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The 12th Man in the Old Firm Rivalry:

Understanding Soccer Fan Violence and Football Fan Rivalry

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to present and explain some of the factors that reinforce and intensify soccer fan violence in the context of the Old firm fan rivalry. This study explored the Old Firm fan rivalry as a case study because it is the oldest fan rivalry in football history and is regarded as one of the most intense, fiercely contested and violent rivalry in football. Further, the study conceptualized soccer fan violence as an interplay between macro-level influences and mediating and moderating influences. This approach supports the necessity to engage in an in-depth study of football fan rivalries that avoids a mono-causal approach while considering the lived experiences of the fans into consideration. As a result, the study was able to engage in an analysis of the interplay between religion as the perceived macro-level influence, fan habitus and factors that affect the intensity and direction of fan violence in the Old firm fan rivalry. The study adopted a qualitative method of data collection because it provides an opportunity to analyze fans' opinions, interpretations and experiences as meaningful properties of social reality. In conclusion, the study comes to the defense of the Old firm fans and states that the role religion play as a macro-level influence in the Old firm fan rivalry is a myth. Further, the study found out that the Old firm fan rivalry is also reinforced mostly by the actions of agents of socialization for example parents, and intensified majorly by the absence of effective laws. The implication of findings points to the fact that religion or football fans are not inherently violent, and that soccer fan violence is ultimately embedded in a particular economic, political, social and cultural context.

Keywords: Mediating and moderating influences; Soccer fan violence; Football fan rivalry; the Old firm; Religion; Soccer; football.

ABBREVIATIONS

UEFA	The Union of European Football Associations
OF	Old Firm
OO	Orange Order
NBM	Nil By Mouth

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	<i>i</i>
ABSTRACT	<i>ii</i>
ABBREVIATIONS	<i>iii</i>
1 Introduction and Background	2
1.1 Brief history of the Old Firm (OF) Fan Rivalry	3
1.2 Motivative behind this research	4
1.3 Problem Statement.....	4
1.4 Roadmap	5
2 Soccer Fan Violence and Football Fan Rivalries	7
2.1 Soccer Fan Violence	7
2.2 Football Fan Rivalry	8
2.2.1 Identity and the taxonomy of Football Spectators	10
2.2.2 The Social construction of (fan) identity	11
2.2.3 “Everlasting” Rivalries: The Role of Non-State Institution	12
2.3 Summary	13
3 Methodology and Methods	16
3.1 Ontology and Epistemology.....	16
3.2 Research Strategy, Analysis of data and Coding	17
3.3 Data Collection Techniques	18
3.3.1 Ethnography and Micro-ethnography	18
3.3.2 Direct Observation	20
3.3.3 Interviews	20
3.3.4 Reflexivity	22
3.4 Summary	23
4 Religious and Identity Discourse	25
4.1 The myth of Religious Violence.....	25
4.1.1 Culture, Politics, Religion and Violence	26
4.2 The “Myth” of Football Hooliganism?	27
4.3 Towards A Moderating and Mediating Framework	28
4.4 Summary	30
5 Data Analysis and Discussion	32

5.1	Religion as a macro-Level Influence of the OF fan Rivalry	32
5.1.1	Religious Society, “Secular” Fans.....	34
5.2	Mediating Factor of the OF fan rivalry: The Habitus of the OF fans	37
5.2.1	The Construction of the OF fan Identity.....	38
5.3	Moderating Factors of the OF Fan Rivalry	40
5.3.1	Intervention and Agent of Social Control.....	40
5.3.2	Non-State institutions.....	42
5.3.3	Internal and External Communication: Media activity and Practicing Fanatism through Banter, Chants, and Songs.....	46
6	<i>Summary and Conclusion</i>	<i>54</i>
6.1	Summary of Findings.....	54
6.2	Concluding Remarks.....	55
	<i>Bibliography.....</i>	<i>58</i>
	<i>APPENDIX: SONGS OLD FIRM FANS SING.....</i>	<i>65</i>

Table of Figures

Figure 1	Taxonomy of Football Spectators	11
Figure 2	A Conceptual Model of Soccer Fan Violence.....	29
Figure 3	“Celtic fans taunt Rangers at Hamilton clash.”	48

CHAPTER 1:

KICKOFF

“Soccer is simple, but it is difficult to play simple”

-Johan Crujff

1 Introduction and Background

Football fans are called the “12th man” in soccer because of the support and commitment they show to their soccer clubs. Fans supporting a club are required to defend club honor and use violence when necessary against an opposition. Studies of violence in soccer have, for many years constituted a highly specialized and isolated academic subfield. The relationship between violence and soccer with a concentrated focus on “hooliganism” drew much attention from various scholars (see Marsh, 1978; Dunning 1999; Armstrong, 2003). The problem with earlier studies of violence in soccer is that they were too particularistic (Braun and Vliegenthart, 2008) with many adopting a monocausal approach that treated fans as a collective (Benkwitz and Molner, 2012). Therefore, scholars like Spaaij and Anderson (2010) and Benkwitz (2013) adopted a multicausal approach to the study of soccer fan violence and football fan rivalries respectively, to bring to the fore the idea that soccer fan violence and rivalries are complex and unique therefore the lived experiences of fans are vital for a holistic approach.

Even though the Old firm (OF) fan rivalry is regarded as the oldest and the most complex rivalry in football history (see Rosie, 2004; Murray, 1988; Bradley, 1995), it is still subjected to a particularistic and monocausal analysis. The complexity of the OF fan rivalry mostly stems from the religious history of the United Kingdom (U.K). As a result, Religion (and football) in Scotland is regarded as a sight of intense contention that leads to numerous cases of violence. The debate on the nexus between religion and violence is one that has also drawn various commentary particularly surrounding the definition of and the nature of religion. Cavanaugh’s (1999) work on the *Myth of Religious Violence*, provided a clear and concrete argument on the nature of religion. Similar to the idea presented by Cavanaugh (1999), scholars like Thomas (2014), do not see a causal relationship between religion and violence and have advised against establishing a causal relationship void of other factors like culture and politics. For this reason, an analysis of the Old Firm fan rivalry must avoid a monocausal approach because religion may not be the only factor that influences the OF fan rivalry.

1.1 Brief history of the Old Firm (OF) Fan Rivalry

This research focuses on two football clubs in Glasgow known collectively as the Old Firm (OF). The influx of Irish migrants into Scotland during the potato famine (1845-1849) that killed over a million people is the foundation of the rivalry. The local Scots who were predominately Protestants were harsh towards the Catholic Irish emigrants. Because of the widespread discrimination, organizations mostly football clubs, were established by privileged Catholics to take care of the Catholic refugees. One of such clubs was Glasgow Celtic Football Club founded by Irish Marist Brother Walfrid in 1888. As for Rangers, there are doubts if the club had a religious (protestant) background when it was formed in 1872 because “there was nothing religious in the club’s origin” (Murray 1988: p.34).

When Celtic was formed, it was seen as “just one more Scottish team with Irish-Catholic backing,” but during the 1893-94 season, Glasgow Celtic became a bastion for Irish-Catholic identity (Murray 1988). As Irish Catholics were gathering around their newly found favorite team, it was only natural that Scottish Protestants gathered around Rangers. By 1912, a Rangers-Celtic game was guaranteed to be sold-out, even if one or the other was out of contention for the title (Murray 1988). With such a large fan base, club executives quickly noticed the economic benefit of the rivalry between Celtic and Rangers; hence, it became necessary to encourage numerous meetings between both teams. The “Ne’er day games” was created and became according to Murray (1988: p 24) a day that many Scots considered “more important than mere birthday, Saints’ days or other trivial commemorations”.

Fans of the OF clubs are considered traditional fans/Supporters (see Guilianotti, 2002) because of their high commitment, religious affiliation and geographical attachment to England and Ireland respectively. Being a traditional fan according to Guilianotti (2002) means a strong identification to a club and its ideologic belief. The ideological foundation of the OF fans is reinforced by the long-standing historical religious disputes between Catholics and Protestants (see Murray 1988). This religious “hatred” for one another has led to a series of violent confrontations between OF fans before, during and after matches. It is usually certain, that violence will erupt somewhere in Glasgow between both sets of fans especially during match days. According to Kelly (2010) the level of violence and chaos that surrounded the OF fan rivalry was and still is of great concern to

the Scottish government. For this reason, it became easy to associate “football” as well as religion as the “source of all Scottish societal problems” (See Rosie, 2014; Bradley, 2014).

1.2 Motivative behind this research

My interest in this study is because of my religious background and my love for football. It is “heartbreaking” when the notion that religion is violent and football fans are irrational easily accepted. Football fans only want to support their club the best way they can because of the satisfaction they get from watching their team play. Also, the presence of a Footballing rival provides entertainment and excitement for a huge number of individuals (Armstrong and Giulianotti (2001) and supporting a club can arguably be referred to as a powerful opiate for the masses because it provides a sense of belonging, identity in an increasingly boring and unexciting society (see Elias & Dunning, 1986). However, there is limited investigation of the various ways football fans’ identities and behavior are influenced by various factors that brings about violence. Further, by using the OF fan rivalry as a case study, this study provides an understanding of the ways various factors affect fans’ and adds to the literatures that explains why neither religion nor football fans should be considered as violent and irrational.

1.3 Problem Statement

It is possible to have a healthy rivalry, but unfortunately, most fan rivalries are violent, and has dire consequences in the society. The problem is that much attention is not given to the factors and actors that may continue to reinforce football fan rivalries and contribute to the intensity of soccer fan violence. There is always the tendency to adopt a mono-causal approach in the analysis of soccer fan violence and football fan rivalries which leads to a conclusion that football fans are violent and are “crazed fanatics”.

An intense rivalry like the Old Firm (OF) fan rivalry, which is over 100 years, provides a curious case as to how the rivalry has managed to maintain its intensity and much of its negativity for a very long time. The OF fan rivalry is unique because of its religious undertone visible in the way the rivalry is played out. Most analysis on the OF fan rivalry only focus on the religion as a factor that instigates violence among fans and fail to highlight the socio-political, economic and even geographical factors that influence much of the intensity and duration. In order to provide a

foundation for a holistic approach to the analysis of the OF fan rivalry, this study asks the following questions:

- a) How should the OF fan rivalry be interpreted?
- b) What is the role of religion in the OF fan rivalry?
- c) What is the identity of the OF fans and how is it constructed?
- d) What are some of the factors that reinforces and intensifies the OF fan rivalry?

1.4 Roadmap

I divided this research into six (6) chapters. The first chapter provided an introduction that covered a brief history of the OF clubs. The Second chapter focused on soccer fan violence and football fan rivalry highlighting the need for a multi-causal approach. The third chapter served as the methodology and methods chapter while the fourth chapter mostly focused on the discourse surrounding religion and the importance of the conceptual framework provided by Spaaij and Anderson (2010). The fifth chapter contains the analysis and discussion of primary and secondary data. Finally, the last chapter summarized the findings, and the conclusion for this study.

CHAPTER 2:

SECOND HALF

“Some people think football is a matter of life and death. I do not like that attitude. I can assure them, it is much more serious than that” - Bill Shankly

2 Soccer Fan Violence and Football Fan Rivalries

In this chapter, I briefly analyze the discourse on soccer fan violence and football fan rivalry. The chapter starts with the debate on soccer fan violence and will highlight the need for a more holistic analysis of soccer fan violence. From then on, I explain some literature on football fan rivalry detailing among other things why football rivalries are complex, the social constructed identity and taxonomy of football spectators as well as why some football fan rivalries last longer than others. The central aim of this chapter is to argue for the need to avoid a particularistic and a mono-causal approach in the analysis of soccer fan violence and football fan rivalries.

2.1 Soccer Fan Violence

Early on, research on football “hooliganism” dominated the literatures on soccer fan violence. The emergence of various academic explanations centered on the origins and causes of hooliganism because it became a major societal problem in the United Kingdom (UK)¹. The principal academic explanations of football “hooliganism” that have been offered include the ‘anthropological’ explanation of Armstrong (1998); the Marxist explanations of Taylor (1971, 1982); the ‘ethological’ explanation advanced by Marsh (1978); the explanation in terms of psychological ‘reversal theory’ proposed by Kerr (1994) and the most influential, the Leicester School championed by Eric Dunning². The position taken by Dunning (1999) indirectly supports the claim made by numerous literatures that the level of violence among sports fans is related to the level of and social acceptance of violence in wider society (see Ostrowsky, 2016). Whilst each of these explanations has its particular strengths, and each has its particular, deficiencies (see Dunning, 1999). In a recent attempt to further the understanding of soccer fan violence and contribute to the explanation of soccer ‘hooliganism’, Braun and Vliegthart (2008) conceptualized soccer fan violence as a form of contentious violence.

¹ Football in Great Britain was plagued with violent “hooligan” behavior. For this reason, “hooliganism” became known among scholars as the “English disease” (Dunning 1999; p, 130)

² Dunning (1999) among other things explained that soccer fan violence in the context of hooliganism is because the “civilizing process” did not reach the lower echelons of society. Dunning further state, that soccer fan violence is fueled by the “fault line of particular countries” (Dunning, 1999; p.158).

Braun and Vliegenthart (2008) stated that the explanation of soccer fan violence as “irrational behavior” is incomplete and static that only tries to grasp the general existence of soccer fan violence and overlook contextual processes that facilitate or hamper the rise of acts of violence. Braun and Vliegenthart (2008) avoided this particularistic explanation of soccer fan violence by adopting a broad explanation of soccer fan violence. Conceptualizing soccer fan violence as a form of *contentious violence* is based on the idea that factions of soccer fans are trying to make consistent claims, both political and non-political. Further, similar to other contentious groups, soccer fans have a strong collective identity. Braun and Vliegenthart (2008) also found out that the possible explanation for such fan violence is media attention, unemployment (deteriorating economic conditions) and aggressive play on the pitch with police repression having no impact on fan violence.

The problem with the *contentious violence* approach as with most approaches is that it is “removed from the individual” and based on one specific form of fan violence: soccer hooliganism. By so doing they equate fan violence to organized hooliganism and thus cloud the issues around the explanation of fan violence (Spaaij and Anderson, 2010). According to Spaaij and Anderson (2010), it is best to see hooliganism as one form of soccer fan violence because spectator violence has evolved and become more spontaneous, unorganized, and ad hoc. Spaaij and Anderson (2010) went further to argue further that the *contentious violence* approach appears to underestimate the fact that soccer fan violence is embedded in, and stems from, particularly social and cultural conditions (see Dunning, 1999; Spaaij, 2006) which produce considerable spatial variations in the scale and intensity of violence. To this end, Spaaij and Anderson (2010) posited that it is best to conceptualize soccer fan violence in terms of a framework that incorporates macro-level influences and mediating and moderating influences. In this study, in order to analyze the OF fan rivalry and avoid a particularistic approach, it is important to identify the macro-level influence as well as the mediating and moderating influences that reinforces and intensifies the OF fan rivalry.

2.2 Football Fan Rivalry

Violence among football fans may occur without the presence of a rivalry and a rivalry among football fans may exist without any form of violence. The term rivalry in football is associated with an intense, often acrimonious relationship between two teams and/or their fans (Benkwitz

and Molner, 2012). Benkwitz and Molner (2012) observed that fan rivalry³ in football is getting much attention because of the unique, complex, and sometimes-violent nature of such rivalries. They pointed out that each football fan rivalry must be studied in-depth in order to understand the social, historical and cultural factors that inform such each rivalry therefore a multicausal explanation should be developed to capture the complexities of each rivalry.

In his study of the rivalry between Aston Villa F.C. and Birmingham F.C, Benkwitz (2013) adopting a multi-causal approach expatiates on how territory, historical success and class difference affects and reinforces the rivalry in the city of Birmingham. Benkwitz (2013) also expressed the need to acknowledge fans lived experiences and their identity to avoid treating fans as a mere collective and their experiences as unidimensional. In this study, developing a multicausal approach is suitable for the analysis of the OF fan rivalry because it will adequately capture the complexity of the OF fan rivalry by providing a channel to analyze various factors that reinforce and intensifies the OF fan rivalry. Further, to give a voice to the experiences of those that experience the rivalry, this study employed an ethnographic approach advocated by Benkwitz and Molner (2012) in analyzing the OF rivalry.

Further, fans employ various means to communicate their identity and attempt to distinguish themselves from the rest. Benkwitz and Molner (2012) in support of numerous commentaries on the relationship between songs and identity (see Brenner, 2018), stated that football fan rivalries manifests as a cultural practice through chanting and songs. The work of Goffman (1959) 'front stage and backstage' impression management is very instrumental in explaining the usefulness of chanting and singing when in full view of a rival. Birrell and Donnelly (2004), expanding Goffman's dramaturgy stated that in the front stage, actors behave in a certain way because they know they are in front of an audience. In contrast, in the backstage that has no audience, actors adopt a more relaxed behavior or prepare their performances in order to maintain the credibility of their role. In light of the above, it is, therefore, necessary to look at the various ways chanting, and songs are used in the OF fan rivalry as a tool to differentiate themselves from the "other" and also

³ It is important to state that a fan rivalry may not be based on major difference, but a rivalry can exist between similar groups of fans. This is referred to as the "narcissism of minor difference" (Hills 2002: p.61).

consolidate their identity and shape the habitus of the current/future fans which may result in sustaining and intensifying the rivalry.

2.2.1 Identity and the taxonomy of Football Spectators

Further, Armstrong and Giulianotti (2001) posited that each football fan rivalry is underpinned by the *Construction of Conflicting Identities* influenced by various forms and degrees of power. Armstrong and Giulianotti (2001) identified three identities shaped by these various forms and degree of power. The three identities identified by Armstrong and Giulianotti (2001) include Legitimizing Identity, Resistance Identity and Project Identity⁴. Each imagined community (Anderson, 2006) of fans holds either the legitimizing, resistant or project identity in relation to themes that underpin the rivalries⁵. This study will only focus on the legitimizing and resistant identity with an aim to explore how the OF fans construct their identity to either be the legitimate or the resistant identity in Glasgow.

In another study, Giulianotti (2002) analyzed the effect of hyper-commodification on football identities. Giulianotti (2002) identified four types of spectator identity and how they are affected by the dramatic changes in football's social and economic standing. According to Giulianotti (2002), each football spectator is either Supporter, Fan, Follower or a Flâneur. This model proposed by Guilianotti (2002) can be categorized by two binary opposition: *traditional-consumer and hot-cool*. Spectators may be classified into one of four groups *traditional/hot; traditional/cool; consumer/hot; and consumer/cool*. The major difference between these groups is a broad or deeper knowledge of, and closeness or distance/detachment to the Club and its (local) culture (See Giulianotti 2002). This highlights the effect of place on football spectator identity.

⁴ The Legitimizing Identity is constructed through the dominant institutions of society, and the reproduction of such domination, which may potentially be challenged. As for the Resistance Identity, it is constructed by those outside of mainstream values – establishing new emergent values and identities. The Project Identity is constructed by social collectives that are committed to the creation of a different life through replacing dominant practices with residual or emergent ones.

⁵ The dynamic interplay between the three identities serves as a foundation of a fan rivalry and is categorized as submerged nationhood; minority identity and local difference; the symbolic violence of exclusion; the drama of power inequalities; aesthetic codes, tradition and modernity; and, disorganized capitalism and the transformation of rivalry (see Armstrong and Giulianotti 2001).

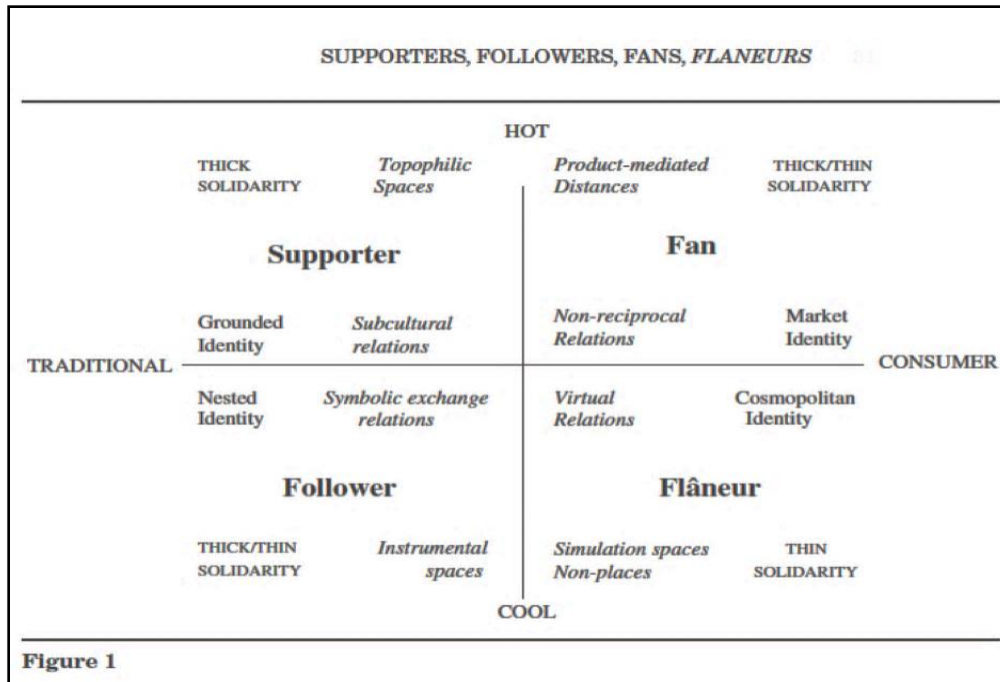


Figure 1 Taxonomy of Football Spectators (Giullianotti, 2002)

The Traditional/Hot spectators is most relevant to this study because they are referred according to Giulannotti (2002) as a “Supporters”. They are more likely than any other spectator identity to display extreme and excessive behavior because of their thick solidarity to the club. Their identity is long-standing and is rooted in the club’s local culture and its territory. They possess “hot” forms of loyalty and “thick” solidarity to their fellow supporters. A Supporter identity is unchangeable because supporters are culturally contracted to the club. Their strong attachment to place and the perceived unchanging identity of traditional fans forms an imagined community that may lead to various forms of contestation with other traditional fans. Nevertheless, how are spectator identities constructed?

2.2.2 The Social construction of (fan) identity

In their analysis of the link between identity and ethnic violence, Fearon and Laitin (2000) concluded that identity is a social construct, therefore it is erroneous to believe identities are natural, inevitable and unchanging inevitable, and unchanging facts about the social world. This believe in the natural-ness of identity is informed by alleged implication of morality, biology and theology. Hence, identity is not as a result of social convention and practice but fixed by human nature. Fearon and Laitin (2000) argued further that two main features distinguish identities. First,

identities are distinguished by membership rules which decide who is and who is not a member of the category. Secondly, identities are distinguished by content, that is, sets of characteristics (such as beliefs, desires, moral commitments, and physical attributes) thought to be typical of members of the category, or behaviors expected or obliged of members in certain situations (roles). Further, identity is constructed socially by, but not limited to discursive formations⁶ and individuals as the agents that act to produce and reproduce a system of social categories that creates contents (e.g. group A cannot live with group B) and boundary rules (for example, Celtic fans are all Catholics and Protestants only support Rangers) (Fearon and Laitin, 2000).

The social construction of identity is not a task done solely by the elites but can also be produced and reproduced through the everyday actions of ‘ordinary folks’ on the ground for example parents and peers (see Brenner, 2018; Fearon and Laitin, 2000). Fearon and Laitin (2000) stated that individuals, who think of themselves in terms of a particular set of social categories, act in ways that collectively confirm, reinforce, and propagate these identities. Marginal members usually commit such acts in order to prove to other in-group members that they are indeed members. As to why people follow and adhere to group behavior, they do so because most identities are sustained and are defined by discourses which created them (either from elites, family or peers on the ground) which in turn creates subjective believe structures that prepare and dispose them to act in a particular manner towards others (Fearon and Laitin, 2000).

2.2.3 “Everlasting” Rivalries: The Role of Non-State Institution

Spaaij (2006) recognized the role of state institutions such as the police in the escalation fan violence. However, other non-state institutions like the Public houses (and for the case under review, the Orange Order) may also play a role in the escalation and duration of football fan rivalry. There are numerous kinds of literature on the role alcohol plays in the escalation of fan violence (see Ostrowsky, 2016). In the UK, after the alcohol ban in football stadiums, Pearson and Sale (2011) argued that the ban might have increased the likelihood of violent disorder outside the

⁶ Fearon and Laitin (2000) stated that the development of discursive formations could set one group in opposition to another or predispose them to see the other as a threat or natural subject for violence, independent of any more material basis for hostility.

stadium, as fans still seek establishments that sell alcohol away from the stadium⁷. According to Dixon (2013), there has always been a progressive and multifaceted relationship between the pub and sports fans, based on historical reference to fan culture, emotive connection as a safe space for associated sociability and the perception of cultural stability.

The pub did not only serve as a place to view one's favorite team, but it took the status as the cultural home of the fans (Weed, 2007). Weed (2007), best summarizes this position when he makes reference to the amalgamation of "...the male holy trinity of alcohol, football and male bonding come together." (Weed, 2007: p. 400). "Male bonding" in this context can be interpreted as the process of strengthening fan identity for generations to come. In a somewhat similar manner, Brenner (2018) found out that the karaoke bar served as a safe haven for the revitalization of the Kenchi rebel identity, which has reinforced the Kachin rebellion for years. In the literature on football fan rivalries, there is little commentary on how pubs and other non-state institutions reinforce fan rivalries, especially in the UK. For this reason, this study will look into how non-state institutions help in part to reinforce and escalate football fan rivalries.

2.3 Summary

Conceptualizing soccer fan violence as contentious violence may remedy the shortcomings of earlier literatures on soccer fan violence because it explains numerous factors that may contribute to the escalation or de-escalation of soccer fan violence. However, a major flaw in the *contentious violence* approach is that it is removed from the individual. Given this, Spaaij and Anderson (2010) offered a broader framework for that conceptualizes soccer fan violence as an interplay between macro-level influences and moderating and mediating influence. The complex nature of football fan rivalries only means that they must be interpreted through a multi-causal approach, for this reason, it is important to acknowledge the experiences of individual fans to explore the factors influencing their experiences and behavior. Further, the framework provided by Armstrong and Giulianotti (2001) and Giulianotti (2002) along with explanations on the social construction of

⁷ A recent trilogy of research papers (Weed, 2006, 2007, 2008) has brought attention to the public house (commonly referred to as 'the pub') as an outlet for sport fandom and as a legitimate site for research into football fandom practice.

identity provided by Fearon and Laitin (2000) creates a precise way to analyze how the identity of the OF fans is constructed to influences their behavior.

Chapter 3:
PRE-MATCH TACTICS AND GAME PLAN

"You cannot win without tactical things..." -Jurgen Klopp

3 Methodology and Methods

In this chapter, I explain the methodology and methods adopted for this study. First, the chapter begins with the ontological and epistemological assumption as well as provide a reason for adopting a constructivist and interpretative position. Next, the chapter focuses on the research design and strategy outlining the specific methods that were employed in data collection as well as a brief note on coding, referencing of data and reflexivity.

3.1 Ontology and Epistemology

Research hinges on a continuum of methods, theories and values that stretches from positivism to constructivism and involves several arguments among which includes that of science and objectivity versus non-science and subjectivity (Sands 2002). Ontology is concerned with the nature of social entities (Bryman, 2008) and the very essence of reality in the social world (Mason, 1996). Its central point is whether social entities can and should be taken as objective entities with realities that are external to social actors or if realities of social entities are a construction built up from the perception and actions of social actors. These positions are referred to as objectivism and constructionism (Bryman, 2008). This study is interested in the lived experiences of the OF fans to avoid a unidimensional analysis of the OF fan rivalry. The study seeks to understand how the reality and identity of OF fans is created and shaped by various factors in their environment. For this reason, the study will subscribe to the constructionism position because, this position challenges the notion that categories such as culture and identity are independent of social actors, hence they are pre-given and external realities in which social actors have no role in fashioning (Bryman, 2008).

On the other hand, epistemology is described as the theory of knowledge from which the principles and rules which a researcher decides how a social phenomenon can be known and demonstrated (Mason, 1996). It concerns itself with what should be regarded as acceptable knowledge in a particular discipline. Its numerous questions one of which is whether the social world can and should be studied in accordance with the same principles, procedures, and ethos as the natural

science or if it should be approached from an interpretative position that reflects the distinctiveness of humans as against the natural order (Bryman, 2008). These positions within the epistemological position are referred to as Positivism and Interpretivism. Having adopted a constructionism position to understand how the OF fans construct their social reality, this study will further adopt an interpretivism position in order to engage in the understanding and explanation of the meaning hidden in the behavior of the OF fans in the context of the rivalry. This requires a researcher to elucidate the subjective meaning of social actions (Bryman 2008).

These positions are taken because this study adopted a qualitative approach. It seeks to explain and account for intangible concepts (feelings and emotions), and the meaning OF fans gives to social behavior (see Blaikie, 2010). I am seeking an in-depth and inter-subjective analysis of complexities of the everyday life of an OF fan. For this reason, a qualitative approach is suitable as it provides flexibility in its methods allowing for a study of the human capacity for autonomous reflection (Williams and May 1996). Lincoln (1990) suggested that constructivist should adopt a “qualitative rather than quantitative methods as the preferred techniques for data collection and analysis”. He further stated that for a strong foundation of such qualitative study, “inquiry be moved out of the laboratory and into natural contexts” in order to understand the meanings hidden in human activities (Lincoln 1990).

3.2 Research Strategy, Analysis of data and Coding

To suit the research method, research questions, and because of various limitations, this study adopted the following research strategy in order to explore and analyze the OF rivalry. As a result of financial as well as strategic limitations (for example the researcher was denied a visa in the summer), tickets were unable to be purchased on time to watch the OF match. This would have been very beneficial for observation, as both sets of fans will be observed in their “natural habitat”. However, going to the pub was a cheaper option as it provided a space to observe how the imagined communities (Anderson, 2006) of fans came together to interact and reinforce their identity in a safe space (see Dixon, 2013; Brenner, 2018). It also provided an opportunity to ask questions and uncover hidden meanings. Further, the flexibility of the micro-ethnography allowed for a tour to Celtic Park to learn about the club’s traditions. From these activities, field notes were written to aid remembrance (Bryman, 2008). In addition, to observation and interviews, websites on the Old

firm as well as journals were used extensively as secondary data in order to “save time and cost” (Bryman, 2008: p.13 and 115).

It was my intention to have at least 10 interviews. However, I was only able to conduct six (6) interviews because of time constraints. I manually transcribed the interviews in order to aid familiarization with the text (Gray, 2009). But it was very difficult to understand “Glaswegian English”, this resulted in some inaudible sentences which was indicated on the transcript. Luckily, it did not affect the context of the discussion. After that, key points that were of theoretical significance were highlighted in a bid to label, separate, compile, and organize data (Bryman,2008: p568) that tallied with the research question. This provided an opportunity for the identification theme. Although new themes emerged but not all themes that emerged was utilized. Data was color coded under selected thematic heading and where primary data from interviews were used, a format using the interviewee’s name (pseudonym), the number of the interview based on the order they were taken IT1 and the team they support (Celtic or Rangers) was used, for example, Manny Celtic IT3.

3.3 Data Collection Techniques

This study aims to highlight ways historical, social, economic and political factors reinforces and intensifies the OF rivalry. Previously, I stated that a constructivist approach is suited for this study as it takes people’s knowledge, experiences and interpretations as components of social reality. Therefore, I needed to apply qualitative data collection techniques in this study.

3.3.1 Ethnography and Micro-ethnography

Sands (2002) advocated for ethnography as an effective tool for describing a culture in a qualitative sense after an immersion and observation over a long period of time taking copious field notes (see Bryman 2008). In the same vein, Benkwitz and Molner (2012) advised that ethnography is suitable for analyzing football fan rivalries because it is vital that data to be used should be gotten from the (traditional) fans, as they are the ones who experience and react more to the rivalry. However, as a result of the extended period needed to conduct a full-ethnography, researchers on an undergraduate or master level may not be afforded such time hence a micro-ethnography is advised (Bryman, 2008). According to Bryman (2008), micro-ethnography involves focusing on

a particular aspect of a topic. For example, this study only focuses on a limited number of factors that may influence the OF fan rivalry. A relatively short period of time (10 days) was spent on the field. Further, the time afforded to conduct a micro-ethnography meant that a non-participating observer with limited interaction was the most suitable role (see Bryman, 2008).

I conducted a micro-ethnography in the city of Glasgow because it is home to the Glasgow Celtic and Glasgow Rangers. The micro-ethnography was carried out from 20th December to 30th December 2019. I choose to these dates because the Old Firm derby was scheduled for the 29th December 2019 hence it was perfect timing to witness how the rivalry plays out in the city of Glasgow. The downside of such timing was that a key informant (Rangers IT2) who was a member of the Orange Order (Section 5.3.2) was on holiday so it was impossible to meet with him for a follow-up interview. I went on a tour to Celtic Park (home stadium of Celtic FC) to get a perspective of the club history and values. Unfortunately, I was unable to go to Ibrox for a tour (the home stadium for Rangers FC) because the tickets were sold-out. I decided to stay in a hostel because I was hoping to meet an interactive environment for traveling fans. As predicted, I met a Rangers supporter (Rangers IT5) from Northern Ireland who had traveled all the way to watch the OF match. We conducted an interview and we spent most of the time chatting about the upcoming game. Interestingly, I also met two Celtic supporters in the same hostel they were cordial and agreed to have a joint interview (Celtic IT4).

I also met a female Rangers fan who promised to grant an interview but unfortunately, our schedule was too tight to make the interview happen. The hostel I stayed in offered a lot in terms of respondents because many fans have come from far and away to watch the OF match. The Celtic fans (IT4) I interviewed upon hearing that I could not secure a ticket for the game offered to get a ticket for me from the black market. I declined, as I did not want to be involved in deception or anything illegal (see Bryman, 2008). I spent most of my time at various pubs for observation. Withdrawal from the field was not due to data saturation but was because of the expiration of my leave of absence and dwindling funds (see Bryman, 2008), because I was expected to resume work the following month.

3.3.2 Direct Observation

According to Pauly (2010), direct observation may be referred to as participant observation. Bryman (2008) also observed that even though participant-observers do more than just observe, the term simply means observation supplemented by the collection of further data through interviews and documents. Despite the similarities between these two methods of data collection, they are different in a number of ways. Direct observation provides a direct experience of sight and sound of the different aspects of everyday life that is taken for granted and go unreported by participants (Patton, 2002). It allows for little participation of the researcher who does not wish to be immersed in the entire context. Direct observation was used in this study because I tried not to be drawn into or be closely associated with fans practicing fan culture, for example, drinking and singing (offensive) club songs.

The hostel provided an opportunity for me just to observe how fans related with each other. Observations were also carried out at a pub because the pub is where all types of fans gather to talk about football, watch football and bond (see Weed, 2007). I went to a Rangers Pub called “Louden Tavern Ibrox” for observation during the game on 29th December. The Rangers Pub was chosen based on a recommendation from a respondent (Rangers IT2). Unfortunately, visiting a Celtic pub was not possible on that day. In addition, it was impossible to collect further data through interviews or small talk, as the majority at the Rangers pub were drunk with fans screaming, hulling insult at the television, and overwhelmed by emotions.

3.3.3 Interviews

Interviews are probably the most employed method in research (Bryman, 2008). The purpose of interviews is driven by the belief that the experience of others is meaningful, knowable and can be made explicit (Amis, 2005). In qualitative research, interviews may be semi-structured which has pre-determined (open-ended) questions referred to as interview guide (see Bryman, 2008) that may bring forth new questions that are piloted to collect the kind of data that is required (Williamson, 2006). A semi-structured interview was chosen for this study because this study began with a clear focus, rather than a very general notion of wanting to research on a topic (Bryman, 2008). In

addition, because of the minimal time to be spent on the field, it was important to be specific in interviews.

Purposive sampling was employed in this study as it is conducted with reference to the goals of the research. Here the researcher does not select sample research participants on a random basis, but they are selected based on criteria chosen to answer the research question. Further, although the research questions determine the sampling approach, the sample is more or less fixed early on in the research process (Bryman, 2008). Sample research participant must be Information-rich (Williamson, 2006) from which one can learn so much about the research under review. This means that this study was conducted with individuals deemed to have in-depth knowledge and experience of the OF rivalry or identifies as a traditional fan (Giulianotti, 2002). Such participants were fully informed of their rights to withdraw, and their anonymity, made aware of a recorder during interviews and was given a consent form.

Further, because of the limitations in this study, two interviews were conducted through email and on twitter. The respondent who received question mail was a representative from Nil by Mouth (NBM). We had initially scheduled a meeting for the summer of 2019, but when I was refused a visa, I decided to resort to an email interview. The twitter respondent (Rangers IT2) was chosen from the Rangers F.C. fan Club account on twitter. Bryman (2008) noted that social media and email interview could be done in lieu of a face-to-face interview. The problem with conducting interviews via social media or by email is that respondents delayed and only responded to some of the questions they were interested in (see Bryman 2008). The delay “killed” momentum and discouraged probing further. Another limitation with using email was that respondents gave lengthy answers to questions and editing such a lengthy response affected the context of data.

I conducted six (6) interviews for this study, three (3) Rangers fans and three Celtic fans. Before going on fieldwork in December 2019, I conducted one interview here in Tromsø. A friend introduced the respondent (Rangers IT3) to me and he agreed to be interviewed at his workplace in the city center. Another friend I met in Glasgow also introduced another respondent (Celtic IT6) to me; we agreed to meet at a café to conduct the interview. Two (2) online interviews (one by mail and the other by twitter) and five (5) face-to-face interviews with each participant signing a consent form. Unfortunately, I could not interview a female fan because I was unable to find any

early enough. However, I managed to schedule an interview with a female Rangers fan who worked as a cleaner in the hostel, but she did not show up. I was unable to re-schedule because I had to return to Norway the next day. I interviewed.

3.3.4 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a process of continuous self-monitoring and reflectiveness among social researchers regarding the knowledge of the social world and its implication (Bryman, 2008). It typically highlights the complicated relationship between the process of knowledge production and the role of the knowledge producer (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009). Even though being reflexive does not mean strictly following sets of predetermined questions (see Crang and Cook, 2007), it remains a systematic and fluid way of thinking and writing (Etherinton, 2004; Creswell, 2007).

To borrow from Klein (1993) this study provides a ‘partial interpretation’ of the football fan rivalry in Glasgow which focuses on the social, historical and cultural factors that influence and reinforces the OF fan rivalry. Hence, it is not in the purview of this study to provide a representational write up of the entire way of life of the OF fans. Also, due to the limited time spent in Glasgow, a limited insight into the details as well as the lived experience of fans will be provided. In addition, there were times during fieldwork, especially at the hostel, I had to withdraw to enable reflexive thinking and reflect on data collection. Some studies advocated for periods of withdrawal (see Rock, 2001), in my case it was a necessity in part to avoid “over-rapport” (see Abbe and Brandon, 2013) with fans, so I do not get caught up in any form of trouble or be associated with one group.

Further, Etherinton, (2004) instructed that a researcher be aware of as well as our environment. Therefore, before the fieldtrip it was important to remain reflexive of my protestant upbringing and be aware of any subjectivity that may arise. Also, just as Crang and Cook (2007) advised to consider questions like ‘How did you manage yourself in the field and how hard was this?’, it was important to be very reflexive about the role race plays in Glasgow especially during the observation at the Rangers Pub. It happened that I was the only colored person in a room full of nothing less than 50 persons. It was important that I properly observe and remain close to the exit.

3.4 Summary

This study adopted a constructivist and interpretative position because of its qualitative nature as it seeks to explain intangible concepts (feelings and emotions) and lived experience of the OF fan fans. As a result, this study employed qualitative methods in data collection to further understand how OF fans construct and interpret their social realities in the context of the rivalry. Despite the numerous limitations and the need to be continuously reflexive, I was able to carry out a micro-ethnography supplemented by direct observation and conducted six (6) interviews. Websites, chatrooms and journals were a rich source of secondary data. The next chapter will seek to provide a conceptual framework for the study.

Chapter 4:

Extra-Time

“Football is like a religion to me. I worship the ball, and I treat it like a god.” - Pele

4 Religious and Identity Discourse

I will begin this chapter with a brief discuss the relationship between religion and violence because of the uniqueness of the OF fan rivalry. From then on, this chapter briefly touches on the “hooligan” discourse and argue further that football fans should not be treated as a collective but to analyze the situation that acts influence behavior. The aim of this chapter to point to the fact that religion cannot be a neutral descriptor of a reality in the world, which causes violence under certain conditions. Further, religious identity just like football fan identity are social construct prone to manipulations from various factors and actor. This explanation provides a justification for the adoption of the framework provided by Spaaij and Anderson (2010) to analyze and understand how the OF fan rivalry is influenced by macro-level influences as well as mediated and moderated influences.

4.1 The myth of Religious Violence

The popular belief that religion is the cause of the world’s bloodiest conflicts is central to the modern conception of religion. According to Cavanaugh (2011), the category “religion”, is a construction of the modern western states to facilitate the transfer of loyalty to the state- a secular social order. The religious fanatic is painted as unruly, irrational and destructive with religion having the dangerous tendency to provoke and exacerbate violence when it is not domesticated or removed from public powers by a secular social order (Cavanaugh, 2011). In view of this, there is a notion that religion and religious fanatics are inherently violent. This is the view taken by political elites, who have difficulty in negotiating “religious difference constructively” (Schlee, 2010) because policymakers they take religion to be particularistic⁹ and scholars adopt a monocausal approach n their analyzing the relationship between religion and violence.

⁸ Cavanaugh (2011) states that the religious, violence, and secular discourse is a modern invention that directly parallels the invention of the modern state. He stated, “As the liberal state developed, ‘religion’ became a category into which to dump ideologies and practices that are judged antithetical to the liberal state’s goal of excluding substantive ends from the public sphere.”

⁹ Particularizing stances treat religiously grounded political conflict as sui generis. Generalizing stances reject the idea that religious conflict or violence is sui generis. Religious identities, ideologies, and organizations are held to work like other identities, ideologies, and organizations (Brubaker, 2015)

There are various notions of prominent authors that believe “religion causes violence” because it is either “absolutist, divisive, [or] insufficiently rational” (Cavanaugh, 2009: p. 2). These claims are regarded as baseless because these authors make “a number of indefensible assumptions about what does and does not count as religion” and “cannot manage to maintain a coherent division between religious and secular violence” (p: 16–18). Instead, Cavanaugh (2009: p.162) believed that “the transfer of power from the church to the state appears not so much as a solution to the wars in question, but as a cause of those wars”.

4.1.1 Culture, Politics, Religion and Violence

Mimetic desire is central to Girard’s conceptualization of religion in relation to violence¹⁰. The concept challenges the ambivalent of the sacred and holds that religion cannot be treated as an abstract, universal, trans-historical and transcultural, nor can religion be apolitical, hence religion is not a neutral descriptor of a reality in the world, which causes violence under certain conditions (see Cavanaugh 2009; Cavanaugh, 2011; Thomas, 2014). In light of this, mimetic desires tend to highlight the relationship between culture, religion, legal and political institutions with violence through a social relation that links violence to the origins of these concepts. Crucially, these concepts separately cannot solely be the cause of violence, nor the way violence is transformed into peace and social order (Thomas, 2014).

To support this, the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria or the attack in Charlie Hebdo cannot be blamed solely on religious fanaticism but is a consequence of the combination of and the absences of various factors, hence (indirectly) constructed (see Salami, 2012; Rio, 2015). This point to the fact that religious identities are not inherently violent but historical as well as socio-political factors may bring about extreme religious fanaticism (Rio, 2015). Further, religiously identified parties/fanatics in conflict may be in contention over political power, economic resources, symbolic recognition, cultural reproduction, or national self-determination (Brubaker, 2015).

¹⁰ For Girard, the foundation of religion is based on internecine and fratricidal conflicts that is brought about by the ramification of mimetic desire and brought to a temporary end through scapegoating (see Thomas, 2014)

4.2 The “Myth” of Football Hooliganism?

The term “fan” is the truncated version of the word in “fanatic” which has its roots in the word “fanaticus” which in turn means “devotee”. However, the term “fan” quickly assumed a negative connotation to describe a person showing form of “religious and political zealotry, false beliefs, orgiastic excess, possession and madness” (Jenkins, 1992; p. 12). The negative connotation connected to the term seems to be at the heart of many representations of those who are faithful “devotee” of professional sports (Jenkins, 1992). “Fan” can be used interchangeably with words like “spectator” or “supporter”. As earlier stated, “exceptional” fans who exhibited obsessive and/or hysterical behavior were the primary focus of earlier studies. This approach to the study of “hooligan” fans also influenced journalistic writing which often suggested that “there is something wrong with being a fan” (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998; p. 122). Some scholars defended fans against the stigma of being “crazed” and “deranged” fanatics (Jenson, 1992), or “comic” and “psychotic” (Jenkins 1992). Just as Cavanaugh (2009) dismissed claims that religion is violent because authors could not maintain a coherent division between religious and secular violence, similarly the defense of fans stemmed from the fact that it became increasingly difficult for scholars to define what “hooliganism” really is and who is a “hooligan”.

As time went on, the hooligan discourse began to be less attractive as significant change took place that reduced the “collective” violence in and around the United Kingdom (U.K). These changes were also because of the decline in media coverage on hooliganism and other socio-political and economic factors¹¹ (see Bairner, 2006; Benkwitz 2013; Giulianotti, 2002, 2005). These lead to the realization among scholars and policy makers that fans should be at the center of fandom research and should not be treated pathologically as the ‘other’. The purpose of placing fans at the center is to highlight the importance and significance of the knowledge and lived experiences. Taking the experiences of fans into consideration will expose the fact that there are different types of football spectators’ identities (see Section 2.2.1) and that these identities can be influenced when facing

¹¹Police response and tactics negatively influence hooliganism in the UK (see Benkwitz, 2013). On the economic aspect, Guilanotti (2005) stated that English football entered a phase of commodification in the early 1990s with the aim of targeting “peaceful upper-class” fans. Giulianotti stated commodification to mean that process by which an object or social practice acquires an exchange value or market centered meaning. The socio-political refers to the government’s acceptance of the recommendations of the Taylor Report into the Hillsborough tragedy of 1989 (see Dunning, 1999).

the similar situation¹² (Stott and Pearson, 2007). "Identity" here simply refers to a social category that an individual member takes a special pride in (Fearon and Laitin, 2000). Therefore, there is a need to recognize that not every football spectator indulges in extreme, excessive or single-minded following of a football club but will do so in specific situation or when influenced.

4.3 Towards A Moderating and Mediating Framework

Spaaij and Anderson (2010) conceptualization of soccer fan violence complements Braun and Vliegthart (2008) approach (see Section 2.1). The differences between the two studies on soccer fan violence is that Braun and Vliegthart only paid attention to moderating factors of soccer fan violence. In contrast, Spaaij and Anderson (2010) advocated for individual lived experiences of fans be included in the study of soccer fan violence and pointed to the role state institutions play in escalating and de-escalating fan violence. The framework presents a "better understanding of the particular social and situational contexts within which incidents of soccer fan violence take place, as well as of the factors that may escalate or de-escalate violent behavior at soccer matches" (Spaaij and Anderson, 2010; p. 563). The key driver soccer violence within this framework is the social identification that individuals form with a collective (see Tajfel and Turner, 2004). Mediating influences explain how cause translates into effect while moderating influences are those factors that affect the intensity or direction of effects. The framework incorporates broader economic, political, social and cultural conditions (macro-influences); the mediating effects of fan cultures and identities; and factors they believe moderate the expression of soccer fan violence.

¹² Ordinary fans may see violence as something to avoid. However, when affronted by police they may legitimize it as a form of 'retaliation' and 'self-defense'. Within this context, 'hooligans are no longer a differential social category, but representative of the group in general' (Stott and Pearson, 2007: 110).

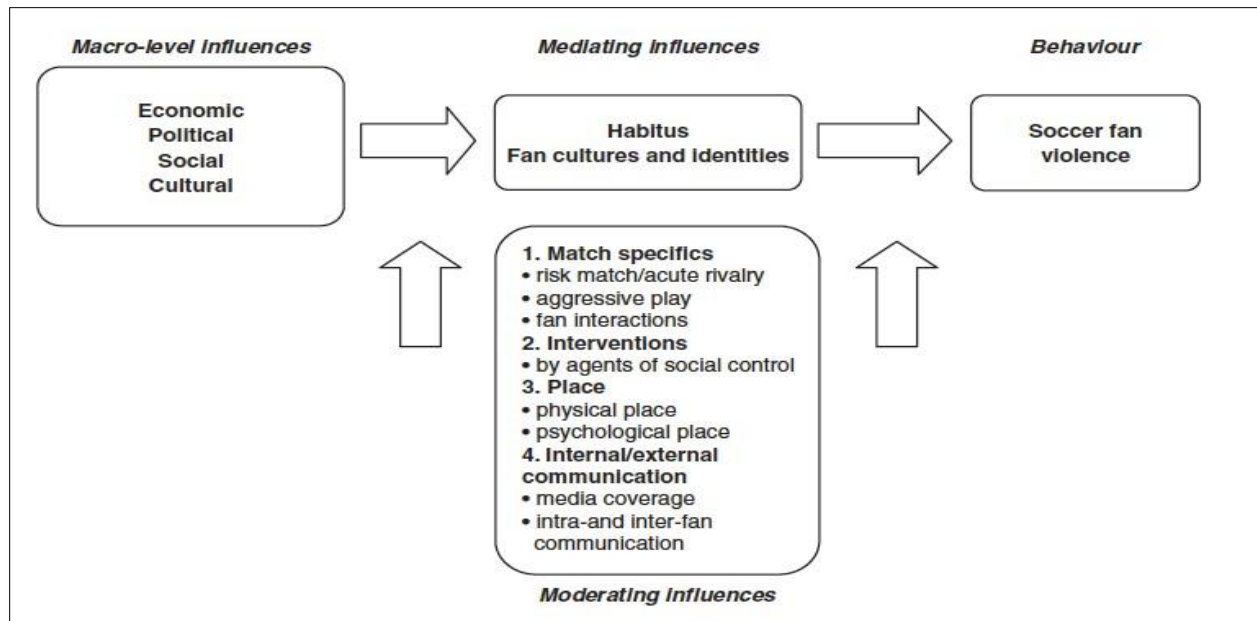


Figure 2 A Conceptual Model of Soccer Fan Violence (Spaaij and Anderson, 2010)

The framework explains how fan habitus¹³ is viewed as a mediating influence between macro-level sources and actual behavior. Along with the attendant process of collective identity formation among fans, the habitus strongly influences patterns of behavior (Spaaij and Anderson, 2010). Regardless of the fact that individual experiences make each football fan different in terms of attitude and values, the habitus collectively disposes them to shared actions in any situation they find themselves based on their club identity. For this reason, the habitus and identity are the reason why some clubs witness more fan violence involving their fans while others experience less (Spaaij and Anderson, 2010). Hence, this framework provides a very broad approach to understanding of the OF fan rivalry from a multicausal perspective because it provides a channel to investigate if religion plays a role as a macro-level influence in the OF fan rivalry. It also aids an analysis of how the identity of OF fans is constructed because it acknowledges the lived experience of OF fans.

¹³ The habitus (along with Capital and Field) is associated with the works of Bourdieu works. Bourdieu is credited with contributing immensely to the development of fandom literatures. The habitus is an unconscious ‘taking in’ of social rules, values and attitudinal and bodily dispositions that in turn develops networks and systems of organization known as ‘schemes of perception (See Tomlinson, 2004).

The moderating influences may vary according to the geographical location the rivalry is played out. However, the moderating influence identified by Spaaij and Anderson (2010) can be visible in every setting. One significant moderating influence in every football setting is the behavior of those that are responsible for controlling the crowds. The social interaction between the crowd and the police can contribute to the escalation and the de-escalation of crowd violence. Further, internal/external communication presents a way to examine how the OF fans facilitate intra and inter fan communication through chanting and songs. The framework also allows this study to scrutinize the role the media in general plays in directing the effect of the OF fan rivalry.

4.4 Summary

There is always a tendency to brand religious fanatics as “problematic”, and soccer fans as “crazed” fanatics. Cavanaugh laid the groundwork for a better analysis of the relationship between religion and violence rejecting a monocausal approach because concepts like religion, culture or politics cannot cause violence separately. In the same vein, there was a realization among fandom scholars that football spectator identity can be influenced by socio-political and economic factors. In essence, the violence surrounding football fan rivalry can be said to be a construct that is subject to macro-level influences and mediating and moderating influences. The conceptual framework provided by Spaaij and Anderson (2010) proves to be very useful mainly because it supports a multicausal approach advocated by Benkwitz and Molner (2012) in analyzing the OF fan rivalry. This framework encourages taking the identity and the live experience of fans into account in order to create a better understanding of the particular social setting within which incidents of fan violence take place, as well as the context-dependent moderating influences which co-shape the scale, intensity and direction of soccer fan violence in the context of a fan rivalry.

Chapter 5:

Penalty Shootout

“Let me make the songs of a nation, and I care not who makes its laws... Give me the making of a people’s songs, and I care not who makes its laws”

- Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun

5 Data Analysis and Discussion

This chapter will engage in a thematic analysis of primary and secondary data. The first theme will attempt to explain religion as the macro-level influence of the OF fan rivalry. From then on, this chapter will focus on the mediating factor of the OF fan rivalry and explain how the habitus and fan identity is constructed and considered to be unchanging. Next, this chapter will identify some moderating factors of the OF fan rivalry to analyze the factors that may intensify the OF fan rivalry.

5.1 Religion as a macro-Level Influence of the OF fan Rivalry

As stated in Section 1.1, the influx of Irish migrants during the potato famine (1845-1849) that killed over a million people is regarded by majority of respondents as the foundation of the rivalry. The immigrants consisting mostly Catholics faced discrimination based on their faith. Decades later, the dominant discourse in Scotland is a question of how much sectarianism still exist in Scottish society (Rosie, 2004; Devine, 2000; Bruce et al 2004; Finn, 2003). The lecture entitled “Scotland’s Shame”¹⁴ delivered by Scottish composer James Macmillan in 1999 gave the sectarian discourse momentum. In response to the debate, Michael Rosie (2004) famously branded the idea that sectarianism in Scotland is a myth. In view of the above, on the surface, it appears that religion through sectarianism plays a role in the OF fan rivalry.

When asked if sectarianism still existed in Scotland, respondents were divided although majority pointed out that Scotland is a modern and almost a secular state but found it hard to dismiss the impact of religious bigotry in Scotland. A respondent from Nil by Mouth¹⁵ (NBM) did point to the fact that it has been overstated especially by the media, but maintained that sectarianism still very much exist in Scotland. He stated that he knows Michael Rosie has changed his viewed point on

¹⁴ MacMillan called Scotland a country of “sleep-walking bigotry”, that was permeated with anti-Catholicism and accused Scotland of “forgetting of the past”. He then describes the football team Rangers and what he calls its “totemic significance” criticizing the anti-Catholic songs that are sung by football supporters (Devine 2000).

¹⁵ Nil by Mouth is Scotland’s leading Anti-Sectarian Charity committed in eradicating sectarianism in Scotland.

the impact of sectarianism in Scotland and that Northern Ireland should not be used as a standard to measure if sectarianism exist in Scotland or not.

“Coming from County Antrim I have a degree of perspective as I grew up in a society which was deeply divided along sectarian lines, with thousands of lives being lost during the troubles and others shattered immeasurably under the wright of the hatred. If one looks at Scotland in comparison with Northern Ireland (as Michael’s academic colleague Dr Steve Brice regularly did in his work) then the Scottish problem looks much less. However, that is the wrong lens to look through and the wrong comparison to make (if I was to compare my experiences of the Troubles with those of someone growing up in the Balkans during the 1990s my problems would appear so much less for example.)”.

- NBM IT1

Many of the Celtic fans I interviewed believed that sectarianism was still visible in Scotland and few likened it to racism that will never go away. Only Jerry IT3 a Rangers fan agreed that sectarianism is a problem, but he explained how social, economic history of Glasgow and political factors also contributes to the problems Scotland is facing. Very few authors recognize the fact that the problem in Scotland is not solely boiled down to religion. Jerry stated Glasgow to be a post-industrial city, a huge and a working-class city. He believed that a decline ensued after the Second World War. To him he believed that Glasgow is an example of how not to build a society.

“... and this is kind of a textbook example of how not to build a society I think, because what happened was you had massive unemployment, and then you had uh..... you know... you had this major workforce without work, and then of course drinking drug abuse was and still is a big problem in Scotland so then you put that into the equation and then finally you know this men who are without work and you know drinking and taking other drugs then they wanna fight, they wanna have a rivalry and they want someone else to blame for their problems so then that gives birth to this rivalry between Rangers and Celtic and I think it’s you know Its born out

of that frustration that this working class men have just been abandoned you know...”

- Jerry Rangers IT3

From fieldwork experience, it appeared that drinking and drug abuse is a social problem that still plagues Scotland. Jerry Rangers IT3 later on lamented the way the Scottish society encourages a culture of heavy drinking and coupled with frustration of unemployment in Glasgow, it was easy to make the Catholics scapegoats. Jerry pointed out that in his opinion, when the Catholics came in because of the famine, they were harshly treated not solely because they were Catholics but because the local Scots were scared that they will lose their job. In period of scarcity such as a famine, the likelihood of violence to increase because desires are channeled to limited and exclusive goods (see Thomas, 2014). Jerry Rangers IT3 went further to explain how the political turmoil in Northern Ireland is having a ripple effect in Scotland bringing about sectarianism. He explained that people (fans) in Scotland are being taught to be loyal to issues that does not affect them directly.

“...you have to be loyal to so many other issues that don’t affect you. What I often describe... the rivalry between Rangers and Celtic is a proxy to the conflict in Ireland. The conflict between protestant and catholic in Northern Ireland of course is very serious and it’s still an issue today and I feel that Glaswegians have kind of... this football fans have kind of taken the violence and struggling and the suffering that is happening in Northern Ireland and they are recreating it in Glasgow through the rivalry and its really pointless, in my opinion. Why will you bring that conflict happening in another country here?”

- Jerry Rangers IT3

5.1.1 Religious Society, “Secular” Fans

According to Bradley (2014), religion in Scotland has a varying effect in Scottish society affecting social, political and various life chances since at least a century and a half. Most respondent agreed Scotland could conveniently be considered as a secular country, but that religion is a private affair

that is why it is restricted to the home or church. Jerry Ranger IT3 believed Scotland is a religious society because of the relationship it maintains with the British monarchy. Nevertheless, it remains a fact that majority of people in Scotland are not “practicing” Christians.

“I think it still is... compared to say where I live now, I feel northern Norway is very secular. Whereas in the UK and particularly in Scotland and Ireland, a lot of the major institutions still have major connection to the church, and Royalty, you know when you have institutions that have the Royal... like everything you have the royal mail. so, you have the royal opera, royal ballet, so royalty and religion are still deeply ingrained in some of the institution... like the royal bank of Scotland.”

- Jerry Ranger IT3

“Recent surveys show fewer than one in twenty people in Scotland regularly attend Church. Yet in the 2011 census approx. a third of Scot’s self-identified as being part of the Church of Scotland and just under 20% as Roman Catholic. So, there seems to be a difference between ‘practicing’ and ‘cultural’ Catholics and protestants. This has led to debate over whether tensions over ethno national identities part of the sectarian conundrum in Scotland with writers, academics and interest groups are also placing renewed emphasis on tension and conflict directed toward those who identify as being Irish or British.”

- NBM IT1

Religion plays a role in the Scottish society even though there is widespread secularization at the individual level. Most western nations allow religious institution to play a role in society, through this approach, religion is defined by its function rather than its substantive nature (see Droogers, 2011; See Furseth, 2017). Most respondents recall that the last time they went to church was during their childhood. Bradley (2014) found out that as far as the Scottish football international support is concerned (which includes OF fans), they are a secular grouping. Only 7 percent of fans go to church every week or every two weeks and 9 percent go monthly. Twenty percent go ‘sometimes’, and a significant 61 percent never attend.

“Well I was brought up catholic... but then I got a brain and then I just thought to myself am ah... humanist now, you know what I mean”

- Anton Celtic IT4

Further, the above statement from the NBM IT1 further exposes nationalism as a factor that contributes to the intensity of the rivalry in Scotland, hence it is reductive to take religion seriously and not culture, economics and politics (see Thomas, 2014). Ranger’s fans cannot stand the display of Irish culture embedded in Celtic fan practices, at the same time the Celtic fans cannot tolerate the idea of the Union and loyalty to the British crown. Celtic fans do not sing the British national anthem because they consider themselves pro-Irish and pro-Nationalist. They want Northern Ireland and Ireland to be one country and Scotland to be independent, which is the exact opposite of what Rangers fans want. Ranger’s fans want the Union to remain intact and untouched. Whereas Rangers fans supports the British Army, Celtic fans are pro-IRA¹⁶ so many of their fans will sing and chant about the IRA. Both sets of fans always seize the opportunity to communicate their political desires through songs and chants (more on Section 5.3.3).

“When we speak of Rangers, we say the ‘Huns’, we never say Rangers, or we say the ‘bastards’ or some derogatory term towards them. I hate them, I hate what they stand for, I hate their ideology, their narrow mindedness and secret handshakes, Orange Order loyalism and loyal to the queen... fuck the queen, she’s never done anything for me, I don’t give a fuck about her... Hope she dies... The French had the right idea...”

- Anton Celtic IT4

Willy IT5 a Rangers Supporter, frequently came all the way from Northern Ireland to watch Rangers games because he felt he is obligated to do so as a Supporter (see Section 2.2.1). He complained that, it is the “rebellious” behavior of Celtic fans that brings about animosity. He believed that their support for the IRA is offensive because they killed many innocent people in Northern Ireland and England.

¹⁶ Irish Republican Army (IRA) was an Irish republican paramilitary organization that fought to end British rule in Northern Ireland.

“...the likes of remembrance Sunday all the teams in Scotland wear a poppy on their shirts to remember the people who sacrificed their lives and died for freedom and Celtic refused to wear the poppy and there was a minute silence on remembrance Sunday and Celtic fans boo the minute silence... The IRA planted bombs in England and killed innocent people and Celtic fans are singing in support of this people. You know that’s the major problem that gives rise to sectarianism because this disgust not just Rangers fans but people from other background to hear them singing in support for a terrorist organization. They support the IRA and also sing about Palestine... Hamas they support Hamas in Palestine, so this encourages sectarianism to a greater extent you know”

- Willy Rangers IT5

The OF fan rivalry is a rivalry based on “narcissism of minor difference” (Hills 2002: p.61) because Catholics and Protestants only differ in minor doctrines, but it is obvious that there is more dividing them. With most fans not being religious points to the fact that the economic, socio-cultural and political factors briefly discussed above reinforces the OF fan rivalry in Glasgow. The economic history of Glasgow created a working-class culture in the city, which provides an added incentive in the escalation of soccer fan violence among OF fans. This idea is supported by research that shows that “80-90% of football violence is mostly associated with the working class” (see Dunning 1999; p. 140). The political factor is summarized as a struggle between a pro-nationalist Celtic and pro-unionist Rangers with both sets of fans using their club and its history to make a political statement. This can only mean that religion cannot be singled out as the sole macro-level influence when its role in reinforcing the OF fan rivalry is almost non-existent.

5.2 Mediating Factor of the OF fan rivalry: The Habitus of the OF fans

According to Spaaij and Anderson (2010), “the strength of the concepts of habitus and identification is that they illuminate the ways in which fan behavior intersects with issues... thereby linking soccer fan violence to its wider social and cultural contexts.” The OF fans habitus appears to be mediated not entirely by religion by economic, socio-cultural and political factors. The habitus happens partly on the unconscious where a “taking in” of social rules, values etc.

provides OF fans with a sense of place, as well as dictating which practice is befitting to them (see Bourdieu 1984). Even though the two Edinburgh football clubs, Hearts F.C. and Hibernian F.C. are regarded as protestants and catholic clubs respectively, they still experience relatively less violence among their fans compared to the OF clubs in Glasgow. This is because of the OF fans see themselves as the bastion of Protestant and Catholic identity therefore their habitus disposes them to act in a specific way that upholds and defend the Catholic-Irish or Protestant-Unionist identity (see section 5.1.1).

“If you are told, ‘you are protestant’ and that means you are a nationalist and that means you are a loyalist. But I think a lot of Rangers fans, they kind of, they have to subscribe to everything just because they are Rangers fans. I feel they are just loyal to the queen because, the Catholics maybe are not, they just doing it just to be opposite of Celtic. And I think that goes both ways. I could imagine Catholics, maybe have other opinions but they are kind of told that ‘you a catholic you have to be loyal to this, you have to be loyal to that.’”

- Jerry Rangers IT3

5.2.1 The Construction of the OF fan Identity

Most of the Scottish-based fans are hardcore supporters because majority of them are season-ticket holders at their club and regularly attending away fixtures (see Giulianotti, 2005). As for the fans of the OF, their shared historical connections to Northern Ireland (Catholic-Republican) and Great Britain (Protestant-Unionist) provide their members with a shared identity that prescribes and evaluates who they are, what they should believe and how they should behave in order to achieve positive inter-group distinctiveness and self-enhancement (see Hogg, 2016: p. 6). During the tour to Celtic Park, I observed that most tour attendees were teenagers and children accompanied by a parent or a grandparent. Although the teenagers I spoke with told me they supported other clubs, but they had the obligation to visit Celtic park.

Deuchar and Holligan (2010: p. 20), found out how it was “common for youngsters to talk about the way in which their fathers or older brothers had encouraged them to support the same football team as they did to ensure that their sons develop a ‘hard man’ image and avoid the perceived

possibility of becoming gay”. All respondent began supporting the club right from childhood because they were born into a protestant or catholic family. Sam Rangers IT2 explained that he chose to support Rangers because he was born in a Ranger supporting family. This was also the case with Jerry Rangers IT3, when he explained that he did not have a choice to support any other club growing up in Glasgow, but when he moved to London that was when we was able to support Manchester City F.C. This means that the identity of “traditional fan or Supporter” is influenced by place (see Giullianotti, 2002).

“So, for me I was a Rangers fan not by choice, since birth basically because when you are born in Glasgow and you born into a family that is either protestant or catholic you don’t choose, you are told. If you are protestant, you are expected to follow rangers. If you are catholic you are expected to follow Celtic.”

- Jerry Rangers IT3

“... Because people as soon as they have a kid, it gets drummed down into him we hate Catholics we hate Celtic, also when a diehard Celtic fan has a kid, it gets drummed into him we hate Rangers, we want Ireland to be a free country...”

- Billy Celtic IT6

Further, most respondent who were fans believed that their identity was unchanging, because as a Supporter, it is impossible to change club, and not changing clubs means holding steadfast to club culture. Some believed that there is no need in supporting another football club because a Supporter is not meant to have divided loyalty. Anton Celtic and Steve Celtic IT4 explained how easy a person can change religion, politics and sexuality but it is impossible to change your football club. Changing your football club is called “turn coat” and according to them, it is as good as being dead. Most fans consider long loyalty to clubs as a sign of “manliness” and adherence to a moral code (see Fearon and Laitin, 2000). A Supporter said to me “you are not a man” when he learnt that I do not wish to be an Arsenal Supporter anymore. Such intense following can be beneficial

but often leads to a narrow mindedness especially when it comes to understanding an out-group's point of view.

As earlier said in section 2.2.2, the idea that identity is a fixed primordial maker hence ascriptive and unchangeable is false (see Fearon and Laitin, 2000). From the above the identity of the OF fan is constructed by human action. Other agents of socialization like peers also have a role in this process. Parental influence on the choice of clubs a child is to follow points to mimetic thesis that states that desires are not a rational autonomous process but always mirrors that of another as the self is unstable and constantly changing. This is part of the first corollaries of the mimetic theory that contributes to the social dynamics of how identity is socially constructed. Thus, desire is always 'mediated' to us by other people, who in turn have their desires mediated to them (See Thomas, 2014). Through this influence, there is a substantial agreement between both sets of fans on rules of membership and roles obliged of members in certain situation (see Fearon and Laitin, 2000)

5.3 Moderating Factors of the OF Fan Rivalry

Spaaij and Anderson (2010) observed that fans who engage in violence do so only a small part of the time therefore it is important to focus on the situational conditions in which violence may occur. However, it is important to take into consideration the behavior of those that are responsible for controlling the crowds- the police. In addition, it is also important to take into consideration other non-state institution and those that have the power to influence the discourse- the media. Data showed how intervention and agent of social control; non-state institutions; and internal and external communication intensifies the rivalry.

5.3.1 Intervention and Agent of Social Control

A society's response to deal with conflict generated by mimetic desires is by fixing their attention on (marginalized) figure or group- the scapegoat attributing to them the cause of the tension and then move to expel them. Victimized this group temporary brings harmony to the society (see Fleming, 2002). With the level of violence surrounding the OF fan rivalry it was easy to single out the fans of the OF as a problem of not only Glasgow but also the whole of Scotland. Some respondents who were fans felt that some laws and the police in Scotland targeted them. The Green

Brigade, an ultra-group¹⁷ of Celtic FC supporters formed in 2006, led the front line in protest against the Offensive Behavior at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) Act¹⁸ passed in March 2012. This group of “Hardcore supporters” were in strong opposition to the law because they perceived themselves as being targeted by police applying and enforcing the act (see Bradley, 2014).

While on fieldwork on my way back from the pub during the OF derby, police cars and officers were placed strategically in every corner. The atmosphere did not look tensed as the police made sure that both sets of fans (those with colors) do not mix. Respondents were divided on the role the police played in intensifying the rivalry. However, some pointed at the heavy-handed tactics and accused the police of being biased targeting only the OF fans. Although, some respondent was sympathetic with the police, but others pointed to the fact that the police collaborated with the media to further demonize OF fans. They made comparison to other sports- like rugby in Scotland that experiences incidents of sectarianism and violence but with limited arrest and focus.

“...Am some more conflicted as I understand that the police had a very difficult job, but I also think they were very brutal and militarized... I have a little bit of anti-authority element in me and I think it’s because I saw from a young age, I saw policemen on batons running through crowds of people swinging their batons indiscriminately just hitting people on the head...”

- Jerry Rangers IT3

“... they (the police) criminalize football fans when they are only supporting the team... picking on them. I think Rangers and Celtic are picked on by the police, you go to rugby and people are bashing all that and nothing happens... Its ok because its rugby. Where is the line for what’s acceptable?”

¹⁷ The term originated in Italy to refer to association football fans renowned for fanatical support.

¹⁸ The law was designed specifically to target the Old Firm rivalry in order to reduce the religious hatred that was evident between the two opposing sides (Child, 2018). The Act created two new offences, one to address behavior in and around football matches and the other related online acts of violence. However, the law was repealed in 2018 because it "completely failed to tackle sectarianism" and was "illiberal" which "unfairly targets football fans", and was "condemned by legal experts, human rights organizations and equality groups" (official report 2018. Scottish parliament: p. 43)

- Anton Celtic IT4

Sadly, it can be argued that football fans are treated this way because of their long history of violence that did not exist in other sports in Scotland. The respondent from NBM made this clear that of all ‘religiously’ aggravated arrests in Scotland takes place at football matches because hundreds and thousands engage in sectarian and provocative chanting.

“... whilst we have seen progress made to tackle bigotry in workplaces and communities (Protestants and Catholics now enjoy fairly similar wage/health/socio economic levels), football has failed to step up the plate and this failure underlines efforts in wider society – especially in a country like Scotland where football plays such a huge role in the nations psyche and identity”

- NBM IT1

During my fieldwork, the police approach in crowd control was very effective. But such attention received by the OF fans and in most times the harsh treatment they are subjected to, can result in violence as fans will sometimes want to defend themselves or use the attention they receive to make political claims to voice their concerns just like the Green brigade had done (see Section 4.2). In essence, governmental intervention and agents of social control has a role in the escalation and de-escalation violence surrounding the OF fan rivalry.

5.3.2 Non-State institutions

Jerry IT3 pointed out (section 5.2.1) that he was only able to support another team when he left Glasgow pointing to the effect a place can have on a fan identity. Respondent agreed that within Scotland there are social and religious institutions that may have an impact on the OF fan rivalry in Scotland. First, is the Orange Order (OO) that has its in 1795 tied to the annual celebration of the William of Orange’s victory over Catholic James II. Now, as a prominent institution/secret society in Scotland, the OO organizes walks/march in and around Scotland to celebrate this tradition but some respondent stated that such walks tends to intimidate and threaten the catholic identity. Some Catholics consider these walks offensive. Billy Celtic IT6 for example explained that the authorities do not grant Catholics the permission to march as many times as the Protestants

gets. Other Celtic respondents also shared this sentiment. They pointed out that the authorities were partial when it comes to granting permissions for marches because the OO always got as many marches they want. The OO march is a way to celebrate a culture that demonstrates and portrays the protestant identity as the legitimate identity in Scotland (see section 2.2.1). However, the frequency of the OO marches can be interpreted by the fact that they feel that their identity as the legitimate is being threatened.

“On the Orange Order, I think they bring a lot of trouble that don’t need to be there, not the bands that march but the people that follow the bands... they bring a lot of troubles and I think that that brings sectarianism as well because they are allowed to march through the... you know what I mean, it feeds in inferiority complex, it feeds they all against us because they have as many marches as they want... that feeds the sectarianism because its fine for one group to do that but it’s not fine for the other group to do that.”

- Billy Celtic IT6

“yea... I mean people I have spoken to, will often use the excuse and say things like this is our tradition this is our culture and we should be allowed to celebrate our culture. And I find that difficult because, if they know the history of how intimidating and how militant it is, because let’s not forget this marching bands are made up of drummers and they use military terminology and talk like regimens and use hard military language around the names of their groups and I think that that in its self, this traditions this institutions are... are still damaging and still threatening and definitely a roadblock on the road to peace.”

- Jerry Rangers IT3

Jerry Rangers IT3 statement on the OO supports what Brubaker (2015) observed, stating that “religion” and “religious” does not exist and what exist, enable and sustain (political) violence are particular practices, discourse, and structures that are understood by some as religious which they are not. For example, the OO march is understood to be a celebration of Protestant culture, but it is more of a political statement than a religious one. Not all respondents shared the same opinion

about the OO. Some Rangers fans believe that the OO marches is not sectarian in any way because it is similar to St. Patrick's Day that celebrates history and Culture.

“The orange order, I don't think the orange order is... I just think the media is just classifying the orange order as sectarian whereas they are only just celebrating their history and their culture. It's like Saint Patrick's Day for example so it's about celebrating history... I don't really think the orange order is sectarian to be honest... because at the end of the day it's just a band playing music... Nobody has ever died listening to music... A band walking down the street is no threat to anybody... Personally, I don't think the bands, or the march is a threat.”

- Willy Rangers IT5

One thing visible here concerning the OO is the use of music to mobilize support, assert identity and promote the protestant ideology (see Brenner, 2018). In the case of Scotland, it is usually done by the working class¹⁹, which supports the claim made by Brenner (2018) that performing rebellion is not always a top-down approach but can also be bottom-up, perhaps by those who want to show solidarity, prove their worth and gain greater acceptance within the in-group (see Fearon and Laitin, 2000). These institutions may make it difficult for the habitus to be mutable as they keep reinventing the wheel of sectarianism and hate which in turn affects the OF fan rivalry.

The second non-state institution that may intensify the OF rivalry is the Pub. The pub (or public house) remain sites for football fandom culture and identity to flourish (see Dixon, 2013). The UK is known for its pub culture and wild drinking habits. From the fieldwork and interviews, it was undoubtedly clear that Scotland has a huge alcohol culture because every street has a store selling cheap alcohol. Some respondent also bemoaned the *laissez faire* attitude of the Scottish society towards alcohol especially at the lack of laws to regulate the sale and distribution of alcohol in the society. Most fans felt it was absurd to allow a brewery company sponsor teams that are known for violent behavior in the 90s.

¹⁹ Ramsey (2011) observed that it has been a large part of the working-class culture since 1780 in the UK to parade to fife and drum and the practice became popularized by part-time military forces.

“...in the 90s... when I was a child my parents would not buy me a Ranger’s shirt because it has this advertising (a brewery company) on it and I just thought... I absolutely agree with them, I think this is absurd that... uh... this is a football team that is known for violence and sectarian problems and hooliganism and their main sponsor is the local brewery? And this sponsor is on the shirt of every single man woman and child who chose to buy that shirt. For me, that’s absurd that children will be allowed to wear Rangers or Celtic shirt... they were walking advertisement for these breweries... these companies... and it just astounds me that that was allowed.”

- Jerry Rangers IT3

It was at the height of alcohol related problems that the Scottish government enacted a law targeting football related drinking called Criminal Justice Bill (Scotland) Act²⁰. The Act banned the sale and consumption of alcohol at football grounds and on football Supporters’ buses. With alcohol hard to come by due to strict measures put in place, fans resulted to hanging out at the pub before matches. Although, during observation at a local pub in Glasgow, the young men I spoke to told me that they were at the pub because they could not get tickets and not because they wanted to drink. They even pointed out that this was their first time at the pub. Further, respondents pointed out that it is normal for fans to go to the pub early and then go to the stadium drunk. To avoid this, OF derby matches kickoff time were brought forward to early afternoon (12:00pm) so that fans will not come to games drunk. However, this did not work, as fans would still get up and go to the pubs early in the morning before the game starts at 12pm.

“... you are never going to stop people from turning in to football without drinking. They tried it they put the games at 12 o’clock on Sunday before the pubs open but the Celtic pub and Rangers pub are open at 7 o’clock in the morning. They open and let people in... the police don’t know they are in there and they will drink for 3 or 4 hours before they go into the game.

²⁰The Act was implemented in the aftermath of the 1980 Scottish Cup Final between Rangers and Celtic at Hampden Park. After extra time, Celtic won the match by a lone goal, this led to a riot resulting in 200 arrests and both clubs getting heavy fines.

So, there's no way to eradicate people coming in for football without drinking.”

- Billy Celtic IT6

Celtic and Rangers fans open pubs to only serve their fellow fans creating a “safe space” for “male bonding” (see section 2.2.3). Although there are pubs that are neutral, but it is the specialized pubs that are always filled up because in there lies freedom to do and say whatever they want. And it is in your best interest as a Rangers or a Celtic fan not to enter the wrong pub.

“On an old firm day, there are pubs I would not go in to drink because I know they are all Rangers fans in there, and there are pubs Rangers fans would not go in because there are mainly Celtic fans in there, mixed pubs in old firm days can be dangerous places. But separate pubs allow you to be among like-minded people, you want to be among your own kind who want all the same results. Which again you can say it bringing sectarianism because you are not mixing but to me you are better off not mixing on old firm day because it's just a recipe for fights.”

- Billy Celtic IT6

Drinking in separate pubs like those that Billy implied reinforces fans habitus and their identity as they mingle with those of like minds. This sort of interaction brings about certain rituals that are otherwise forbidden in public. For example, during observation on 29th December at a Rangers pub, when Rangers took the lead against Celtic, the fans in the pub began to sing “We are the Billy boys”- a song that is banned by the Scottish government and attracts jail time if one is caught singing it in public. But just like Brenner (2018) observed with the karaoke bars providing a safe place to perform rebellion, the (specialized) pubs provides a very safe space to reinforce the (sectarian) identity of the OF fans which in turn affects the intensity and duration of the rivalry.

5.3.3 Internal and External Communication: Media activity and Practicing Fanatism through Banter, Chants, and Songs.

The quote at the beginning of this chapter by the Scottish writer and politician Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, sums up the effect music can have on people. Data showed that songs, chants and banter-

all part of football culture- play a role in intensifying and keeping the rivalry alive. The Scottish government have struggled to find a lasting solution to stop offensive chants and songs in and around stadiums. Fans of the OF use songs and chants to not only signify who they are but to effectively demonize the other. The media on their part serves as a channel to popularize such songs and facilitate communications between friends and foes as the internet has gradually become a breeding ground for sectarianism (see McMenemy et al., 2005). It is easy to find songs whose lyrics are deemed very offensive on YouTube or any social media platform.

5.3.3.1 Practicing “Fanatism” through Songs, Chants, and Banter

The habitus through its collective aspect and regardless of individual personal experiences, disposes people to certain shared action in a common situation they find themselves (Spaaij and Anderson, 2010). A football match presents a shared experience for spectators; therefore, it is mandatory to chant or sing to put on a show in unison (see Goffman 1959). Further, as a fanatic, a true traditional fan, a die-hard supporter, it is expected to know songs, chants and slangs of the club as a sign of “a longer, more local and popular cultural identification with the club” (see Guilianotti, 2002). Fans of the OF use chanting and singing when supporting their respective teams to glory for two reason: first for excitement to create a “home atmosphere” (see Charleston, 2008) and second, as a meaning making activity which involves the production and exchange of signs to legitimize identity and demonize the other (see Barthes, 2007; Brenner, 2018). Fans of the OF do this by drawing on historical events, turning them into songs and chants to be sung during games. They use mostly historical events to influence the discourse surrounding the football in Scotland to establish that their identity as either a catholic or protestant is legitimate.

While Rangers fans have traditionally sung songs associated with Orange battle anthems such as “The Sash” and “No Pope of Rome”, Celtic supporters have sung Irish folk or rebel political songs such as “Fields of Athenry” (see Bruce et al., 2004: 128). The “Billy Boys”, “The Famine song”, and “The Field of Anthery”²¹ are the most controversial with the first two containing strong and degrading languages (see Appendix). The “famine song” was written to remind Celtic fans based on their Irish identity that they are strangers in Scotland hence, Rangers remains the only legitimate

²¹ ‘The Fields of Athenry’ as an offensive and sectarian song, despite its lack of religious references it is still regarded as ‘anti-British’ and ‘racist’.

identity is Scotland. The song is regarded as highly offensive, but both sets of fans always look for ways to provoke each other with songs, chants or symbols even when they are not playing each other.



Figure 3 “Celtic fans taunt Rangers at Hamilton clash.” (Oates, 2020)

“They have been brought up to believe what they believe, and no matter how many reasoned arguments you give them as to why it is wrong, you will not change the way they think and the way they feel... it's engrained in them... that's how it is, you tell them there's no need to sing these songs, no fucking way... ‘I have always sung this song always going to sing that song in football am going to keep singing it’. And that's why they will never change because it's so deeply engrained in them that even if Ireland became a free country the Celtic fans will still sing IRA songs, it's never going to change.”

- Billy Celtic Fan IT6

Singing derogatory songs and chanting insults is an acceptable practice in football culture and accepted in Scotland as the “90 minutes bigots”. This means that as a fan you should be free to exhibit “sectarian” attitude for 90 minutes (the duration of a football match). Further, in order not to bring your loyalty in a group into question one must participate in group rituals and practices. This is exactly what happened in the participant observation at the Rangers pub illustrated in Section 5.3.2. Goffman (1959) is instrumental here as fans must put up a show in-sync and in

unison to strengthen their performance if not their attempt to seem legitimate as an identity will be doubted by the opposition. And after the match (the backstage) things go back to normal.

“That’s again where the 90min bigot comes out because people feel ‘oh everyone is singing so I have to sing, I don’t want to be the only person sitting not singing’. But when that person walks off that place, they wouldn’t sing that song again, until the next time they go to a football game”.

- Billy Celtic Fan IT6

It cannot be overstated the significant role these songs and chants adds to the intensity of the rivalry. Apart from the fact that these songs are very provocative, they play an active role in reinforcing the identity of both sets of Supporters. OF fans, begin to see themselves as a representation of the club’s collective identity that evokes fanatical emotional response among those who hear and sing club songs. After all, music remains an important way to perform one’s identity (see Brenner, 2018). With the sectarian elements in these songs, the government and both clubs’ executives have attempted to combat sectarian songs and chants with little results. The respondent from NBM complained about the “terrible” lyrics these songs contain and blamed the clubs themselves for not doing enough in putting an end to provocative songs and chants. This is because there is little or no collaborative efforts between the OF clubs and the government in finding a way to address fan behavior. The rivalry enriches the club executives so from a profit-oriented perspective, it may be hard for them to make decisive actions that would diminish the intensity of the rivalry. The government have tried to enact effective laws like the Act of 2012 but without the support of the clubs, progress is painfully slow with the only solution being adopting UEFA standards.

“The Scottish Parliament has tried to legislate and address the problem without much success – in no small part due to the abject failure of clubs and governing bodies to take any meaningful action to address widespread displays of sectarian behavior. The only way we can see the problem being tackled properly is by introducing UEFA (European Football Governing Body) Strict Liability standards into the sport in Scotland – It’s worth noting

that both Celtic and Rangers have been fined by UEFA for fan misbehavior at European games which it regulates – in stark contrast to the total failure to deduct a point or fine a pound for either club by the SFA and SPFL when such behavior occurs at matches they regulate. There is a level of gutlessness by the sport’s administrators to act on this issue and as such, the small majority (and it should be remembered that vast majority of both clubs fanbases are good people) feel emboldened to continue to spout their bigotry and bile.”

- NBM IT1

Some of these songs and chants are considered banter by few fans in Scotland. Some scholars have defended the “humor” surrounding a rivalry stating that the humor attached to it should not be “taken to stand for anything else” (see Deuchar and Holligan, 2010: p. 26). Others have argued that in the OF fan rivalry, fans engaging in “ritual” insult and exaggerate their difference by drawing upon historical events in Ireland as the source of their insults, does not necessarily make them sectarian in nature (see Bruce et al. 2004). The “90-minutes bigot” is used as an excuse to insult and offend each other, but it is expected that everyone receive the insults as “banter” because they are in the “frontstage”- it is the accepted level of violence in Scottish society (see Ostrowsky, 2016). However, majority of the Celtic respondent do not see the funny side when it comes to “joking” with their Irish heritage. Anton and Steven Celtic IT4 complained that making jest of their family history and saying things like, “go home, the famine is already over” (lyrics from the Famine Song) is not something to joke about especially because millions died in the famine. For this reason, Anton IT4 specifically, does not see the “banter” aspect of the OF fan rivalry because he takes it seriously.

“I have got a cousin in the family who is a Rangers fan, but when Celtic play rangers we don’t speak 3 days before and 3 days after we just never speak and am 29 and he is 25 and when we were like 12 and 16, we don’t speak. Till I die that’s what we will do. If Celtic beat Rangers, I am dead to him. If rangers beat Celtic, he is dead to me. After those days we don’t speak about anything concerning the games because we may fallout and he is family.”

- Anton Celtic IT4

5.3.3.2 *The Media*

The rise of globalization and technological advancement especially the internet (see Deuchar and Holligan, 2010; McMenemy et al, 2005) undoubtedly influences and intensifies the OF rivalry. Celtic and Rangers have a huge following all over the world attracting everyone from different faith. But, the media has managed to make it solely a rivalry between “Protestants Rangers” and “Catholic Celtic” (see Kelly, 2010: p. 422). Majority of the respondent blamed the media for their exaggeration in covering the OF rivalry. These “exaggerated” press and media activity makes it difficult for the rivalry to lose intensity. This was the sentiments Kelly (2010) expressed when he lamented the position of the media in Scotland. He observed that when it comes to the position of Sectarianism and the OF rivalry the press play a very active role instead of a passive role.

“...Some people high up in the food chain who run the Scottish game, from my personal believe, my opinion like to stock the flames because it’s a good selling point. So, the media and some of the government. Because you have Manchester united and Manchester city rivalry- bullshit... That’s small boy’s stuff. Celtic Rangers is a desired derby all over the world because of the hatred and people that are running the game want to sell the game for the money. so, they stoke it... They fan the flames. it depends.... honestly only the media... it’s the media that’s the problem, they exaggerate a lot”.

- Anton Celtic IT4

“I think definitely. They want to sell papers. So it means you can be sitting here you a rangers fan (am Celtic) we are friends and I can joke and go ‘fuck you orange bastard’, there’s a reporter sitting there and the paper the next day will read ‘near riot at Starbucks as Celtic fan confronts Rangers fan and calls him and orange bastard’... so a joke turns to a ‘near riot at Starbucks’.... That what I mean by it gets sensationalized and blown out of proportion. Quite a lot just to sell newspaper.”

- Billy Celtic IT6

Although both sets of fans agreed on the active role the media plays in intensifying the rivalry, they believed the media is biased against their own team. For Celtic fans they refer to the “media” as the “the daily rangers” because a lot of Celtic fans feel it biased but Rangers fans call it the ‘daily rebel’ because they feel it’s also biased against them. Further, just like pubs, there are chatrooms, social media platforms, and websites dedicated to either Rangers or Celtic fans to practice “fanatism”. These platforms have served as a vehicle for sectarianism among OF fans, with research finding out that OF fans use social media platforms to schedule fights (see Deuchar and Holligan, 2010)

“...in this day today we have the internet and when you look at the internet, everyone can have their own little group and everyone have their own little (inaudible) you know I hear there are some really extreme group I can find an extreme Rangers loyalist Facebook groups they don’t just talk about football they talk about meeting up and fighting and going marching through certain neighborhoods on match days and things like that. We are kind off in a wild west of media now, where this kind of extreme voice were never heard.”

- Jerry Rangers IT3

CHAPTER 6:
FULL-TIME WHISTLE

“Sport is something that is very inspirational for young people.” – Pelé

6 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, I present a summary of the findings explain in this thesis in order to draw up a conclusion. Also highlighted in this chapter is how this thesis contributes to the development of the literatures on football fan rivalry. I also give few recommendations for future research because time and space did not allow for a broader analysis.

6.1 Summary of Findings

From the data analysis, it is a general conception that the sectarian discourse in Scotland influences fan behavior. The knowledge of the historical animosity between Catholics and Protestant provides a pattern of behavior for both sets of the OF fans, making all their actions to have a religious undertone even when majority are not religious. But the study also found that there are economic, socio-cultural and political factors that reinforce the OF fan rivalry in Glasgow. The economic history of Glasgow created a working-class culture in the Scottish society that provides an added incentive in the escalation of soccer fan violence among OF fans. The struggle between a pro-nationalist Celtic and pro-unionist Rangers with both sets of fans use their affiliation with their clubs to make political statements sums up the political factor in the OF fan rivalry. The implication of this is that, the role religion plays in the OF fan rivalry can be regarded as a myth because what is seen as “religious violence” is actually contention over political ideologies, economic resources, cultural reproduction etc. Further the study found out that the OF fan habitus mediates the influence between these macro-level sources and their actual behavior.

This thesis also found out that the identity of the OF fan is constructed by their parents (and peers). The study found out that parents mediate their desires to their children who in turn mediate the same desire to their children. This process reinforces the OF fan rivalry and can be the main reason why the rivalry is regarded as the longest in football history. Findings showed that interventions and agents of control have a role in the escalation and de-escalation of violence involving the OF fans. Although, respondents lamented the tactics used by the police however, during fieldwork it was observed that there was a very well-coordinated police strategy in crowd control. The study also found out that the pub and other non-state institutions like the Orange Order have an enormous

influence on the intensity and duration of a fan rivalry. In the OF fan rivalry, respondent pointed to the fact that the OO is favored by the authorities. Also, data showed that the pub serves as a safe place to reinforce identity and practice fan culture. As observed during observation, it was obvious that the pub is a safe place to engage in fan rituals and practices not allowed in public spaces. Further, it was also discovered that the laws meant to regulate the operations of pubs were ineffective in serving its purpose.

The study also found out that the media (press) plays another important role in intensifying the rivalry. The press in Scotland in order to make profit plays an active role by exaggerating events of the rivalry. Data showed that the press is biased in its reportage and various media outlets serve as a vehicle for sectarian behavior in Scotland. The press does this in a way that makes the OF fan rivalry just between “Catholic” Celtic and “Protestant” Rangers even when the clubs have a diverse/mixed fan base. Also, it was found that chants, songs and banter are tools used to legitimate identity, provoke and demonize the other. In relation to this, data showed that there is little or no effective cooperation between the government, OF clubs, Scottish Premier League and various stakeholders in controlling fan behavior at the stadium and in Scotland.

6.2 Concluding Remarks

The aim of this study was to add to the literatures that recognizes the need to avoid a mono-causal and particularistic approach to the study of soccer fan violence and football fan rivalry. By so doing this study automatically comes to the defense of soccer fans by advocating for their live experiences be taken seriously and pointing out how various factors affect their experiences. This study first queried why fan rivalries like the OF fan rivalries maintains its intensity over a long period. This was followed by four specific questions to steer the study towards uncovering, how the OF fan rivalry should be interpreted; the role of religion in the OF fan rivalry; what the identity of the OF fans is and how it is constructed; and the factors that reinforces and intensifies the OF fan rivalry.

This study adopted a constructivist and interpretative position because it seeks to explain intangible concepts (feelings and emotions) and lived experience of the OF fan fans. As a result, this study employed qualitative methods in data collection to further understand how OF fans construct and

interpret their social realities in the context of the rivalry. Using a framework provided by Spaaij and Anderson (2010) the study analyzed the OF fan rivalry as an interplay between macro-level influences, mediating and moderating influences. Through this approach it was easy to adopt a multi-causal approach advocated for by Benkwitz and Molner (2012) to uncover numerous factors that contribute to the cause and intensity of the OF fan rivalry. The moderating influences of the OF fan rivalry were discussed under selected sub-themes. The sub-themes included intervention and agents of social control, which uncovered how government policies and the role the police play in the escalation and the de-escalation of the fan rivalry; the role of non-state institutions in sustaining fan identity; and internal and external communications of fans. By addressing the role Pubs and institutions like the Orange Order play in influencing the identity of the OF fans which in turn keeps the OF fan rivalry alive, this study addressed a gap pointing out that non-state institutions can indeed affect and influence a football fan rivalry. The study also found out that identity of the fans is constructed by parents, peers and to some extent the media.

The moderating factors identified in this study are by no means sufficient in analyzing the OF fan rivalry as its complexity points to more factors like match specifics worthy of scrutiny. Further, among the factors identified, one stands out and that is the lack of effective laws to govern fan relations. Unlike most parts of Europe, the Scottish government have found it difficult to coordinate and cooperate with stakeholders in a bid to find a suitable and effective way to address and control excessive fan behavior. Just like Cavanaugh (2009: p.162) stated that “the transfer of power from the church to the state appears not so much as a solution...” this appears to be the case as the government of Scotland continues to struggle to find an effective solution to (fan) sectarian behavior. But, the unwillingness especially on the part of the OF clubs and other stakeholders overburdens governmental efforts. As the respondent from NBM pointed out in section 5.3.3 that the Scottish Premier League has refused to adopt the UEFA guidelines that will enforce stricter sanctions on the clubs violating the “laws of the game”. This unwillingness to take stricter actions sustains the intensity of the rivalry. Therefore, the violence surrounding the OF fans is especially dependent on the opportunities state institutions provide due to the absence of an effective law.

There will always be football fan rivalries, because it makes football more exciting. But to resolve the violence that surrounds football fan rivalries, the starting point should be in the society and not the victimization of the “12th Man”. This means that focus should be on the societal, economic and

political factors that mold the experiences of soccer fans. This could be unemployment, political division, and the cheap availability of alcohol. Further researches on football fan rivalries should continue to acknowledge the lived experience of football fans. A major gap in fandom literatures is the role female fans play in fan rivalries and how soccer fan violence affects them. Data showed that fathers and brothers were very active in creating OF fan identity, but it was a major shortcoming as this study was unable to get a female perspective on the OF fan rivalry. In addition, further, research should also analyze how events happening on the field of play influences the behavior of the OF fans to determine if players and managers influence the fan rivalry. Last, it will also be interesting to conduct an in-depth analysis on the potential influence of class relations in the OF fan rivalry. This approach should deviate from the religious centered approach and focus on how the economic make-up of Scotland creates a class structure that may influence the OF fan rivalry.

Organizations like Nil by Mouth should be given greater support to engage in changing the way the younger generation approach to football. Civil societies as well as non-governmental organizations have a vital role to play in refining the fan habitus in Scotland. Another organization doing a marvelous job in using football to promote tolerance and peace is StreetWorldFootball. Through their "Football3" programs, children learn new and inclusive ways of playing and watching football. The program focuses on fair play, equality and tolerance to empower people with skills they need to flourish off the pitch. Governments faced with the challenges of soccer fan violence should not only seek to partner with clubs who have profit motives but with these organizations who are committed in refining the way fans enjoy football around the globe. Football remains a powerful tool to promote peace and unity, but it is also capable of creating division and hate. But, policy makers and scholars should continue to explore new ways on how football can be used to promote peace and unity not only in Scotland but all over the world.

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APPENDIX: SONGS OLD FIRM FANS SING

1. Fields of Athenry

But a lonely prison wall,
I heard a young girl calling
Michael they have taken you away,
For you stole Trevelyn's corn
So the young might see the morn,
Now a prison ship lies waiting in the bay

Chorus

Low lie, The Fields of Athenry
Where once we watched the small free birds fly
Our love was on the wing
We had dreams and songs to sing,
It's so lonely round the Fields of Athenry

Verse 2

By a lonely prison wall
I heard a young man calling
'Nothing matters Mary, when you're free'
Against the famine and the crown,
I rebelled, they brought me down
Now its lonely round the Fields of Athenry

Verse 3

By a lonely harbor wall
She watched the last star falling
As the prison ship sailed out against the sky
Sure she'll live in hope and pray

For her love in Botney Bay
Its so lonely round the Fields of Athenry

2. Billy Boys

This song was sang in days of yore
It's still a song today
You know the tims are burning much
As the blues sit down to play
For on this day it brings to life
It'll always give us joy
To wear the sash my father wore
And be a Billy Boy
For we are the Billy Boys

Hullo, Hullo We are the Billy Boys
Hullo, Hullo You'll know us by our noise
We're up to our knees in feinan blood
Surrender or you'll die
For we are the Brigton Derry boys

Hullo, Hullo We are the Billy Boys
Hullo, Hullo You'll know us by our noise
We're up to our knees in feinan blood
Surrender or you'll die
For we are the Brigton Derry boys

The song it blares, the noise you'll hear
It's nice to see it known
At the sound of William, they will stand
To fight the feinan foe
We'll walk the streets each way tonight
Surrender is a prize
To wear the sash my father wore
To be a Billy Boy
For we are the Billy Boys

Hullo, Hullo We are the Billy Boys
Hullo, Hullo You'll know us by our noise
We're up to our knees in feinan blood
Surrender or you'll die
For we are the Brigton Derry boys

Hullo, Hullo We are the Billy Boys
Hullo, Hullo You'll know us by our noise
We're up to our knees in feinan blood

Surrender or you'll die
For we are the Brighton Derry boys (x3)

3. The Feminine Song

I often wonder where they would have been
If we hadn't have taken them in
Fed them and washed them
Thousands in Glasgow alone
From Ireland they came
Brought us nothing but trouble and shame
Well the famine is over
Why don't they go home?

Now Athenry Mike was a thief
And Large John he was fully briefed
And that wee traitor from Castlemilk
Turned his back on his own
They've all their Papists in Rome
They have U2 and Bono
Well the famine is over
Why don't they go home?

Now they raped and fondled their kids
That's what those perverts from the darkside did
And they swept it under the carpet
And Large John he hid
Their evils seeds have been sown
'Cause they're not of our own
Well the famine is over
Why don't you go home?

Now Timmy don't take it from me
'Cause if you know your history
You've persecuted thousands of people
In Ireland alone
You turned on the lights
Fuelled U-boats by night

That's how you repay us
It's time to go home.