They are then invited to tweet the photos to Everton through
2 the hashtag #EFCfanzone, with a chance that the photo will be projected onto the big screen
3 during the match. This type of fan engagement has recently received attention from scholars,
4 mostly in light of the advent of digital technologies which significantly increase the ability of
5 sports fans to openly express their identity as a fan on match-day. Although Redhead (2015)
6 describes Twitter being used by football fans to vent frustrations, it can also be useful for clubs
7 attempting to appeal and reach out to family fans.

8 Well, I think they seem to be doing a lot more of the fan stuff now. They seem
9 to be doing a lot more to invite families and get the kids going. They didn't
10 really have anything like that when I was a kid, well not that I remember
11 anyway. I guess they do a lot more novelty days. They have like vintage day
12 where they have old shirts, I think the sort of thing, like that makes football seem
13 a lot friendlier.

14 **(Interview Will, 20-30)**

15 I also suspect that the watching population is ageing in this country, and you
16 don't see as many young, you know teenagers going anymore. The majority of
17 people going to the match would be maybe my ages, mid 50's and you wonder
18 where that is going to lead. You wonder whether the support is just going to tail
19 away in the end. That's why they've got the fan zone I think, got to keep the
20 young kids happy and into it, you know.

21 **(Interview: Paul, 40-50)**

22

23 However, whilst the demographic of supporters has changed (Cleland, 2010) the
24 attitudes toward these new types of match-day routines, particularly the use of digital
25 technology inside of the stadium are less well understood (Tapp and Clowes, 2000). As the
26 quotes above reflect, Everton fans are conscious of a perceived change to the demographic of
27 the football crowd, but spoke generally in favour of these changes in making football more
28 inclusive. However, Pearson notes that for some hyper-masculine fans the act of taking photos
29 and videos through mobile phone technology during matches was considered the type of
30 activity a 'tourist' or non-authentic fan would engage in (2012). According to some traditional
31 fans, authentic fans 'should be merely supporting the team' and not engaging in that type of
32 activity (Pearson, 2012: 179). As a consequence, official fan zones remain on the 'other side

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1 of the boundary' (Cohen, 1985) of what has been considered traditional football culture and
2 hence peripheral to the game's masculine ethos (Williams, 2006). Exploring how behaviour in
3 and around the official fan zone was policed by the club and also the match-going crowd who
4 frequent this space illustrates how boundaries were created and reinforced to ensure this space
5 remains safe for families and young children.

6 Unlike the spatial arrangements of fans inside the pub, male family fans were observed
7 to stand in a small section at the rear of the fan zone that serves alcohol. Although this also
8 involved them then being physically separated from female family fans and children, they were
9 now marginalised away from the focal point of the space – the main stage. Female family fans
10 were observed to be more engaged with their children and involved in the activities offered in
11 the fan zone. Although traditional match-day food and alcohol consumption is encouraged in
12 this zone, all fans are under much tighter regulations and surveillance than those in pubs not
13 only by the club's official security, but also by others fans within this space. In this way, family
14 fans are not perceived as passive or delicate objects that need protecting. This finding stands
15 in contrast to how female fans particularly have been perceived within the sporting context,
16 especially within sport crowds (Pope, 2014a). Rather, it was observed that female family fans
17 were the ones doing the protecting and gatekeeping, especially when it came to their children
18 – a practice of self-policing that is becoming more common amongst fans (Millward, 2008).
19 The female family fans that took part in this study deem intoxication, smoking, and other
20 supposed 'anti-social' activities as not appropriate behaviour within this part of the sportscape,
21 as exemplified in Stacey's comments at the beginning of this section.

22 The fan zone is a space that is dominated by family fans that were observed to maintain
23 (and at times defend) the boundary between themselves and other fan groups. The symbolic
24 expression and affirmation of this boundary heightens awareness of and sensitivity to fans
25 within this space (Cohen, 1985). Members of other fan groups were observed to respect this
26 boundary, by actively avoiding it to not cause a disruption to its 'social script' (Goffman, 1959).
27 In the context of this study, this moral standard and reference group refers to family fans and
28 the creation of a boundary between their behaviour, or what they deem to be appropriate match-
29 day behaviour, and the boisterous, alcohol-fuelled behaviour of other fans that was discussed
30 above. By keeping this behaviour outside of the official fan zone, the moral standard of the

15

1 space is upheld. We are not postulating that family fans are inherently critical of hyper-
2 masculine fan behaviour on match-day, but rather they create an alternative form of match-day
3 atmosphere that does not rely on traditional (masculine) practices and performances of fandom.

4 **Conclusion**

5 This article has explored the spatial configuration of the match-day routine for Everton fans,
6 and positioned this discussion within the broader framework of sportscares. It considered how
7 traditional practices of a match-day still remain popular and attractive for Everton fans, whilst
8 also discussing the creation of new spaces that fans can engage with before they enter the
9 stadium. We suggest that the variety of fan types that locate themselves within the sportscape
10 allows the meanings and significance tied to the match-day routine to shift, adapt and change
11 with the currents of social, cultural and commercial influences. Whilst football remains in many
12 ways a masculine 'preserve', we discussed how clubs have made a stronger attempt to
13 encourage a more diverse fanbase, namely that of family fans. However, for both male and
14 female fans inclusion into the sportscape was shown to have limits. Instituted through social
15 and cultural boundaries, this inclusion remains based on gendered norms that, depending on
16 the location, privileges **traditional versions of** either masculinity or femininity.

17 The various spaces fans chose to frequent on game day greatly contributed to the
18 behaviours they exhibited. Match-day became a way for fans to distinguish themselves as
19 members of a particular fan type within the Everton fan community. As such, the areas
20 surrounding the stadium were shown to enhance, maintain and legitimise particular sports fan
21 behaviours, where within particular spaces the idealised fan norms for the group were
22 embodied and realised. Spaces such as County Road remained a part of the sportscape that
23 encased an interlocking web of localised ideologies and **traditional** masculinity. The fans
24 observed in this space typically were drawn to it with an expectation and understanding of the
25 cultural traditions and carnival atmosphere it celebrates. The gendered spatial boundaries
26 within the pub ultimately result in both the physical and symbolic marginalisation of all
27 females. Even when they are 'permitted' into the masculine spaces, females continue to be
28 disempowered as they are 'forced' to adopt tenets of orthodox masculinity or are devalued
29 through the use of male-privileging practices such as 'sport talk'.

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1 The fan zone, however, created a bridge for some fans between traditional (masculine)
2 fan practices and family or community-oriented culture. Family fans, particularly, were able to
3 create a distinction or boundary between themselves and the undesirable elements of hyper-
4 masculine fan culture. In this way, they created an alternative match-day atmosphere and
5 experience that remains centred on a family friendly or at least family inclusive culture. In
6 doing so, family fans create social solidarity amongst its members and carve out the space
7 where their performance and embodiment of fandom is not marginalised or ridiculed, but rather
8 protected and upheld by the other members of the Everton fan community. Unlike the pre-
9 match activities that take place on County Road, the fan zone celebrates new types of fan
10 engagements and commercial artefacts. Although this type of engagement can be seen as
11 problematic in literature, it is set to increase in the contemporary game, due to the large amount
12 of financial investment football clubs are putting into developing fan zones. Whether or not the
13 fan zone will become cemented in the match-day routine for football fans remains uncertain,
14 as does the vitality of this particular fan zone if Everton were ever to be relocated to another
15 stadium.

16 Perhaps more importantly it reveals how the social and physical landscape of space
17 remains bounded in gendered norms which influences behaviour and sets expectations. With
18 the creation of new spaces, those who inhabit them will develop their own norms and
19 boundaries which can marginalise traditional practices and create alternative inclusive
20 environments. While this explanation appears to binarise these two sites as (traditional)
21 masculine and feminine spaces the situation is much more fluid. As with any spaces, these
22 locations are in a state of flux due to the complex human relations that take place within them.
23 They become sites for resisting, overcoming and negotiating power.

24 To conclude, this paper illuminates the largely overlooked socio-spatial element
25 inherent to sports fandom. In doing so, we have also addressed a gap in our understanding of
26 spatiality – namely the geography of sport (Molw & Towner, 1995; Pavlidis, 2018). Hopefully
27 this paper will inspire other researcher to focus on the geography of sport in urban settings.

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