Cardiff City Fans: a sociological explanation of their involvement in football cultures and football violence.

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Abstract:
This research aims to provide an accurate and more conceptually advanced view of football violence as practiced by Cardiff City fans both past and present, than the accepted views of football already available at an academic level. Expanding on work carried out at dissertation level, the research will attempt to provide a new model of football violence, and this will be constructed through the use of a variety of research methods to better understand football hooliganism as a socio-cultural phenomenon existing within the general field of football. Football as a field of activity will be discussed, as will the fact that whilst being a field of socio-cultural activity, professional football also has developed as a distinct market. The work aims to show why certain Cardiff City F.C. fans are not content to just watch their team participate, but who through a small leap of imagination cast themselves in the role of direct participant representing the team in the contest that is football hooliganism. Also to be discussed is why certain fans (usually at a formative age) would see those with a hooligan identity at Cardiff City F.C. as best representing their interests within the field, and who then go on to adopt a hooligan identity. The interests of Cardiff City fans within the field are explored, as are the specific set of social relations that have emerged. The emergence of the casuals as a socio-cultural category is examined as is media representations of them and in a reflexive manner the role of the police within the field is also examined. Finally the research aims to show how a group such as the Soul Crew, has by a combination of continued presence and growth within the field, gone on to become one of the dominant forces within the activity.
Chapter 7:

A Cultural Model of Violence and the Heroic

Introduction ............................................................................................................................. 133

A cultural model of violence .................................................................................................. 134

Chwarae Teg ........................................................................................................................... 138

Rough Games and Violent Rituals ......................................................................................... 142

The heroic’ and its impact on the field ................................................................................... 145

Rough or Respectable? .......................................................................................................... 148

Britain as a violent society .................................................................................................... 149

Conclusions ............................................................................................................................. 151

CONCLUSION ......................................................................................................................... 152

Introduction ............................................................................................................................ 152

A summary of research findings ............................................................................................ 154

Who becomes a football hooligan? ....................................................................................... 154

Field specific violence ............................................................................................................ 158

Policing ................................................................................................................................... 160

Why would the lads bother? .................................................................................................. 162

A new stadium, and new horizons? ....................................................................................... 164

Areas for further research ...................................................................................................... 165

APPENDIX A- Interview checklist ....................................................................................... 167

APPENDIX B- Gwynn Police Conference Interview ........................................................... 169
Introduction

Football and Football violence:
It has been said on numerous occasions that football violence is amongst the most over-researched areas in modern sociology but as yet little or no consensus has emerged concerning either its motivation or actual practice. The field of football and football violence has been the subject of academic research for a number of years and has developed in two main directions. As shown in the work of Blackshaw and Crabbe (2004), within the research of football hooliganism there have long been two models of football violence, and the dominant model is that provided by the Leicester School. The Leicester school (1988, 1990, 1999) is seen as being one that is highly influenced by the work of Suttles (1968). Employing Suttles notion of ordered segmentation as originally applied to Chicago street gangs, in the Roots of Football Hooliganism (1988) Dunning et al. stress the need to focus on the social relationships typically generated by the life experiences of people from ‘lower class communities’ which are regarded as being characterized by relatively high levels of open violence. Formulating their argument Dunning and colleagues place the violence at a subcultural level being the preserve of the uncivilized and unincorporated lower working classes. The picture painted by the ‘Leicester school’ can only be said to be reductionist in outlook, and given the complex nature of both football cultures and more specifically football violence the development of the opposing view will need to be examined.

The first proponents of this opposing view have been to some extent, overlooked in favour of the model forwarded by the ‘Leicester school’. Within the work of Blackshaw and Crabbe (2004) it is shown that the work of the ‘Leicester school’ stands, in contrast to that of Peter Marsh who suggested that most of what was happening was governed by a tacit set of rules and highly meaningful to those who participated. The work of Marsh, Rosser and Harre The Rules of Disorder (1978) proposed a view that attached a high degree of meaning to football violence, and as shown in Marsh’s Aggro – The Illusion of Violence (1978) football hooliganism was being based around traditional values of masculinity, courage, and fair play. Following on in the tradition of Marsh et al. (1978) the work of Armstrong (1998) concerning Sheffield United’s Blades Business Crew (B.B.C.) found that the violence displayed by Sheffield United’s football hooligan following was highly contingent upon temporal and
contextual concerns rather than being any universal attribute amongst specific sections of working class men.

Aims:

The research undertaken aims to provide a more conceptually advanced view of football violence as practiced by Cardiff City fans both past and present, than the accepted views especially those advocated by Dunning and colleagues (1988,1990,1999), widely recognised as being the leading authority in the field. The research focuses specifically on three connected concerns: the motivation and practice of football violence, the emergence of the football ‘casuals’ as a socio-cultural category, and the policing of football and media construction of football violence as an issue. The research aims to provide a new model of football violence, and this will be constructed through the use of a variety of research methods to better understand football hooliganism as a socio-cultural phenomenon existing within the general field of football.

Contribution:

Considering the disparity in the viewpoints concerning football violence and its participants, along with Armstrong’s assertions that a figurational approach was too fixed to provide a sufficiently sophisticated account of football hooliganism as a social activity there is clearly room for further contribution at an academic level. This, and a variety of other criticisms of the ‘Leicester school’ such as its perceived weakness at an ethnographic level, with no meaningful attempt to fit the theory to everyday reality (Giulianotti 1999) suggest that there is now requirement for the proposal of a new more complete and conceptually sophisticated framework. The research undertaken attempts to provide such a commentary by adding considerable theoretical emphasis to Armstrong’s work on the practice of football violence, and by extending both the theoretical orientation and sample frame validity in relation to the work of Robson. This is especially important as the research has been undertaken at the level of an outside insider’s representation of the field and its attendant concerns and interests, and if understood in terms of the ability of certain groups to actively represent reality as shown on numerous occasions by Bourdieu (1990).

Given the concerns of the research project, any attempt to constrain the research strictly within the confines of any one discipline would have meant the underutilisation of many essential component parts and developments within the social sciences, with this being the
case all material have been mediated between (Bourdieu 1990), and simply subjected to a broadly constructionist viewpoint. As such, the works of Dunning and colleagues (1988,1990,1999), Marsh and colleagues (1979a, 1979b), Armstrong (1998) and Robson (2001) have been expanded upon and supplemented by developments within the social sciences in a ‘Kuhnian’ manner (1969) to provide a more sophisticated level of commentary on the field, its specific relations, and its attendant concerns.

A case study approach has been utilised throughout to enable suitable triangulation of data and address verification issues. Specifically, the data collection has relied on a variety of techniques, most usually referred to as originating in the ‘micro’ sociological tradition, utilizing a full range of techniques including; observation both participant and non-participant, ethnography, semiotic analysis, conversation analysis, and biographical analysis. With the research conducted at a level of cultural criminology and the sociology of crime and deviance one of the key concerns within the research has been the obtaining of ‘verstehen’ or a deep understanding of the practices under analysis. The utilisation of an interdisciplinary qualitative approach has been essential in providing as complete a picture as possible of football culture, and more specifically the football violence carried out by Cardiff City fans.

In the course of the empirical research, the researcher always aimed for best practice with respect to ethical matters. Engaging with all sections of Cardiff city followers over an extended period of time, and specifically those who participate in football violence has enabled high levels of trust within the field to have been gained and maintained.

Structure:

Chapter One

The chapter addresses the role that sport and more specifically football has held on both a contemporary and historical level. The chapter looks at the development of association football, and the development of football violence as a widespread social phenomena and possible connections between the two. Key studies into football violence carried out by academics in Britain are outlined and explored in order to gauge their usefulness in both understanding and describing the activity accurately. Ideas based around class, culture and the specific field of football and their intersection within this context are examined in order to understand the specific development of the field. Rough behaviour and habitus are also given consideration in order to ascertain their influence on the field and the field specific social relations that have developed over time. Ideas taken from within social psychology
Concerning commitment and social identity are also examined in order to understand their influence on participation. Throughout the chapter it is shown that football has developed within British society as both distinct field and market, along with its own concerns and practices, and that any understanding of the subject must make use of a broad based strategy to understand the field on a sophisticated level.

Chapter Two

The chapter aims to provide an overview of the aggression and violence displayed at and around football matches and stadiums. This has been done in order to separate and distinguish the variety of different possible behaviours displayed. The main focus of the chapter is concerned with football violence as an organised group activity and its historical development. Issues concerning salient social identity and a cultural model of violence are examined in depth to provide a contextualised placement and clearer understanding of the activity. In order for a clearer understanding of football violence to emerge it is shown that a socio-historic perspective is essential and that any description of the activity should take an evolutionary approach in understanding both its specific development and the social relations that have emerged within the field. It is shown that the activity is rule bound and at this level of description the activity conforms to a violent ritual with its own attendant concerns. The question of racism within the field and at specific clubs is outlined in depth to ascertain both its pervasiveness, and societal perceptions of it as a recurring problem.

Chapter Three

Within the chapter, there is an examination of the different participants within the field, societal perceptions of them, and the ability of each group to shape the way society perceives them. Media representations of football hooliganism are outlined and examined, in order to understand both its recurring nature and its considerable interest as a societal phenomenon and research subject. The policing of the field, and the relationship that has developed between the police and football hooligans is outlined in order to contextualised the presence of the police as a discernable force within the field. The socio-historic development of the modern police force and the specific police culture that has developed is also given consideration in order to understand their interactions within the field to the fullest extent. Modern day football hooligans and the birth of the football firms are examined from an evolutionary perspective. Cultural influences on what became known as football casuals are
outlined, as is their relationship to the original hooligans and other youth subcultures that
have existed previously in order to correctly place them at a cultural level. The development
of the football casual scene and the diffusion of the casual fashion is also examined in order
to gauge both its persistence and pervasive influence in modern day British society.

Chapter Four

The aim of the chapter is to provide an overview of the methodology and ethics considered,
required, and used in the study of Cardiff City fan’s and their involvement in football
violence. A grounded bottom up approach was often used as the existing literature did not in
many cases match my own observation within the field, or my understanding of the
motivations of the participants involved regularly in football violence. The field research was
conducted continuously throughout the three year period and also long before and as the
research is linked to my primary leisure pursuit I will continue to watch the football. A
qualitative approach was seen as providing the only feasible choice providing a wide range of
cultural descriptive techniques and methods to be utilised when discussing participants
involvement and motivation in relation to the activity. A position of methodological
relativism (Collins and Yearley 1992) has been utilised throughout the study, using whatever
epistemological “natural attitude” most suitable for the research.

16 in depth interviews were conducted with a variety of lads at the club with an age range
between 59 at its oldest and 19 at the youngest. This range of ages was seen as highly
important as it shows quite conclusively the construction and continual reconstruction of
masculinities at the club and the influence of the legends that have emerged on the terraces at
Cardiff City over the last 40 years, and the importance of this in the contextualising of the
specific football identities that have emerged. Within this framework, ethical concerns
needed to be reflexive enough to cope with the demands of the field, and at the same time
being capable of aiming for best practice. There must also be the recognition that field
research of this variety is a highly diverse endeavour and one that necessitated a reflexive
system to cope with the various demands of the research process. Motivated by the
democratization process (Fuller 1997), rather than any form of risk taking (Ferrell and Hamm
1998), the research has aimed to give voice to the participants in the activity, matching the
ethnographic data with developments within the social sciences.
Chapter Five

The chapter shows that an understanding of field specific social learning, and socialisation is of the utmost importance in understanding those who participate in football violence at Cardiff City F.C. within this context differential association is perhaps most helpful in understanding patterns of participation at the club. Developing a terrace career is widely discussed both at individual and group level. The development of a terrace identity from the peripheral towards a central position is also given consideration in order to show the actuality of participation patterns at the club. The development of centralised scripting and the celebration of habitus is outlined in order to inform the reader of the ontological issues encountered within the field and the meaning that develops in relation to field Relations, and the hierarchy of meaning that emerges. The various masculinities and football cultures at the club involving casuals, ‘Soul Crew’, barmy army and self styled Valley Commandos are outlined and explored, as are the influence of the various terrace legends and their influence at the club. This pattern of socialisation and repeated interactions within the field is clearly shown as leading to situation where a specific set of relations with other groups sharing the space/arena emerges, and that an understanding of these groups also emerges in shared terms.

Chapter Six

This chapter outlines the various types of violence routinely encountered within the field and show how those that look for violent encounters can be understood as coexisting with those who are simply more than willing to fight if the opportunity arises within the arena. The role of the police will also be examined in relation to the violence that occurs within the field. Cardiff City do have quite large numbers of Category C hooligans within the fan group they probably have one of the highest if not the highest number of potential Category B type fans in Britain. This understanding of the group is essential in terms of policing as rather than dealing with a highly organised criminal group, the police forces of England and Wales are dealing with large numbers of football fans who display a harsh form of masculinity and who are more than willing to fight if challenged in any way with both other fan groups and the police. Whilst not in any way promoting or justifying football hooliganism as a social activity, within the culture of violence that has developed in the field of football the police are just as culpable as any of the other participants when it comes to utilisation of aggro. The
differences that occur between home policing and away policing is examined in order to show the very different styles of policing they encounter. The relationship between Cardiff City fans and the police is shown to be quite sophisticated with a range of various interactions possible, given the range of these interactional exchanges there is also the recognition that police violence is always a possibility within the field and one that is quite routinized in its frequency, and that it often becomes just another part of the football experience for many fans of Cardiff City whether a participant in football violence or not.

Chapter Seven

This chapter explores both the meaning and the context of the violence, as well as the wider society in which this occurs. A cultural model of violence is explored, as is the development of ‘the hooligan’ as a socio-historic construct. The propensity and enjoyment of rough games and violent rituals is also examined and explored within the context of Britain’s world placement on both contemporary and historic levels. Those who follow Cardiff City football club regularly away tend to have high levels of disposable income. Being without disposable income was, and is to be avoided wherever possible. Within the remit of the research and in terms of simply being part of the wider collective what does hold sway is ideas based on shared experience; stoicism, solidarity, fair play (Chwarae Teg), and a version of masculinity borne out of industrial relations, and even though the industry is gone the masculinities displayed regularly are shown to be informed at this level. Within this context, the single most important single factor in both Cardiff and the South Wales valleys are ideas based around ‘chwarae teg’ or fair play those who participate in organised football violence at Cardiff City frame their experience within the confines of the violent ritual and a very rough game with the chance to prove their masculinity and represent the group to be relished and enjoyed, even if this meant being the recipient of interpersonal violence. All observations pointed to the heroic as an essential interpretive element within the narratives constructed, as encounters were combative even though conducted within the confines of the violent ritual. The aim was not only to be proficient in aggro, but display the ability to withstand its application, making the content one that advocates ‘staunchness’ or stoicism. These ideas are shown to be firmly augmented by a strong commitment to fair play and solidarity with ones friends and other members of the group. In the face of the research conducted it is shown that the position forwarded by the Leicester school simply does not match the available evidence in relation to football violence at Cardiff City and the motivations of its practitioners.
Chapter One

Theories and Ideas of Football Hooliganism

Introduction

The opening chapter aims to address the role that sport and more specifically football has held in society on both contemporary and historical levels. The chapter looks at the development of association football, and the development of football violence as a widespread social phenomena and any possible connections between the two. Key studies into football violence carried out by academics in Britain are both outlined and explored in depth in order to gauge their usefulness in both understanding and describing the activity accurately. Ideas based around class, culture and the specific field of football and their intersection within this context, are examined in order to understand the specific development of the field. Ideas concerning rough behaviour and habitus are also given consideration in order to ascertain their influence on the field. The field specific social relations that have developed over time are also in order to understand their continued impact on the field. Ideas taken from within social psychology concerning commitment and social identity are also examined in order to understand their influence on participation in football violence. Throughout the chapter it is also shown that football has developed within British society as both distinct field and market, along with its own concerns and practices. It is proposed that any understanding of the subject must make use of a broad based strategy to understand the field on a sophisticated level, separating its concerns and interests as necessary in order to understand both the field in general and football violence specifically.

Within the social sciences there has been much research on the role of sport and especially football in modern society, both in Britain and on a world level. With regard to the exact role sport plays with society, sociologically this is contested and there are a variety of broad viewpoints. Functionalists, for example, would see sport as reinforcing the norms and values of society, while Marxists and other commentators from the academic left such as John
Hargreaves would see it occupying a diversionary role offering no release from the dominant ideology but rather reinforcing societal values and the incorporation of the working classes. Alternatively, those of a more interpretive inclination would see sport as a mundane passion helping the individual find meaning in the world around them. There is also the notion that sport is part of the process that has taken society from ritual to record.

Guttman (1978) amply demonstrates the similarities between sport and the aims of modern society, showing how sports' aims of secularism, equality, specialization, bureaucratic organization, quantification, and the quest for records have been highly interrelated with the aims of the ideal society. Within the same work, there is also recognition of the continued commodification of sport, whereby the public are seen to consume sport in an entertainment and leisure context on a commercial level thus reinforcing the values of capitalism. In this light, and given the variety of viewpoints regarding sport and its placement within modern society, it may be argued that sport can be both a major component in the leisure element of an individual's life, and is at a structural level required in some way in the smooth running of society.

As part of this body of work, there has been a great deal of interest within the social sciences in football, perhaps unsurprisingly considering its popularity both in Britain and in the rest of the world. In general terms, research on football has looked at both its socio-historic development and continuing practice as a sporting activity, and the socio-cultural composition and behaviour of its followers. This would lead the S.I.R.C (Social Issues Research Centre) to suggest that football violence is probably over researched but that there is little consensus and that there is very little in the way of truly multi-disciplinary research into the area. Any attempt at a scientific placement of football violence as a recurring social phenomenon must first contextualize the activity and then codify the activity at a level that is both acceptable to an academic audience whilst retaining the characteristics that make it recognizable and accessible to those who participate in it and witness it as a regular social event. In order that this may be achieved, a broad overview of sport on a theoretical level is required to show both developments and divergences in acceptable viewpoints within the wider social sciences. With this in mind, this chapter will explore the key UK studies into football violence and set up the arguments in favour of a new social science model with a high degree of usability for practitioners of sociology, social psychology and social anthropology.
Cardiff City's Soul Crew, or simply its hooligan following depending on the point of view, can be considered one of the main players within the game over the last decade or so, having had a variable position in the field up until the 1990s. This led Eddie Curtis, Head of England Police Spotters 1998-2000, to state that 'since Euro 2000 some of the worst hooligan activities on mainland Britain, and the largest number of hooligans that can be turned out are by Cardiff City' (BBC). Thus, within the field of football hooliganism, the hooligan followers of Cardiff City occupy a position of power that far outweighs their achievements on the accredited field of play, and their position is reflected both in their historic relation to the activity as well as being highly performance related on a contemporary level. Participants in football violence have, by a leap of imagination, included themselves in a game that runs parallel to the official sporting contest even sharing its same basic outcomes, and allows for the situation as suggested by Bowen et al (2002) whereby reflected failure on the field may be offset by reflected glory in other areas, acting as a mechanism for positive self concept. On this level then, the fans (usually the high identifiers) of the football club believe that they are the true representatives of the group, and in the face of growing commodification elect to play a game that is not reliant on economic standing and market placement, but rather relies on group members and their commitment.

The assertion by Dunning et al (1988), that any understanding of football violence requires knowledge of social history, sociology, and psychological processes makes a great deal of sense and this will be utilised extensively throughout the work. This study will mediate in a manner advocated by Bourdieu (1990) concerning sociological research between the 'figurational approach' that simply sees football hooliganism mainly as a social production of the unincorporated lower working classes and other available viewpoints on football hooliganism as a social activity. Allied to this, a variety of developments in other areas of the social sciences will be applied in order to better understand both the practice and motivation of participants.

There has been periodic interest in football violence and football hooliganism as a regularly occurring social phenomenon since the 1960s, and with this being the case then probably four of the most widely utilised within sociology and criminology are those studies by Marsh (1978), Dunning et al (1988), Armstrong (1996) and Robson (2001). In order to contextualise the study undertaken and provide a background to the current work each of the studies by the aforementioned authors need to be briefly outlined in general terms in chronological order. These studies and other developments within the social sciences will be related to the
followers of Cardiff City F.C. in order to try to provide a more broad based understanding of football violence in terms of sociological theory and going towards providing a more usable model of football violence for those practitioners of the other social sciences. Following the outlining of these key studies, ideas based around class, culture and football will be examined as will ideas concerning rough behaviour and habitus. Finally, modern perspectives on commitment, social identity and participation will utilised in order to better understand what makes football violence a seemingly attractive activity to its many participants.

Key UK Studies

Peter Marsh et al (1978) studied the followers of Oxford United and their involvement in football violence on a regularly recurring basis during the second half of the 1970s. The work of Marsh et al can be considered both quite ambitious and expansive in approach as it utilised a synthesis of ideas coming from within the social sciences rather than being reliant on a rigid sociological or psychological approach. Marsh and his colleagues viewed football violence as being formulated and constrained within a set of tacit rules concerning its regularly recurring production as a social event. For example, signalling and the ability to displace ones opponent from within the arena is seen as paramount within the activity; with violence when engaged in adhering to the rules of 'Aggro' a well understood set of ideas based around masculinity, fair play, and courage that are adhered to by participants in football violence. Aggro as outlined by Marsh, presents those who participate in football violence with a way of expressing their aggression in a relatively non-injurious manner, and thereby providing a ritualistic mode of conflict resolution.

The first proponents of a truly expansive model of football violence could be said to be Marsh, Rosser and Harre in The Rules of Disorder (1978) that attached a high degree of contextual meaning to football violence. Similarly, in Marsh’s Aggro – The Illusion of Violence (1978) football hooliganism, far from being based around prejudice and unbridled aggression and violence, was seen as based around traditional values of masculinity, courage, and fair play. When looking at those who participate in football violence, it is necessary to develop an approach that takes levels of identification into account. Within the work of Marsh, Rosser, and Harre (1978) it is argued that:

the extent to which fans will carve out careers for themselves on the terraces will, to a large extent, reflect their commitment to the soccer culture and to their immediate peer group. The greater the commitment the more a fan has at stake. (1978: 64)
Although a variety of means of expression are available to fans at a football club other than simply fighting with rival fans, ideas of group commitment are essential at this level of enquiry as the necessity is to understand why certain individuals and groups are more likely to fight at the football than others.

Given the above distinction and the divergence of viewpoints that becomes apparent when reading the later works of Dunning et al (1988), it is of vital importance to understand that:

‘Aggro’ is a way of expressing aggression in a relatively non-injurious manner. Football ‘hooligans’, despite all the mythologies about them which circulate in the media, are currently the most visible exponents in Britain of this ritualistic mode of conflict resolution. (Marsh 1978:11-12)

The ideas and research of Marsh and colleagues would seem to provide a viable starting point for serious contemporary study into the area, even whilst acknowledging the limits of its viability in research terms. This research is not immune from criticism, with the main criticisms concerning the actual levels of involvement concerning Oxford United fans in football violence, the levels of violence encountered within the field, and the need to continually evolve ideas in line with developments within the social sciences as a whole during the last thirty years.

However, the work of Marsh et al often gets overlooked in favour of a sociological model provided ten years later by Dunning et al (1988), and their research into Leicester City fans during the second half of the 1980s. This research based around the theoretical suppositions of Norbert Elias and the ‘Civilising Factor’ marks out what became known as the ‘Leicester School’ and provided the basis for the dominant model within both sociological and criminological circles continuing today. The position of the Leicester School may be stated thus:

At its roots, if we are right, football hooliganism is the consequence of a deep-rooted complex or configuration of socio-cultural traits, more specifically of a long established subculture of aggressive masculinity that is predominantly but by no means solely lower class. It is a subculture that celebrates very narrow, rigid and exclusive notions of locality, community and nation, notions that involve an ambivalent mixture of contempt for and fear of anything or anybody that is ‘different’, ‘foreign’, ‘strange’. (Murphy, Williams and Dunning 1990: 3)

There is the clear assertion by the researchers concerning football hooliganism and the lower working classes that there is a direct co-relation and within the model proposed by Dunning and his colleagues, football hooliganism is seen as stemming from the lower working class
and the open use of violence at this level of social reality. Coupled with the above, is further argued by Dunning et al that:

it is important to stress that it is not our contention that youths and young men from the lower working class are the only football hooligans. Nor is it our contention that all adolescent and young adult males from the lower working class use football as a context for fighting. Some fight elsewhere and others hardly fight at all. Our point is, rather, that youths and young men from the ‘roug her’ sections of the working class seem on present evidence to be the most central and persistent offenders in the more serious forms of football hooliganism. (1988: 213)

The Leicester School is seen as being one that is highly influenced by the work of Suttles (1968), and of which Blackshaw and Crabbe’s objection is worth quoting at length:

Employing Suttles’ notion of ordered segmentation as originally applied to Chicago street gangs (1968), in the Roots of Football Hooliganism Dunning et al. stress the need to focus on the social relationships typically generated by the life experiences of people from ‘lower class communities’ which are regarded as being characterized by relatively high levels of open violence. Rather patronizingly, they argue that members of the ‘roug her’ working class traditionally place strong emphasis on ties based on kinship and locality, display hostility towards outsiders, and find it normal for boys to form street corner gangs that fight with others, since for them fighting is one of the available sources of excitement, meaning and status. (2004: 27)

The position of Dunning et al. (1988) is one that places the practitioners of football violence within the ‘roug her’ working classes, unincorporated within mainstream society and being under-developed on a psychological level, perpetuating their own position on the bottom rung of the socio-economic ladder. In concentrating on a group of lads coming from a housing estate in Leicester fast becoming run down during the economic slump of the time, and conservative policy in the face of economic downturn the research conducted by Dunning et al provides a compelling and persuasive picture of football violence as being an activity carried out by and large by the uncivilised lower working classes unable to adapt to the concerns of a modern post-industrial society. This is seen as being indicative of a de-civilising spurt in modern British society and being also noticeable in industrial relations of the day and the troubles of Northern Ireland.

The wish to divide the working class into separate sections of ‘roug her’ and ‘respectable’ is fraught with difficulty, and Dunning and his colleagues understand that the division is one that is based on a scale of value judgements rather than mechanical facts concerning who is ‘roug her’ and who is ‘respectable’. The division between ‘roug her’ and ‘respectable’ thus seems arbitrary and wholly subjective in its application, and, I want to suggest, one that is unsuitable for explaining football hooliganism as a social activity. Considering the disparity in the
The work of Dunning et al is wide in scope and provides much socio-historic depth in relation to the activity but utilises materials in an often matter of fact and uncritical manner seeking to fit the material to the theory rather than attempting to entwine theory and research from the ground up. The suppositions provided throughout are often untestable and any criticism of figurational sociology, are simply dismissed out of hand in the later editions of the work. The work however provides a neat and convenient version of both violence within the field and those who regularly participate in violence in the name of the various football teams in the British football leagues both at group and individual levels. This convenient one size fits all theory is easily accessible to anyone with an interest, and this viewpoint has come to dominate discussions around the area providing both a simplistic and unsophisticated view of the activity and its participants. The importance of the works of Dunning et al is that it has such wide exposure and acceptance within sociological circles, and this seeming acceptance and validity in terms of understanding has resonated outwards into the other social sciences including in criminology (see Jupp, 1989; McLaughlin, Muncie, and Hughes, 2003).

It is essential to note that the use of the term ‘hooligan’, when used in relation to football violence, is one that places its practitioners at the level of the street criminal. Research carried out by Dunning, Murphy, and Williams (1988) is somewhat ambiguous in relation to the term, arguing that the hooligan gangs at the turn of the twentieth century had little interest in football as a staging point for their specific concerns, but wishing to locate the practitioners of football violence at the same social level. When the above central arguments are presented the work of the Leicester School can be seen as being in direct contrast to the work of Peter Marsh, whose social psychological approach concluded that much of what is referred to as violent disorder was, in fact, highly ritualized orderly behaviour constrained by tacit social rules understood clearly by those who participated in the activity on a regular basis. These differences in viewpoint are pretty much incommensurable in Kuhnian terms with little or no
chance of reconciliation in terms of general understanding such is the divergence in theoretical standpoint and therefore require further examination to understand which provide the more reliable commentary around the activity.

In recent times, the main challenge to this dominant discourse has been provided by the social anthropologist Armstrong (1998) and his work with Sheffield United fans. Following on in the tradition of Marsh et al. (1978), the work of Armstrong (1998) on Sheffield United’s Blades Business Crew found that the violence displayed by Sheffield United’s football hooligan following was highly contingent upon temporal and contextual concerns rather than being any universal attribute amongst specific sections of working class men. The work of Armstrong takes a far more open-ended view of the activity refusing to locate the participants within the lower working classes affording them a more realistic place within British society and the socio-economic arena. The work of Armstrong achieves a great deal of depth within the research process as he spent a great deal of time with research subjects and had far more tacit knowledge of the local area, customs, and characters occupying the arena. Within the research the main concern is practice and the work provides a realistic and highly viable understanding of what happens within the field on a regular and recurring basis.

The work of Armstrong is suggestive of a highly contextual activity carried out by all sections of the working class and lower middle classes. The study is however concerned with practice and as an anthropologist he is reluctant to impose theory on the research to any great degree. As a sociological and criminological model containing recourse to current social theory is required, the lack of theory whilst not required when practice is investigated is highly contingent in providing a robust new model for use by both sociological and criminological researchers when investigating both cultural context and motivation. Another more recent attempt at providing a sociological model in terms of cultural context and motivation is provided within the work of Robson (2000) into Millwall F.C. fans.

Within the research of Robson there is a high degree of utilisation of the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu concerning field and habitus. The work is primarily concerned with the internalisation and interpretation of localised social identity as developed among Millwall fans and their commitment to this identity and community. The work has much to commend it and provides a rich and colourful picture of what it is to be Millwall and how localised social history plays a part in the formation of specific constructed masculinities encountered within the field and how these are played out within a regularly recurring field. The work
concerns itself with the myth, reality, and history of being both an inhabitant of South London and a Millwall fan in order to provide depth in relation to social identity and the building blocks of this identity. The research is excellent but can be somewhat narrow at times, constrained as it is in its own concerns that outline a South London habitus and its existence in direct opposition to East London habitus and social identity as formed by divergent social histories within the capital city.

Although the research is very persuasive and admirable in its intentions, maybe it would benefit from a further expansion into others motivations and involvements within the field rather than relying on Millwalls construction of themselves and others within the field. The use of ideas such as commitment and being militant within the work of Robson can be quite esoteric and localised in understanding at times, and could be more usable if taking up ideas and recent developments from within the social sciences as a whole to provide a more useable model. With a more wide ranging exposition of working class politics and historical development concerning work and leisure attempted the work alongside ideas presented by the likes of Marsh et al (1978a,1978b) and Armstrong(1998) would provide a sound basis for the re-construction of sociological concerns within the field. As shown the predominant model within the field is provided by the Leicester School and therefore a more thorough exposition of its ideas and the contrast of these to the other research undertaken within the field is essential.

Having outlined the key studies undertaken into the area over the last thirty years other developments within the social science and especially those in sociology, social psychology, and social anthropology will be related to elements of these studies in a meditational manner in order to provide a more useful understanding of organised football violence as a recurring social production.

Class, culture and the ‘field’ of football

On a developmental level, there has been much reliance in the study of football hooliganism on the view forwarded by what came to be known as the Leicester group, as outlined in the various works of Dunning et al, and heavily reliant on Norbert Elias' The Civilising Process (1994). Within this framework, football was seen as developing from roots in the folk games played between villages, then at a later date being taken up by the English public schools and shaped by process of ‘civilizing’ factors along with the rest of society. The changes, it is argued, in both formulation and rules during the nineteenth century led to the split between
forms that were to become association football and rugby football, as shown by Dunning (1999). But why did English public schools choose to adopt rugby football as its game when this was clearly the rougher of the two? A useful answer to this above question is addressed by Beynon’s *Masculinities and Culture* (2002), in which he shows that the choice of rugby as a game was seen as instrumental in providing young men fit to serve the Empire, forming both the character and musculature necessary for the domination of others, especially in the quest of empire building. There is, too, a broader point, made by Pierre Bourdieu in *Distinction* (1986), that various groups actively pursue activities that serve to demarcate themselves from others:

To understand the class distribution of the various sports, one would have to take account of the representation which, in terms of their specific schemes of perception and appreciation, the different classes have of the costs (economic, cultural and ‘physical’) and benefits attached to the different sports. (Bourdieu 1986: 20)

On a socio-historic level, then, by the late nineteenth century and the formation of the football league, the game of association football was becoming a predominantly working class sporting pastime.

It has been stated by Taylor that on socio-historical level, professional football developed in this way:

As the professional game developed, especially in the industrial north and Midlands, crowds increasingly became more densely working class, both skilled and unskilled. (Taylor 1992: 7-8)

This is not to say that this was the only sporting activity the working classes followed. In South Wales, for example, rugby football was at least as popular if not more so, and in the north west of England the game of rugby league would become developed, but, generally, association football quickly established itself as the game of the working classes. What I am suggesting is that any understanding of football as a mass participation event must recognize that although football emerged as a field of sporting activity, it was also a professional activity emerging as a distinct market. Within this leisure context, professional football was promoted and marketed at a mass level and, as such, was open to market forces the same as in any other business venture. Given the concerns of an emergent leisure market, the game of football was heavily promoted, and the development of each club is perhaps best understood in terms of the rational development and exploitation of resources within the field.
Bourdieu’s work on cultural fields of activity and their composition shows they have a wide variety of both forms, and interests within them:

There is not an interest, but there are interests, variable with time and place, almost infinitely so: there are as many interests as there are fields, as historically constituted areas of activity with their specific institutions and their own laws of functioning. The existence of a specialized and relatively autonomous field is correlative with the existence of specific stakes and interests: via the inseparably economic and psychological investments they arouse in the agents endowed with a certain habitus, the field and its stakes (themselves produced as such by relations of power and struggle in order to transform the power relations that are constitutive of the field) produce investments of time, money and work, etc. (1990: 87-88)

Given the finite resources within any given field, football is like any other and various groups must compete for available resources. Taking this line of thought further, it is then stated by Bourdieu that:

In other words, interest is at once a condition of the functioning of a field (a scientific field, the field of haute couture, etc), in so far as it is what ‘gets people moving’, what makes them get together, compete and struggle with each other, and a product of the way the field functions. (1990: 88)

The formation of the professional football league can be said to have created such a ‘field’ in the sense that it provides a basically stable arena of activity recurring year upon year allowing for the emergence of status, prestige, and power within the field, and expressed in terms suitable for the field. Dominance within the field of professional football can be achieved through a variety of means, and the success of any team is highly informed economically.

As we are dealing with a professional league structure, the ability to buy the best and therefore most expensive players, attract the best coaching staff, have the largest capacity ground, and achieve mass media coverage to engineer interest in the team have a significant bearing on the success both financially and on a performance level. Given the nature of the professional football league system, all the competing teams aim to achieve a position of power and to dominate the field. Moreover, as football, like any sport, is highly performance related, the winning of the particular league in which the individual team is competing is the desired result. Whilst a football team’s standing is highly performance related, it is also informed by the team’s historic standing within the field. Thus, in Britain as the league system has been in place for over a century and within that timescale certain teams have dominated British football this has served to attract widespread interest and support along the way.
In broad terms, then, what would seem to be happening was the emergence of a distinct sporting field – now highly stabilized - marketed and directed at a predominantly working class audience. Further, in making sense of this development Bourdieu’s (1990) work is essential in its understanding of cultural fields and ‘habitus’, as it allows for a broader understanding of behaviour both on an individual and group level within the field of football. When Jarvie and Maguire (1994) outline Bourdieu’s notion of habitus they emphasise that it represents an internalized and embodied schema that informs and structures but does not determine actions thoughts and feelings. For them, habitus instead serves as an acquired system of generative schemes, and, since much of this operates on an unconscious level, this makes the body a site of memory, and individual manners and mannerisms often serve to locate the individual socially. It is in this vein that Holt (1989) and Polley (1998) note that football provides an outlet for working class masculinity in both its participation and spectating, allowing for the expression of ‘rough behaviour’. These ideas are also highly congruent with Bourdieu’s (1990) assertion that all cultural fields develop internal practices and customs particular to the field, with the field of football being highly informed and influenced by working class practice.

‘Rough behaviour’ and habitus

Fighting at football matches has been highly normalised within a contextual setting for a number of years. Research conducted by Dunning et al., (1988) has shown that there has been disruptive behaviour and violence at and around football grounds for over a century. Though the same research attempts to understand this by means of a ‘respectable’ and ‘rough’ differentiation of the working classes, there can be no doubt that violent incidents did take place. Whatever the causes of these violent disturbances, there has developed a situation over the last century where social relations within the field – between clubs and rival fan groups - have been defined at least in part by violent confrontations. With violence at the football an ongoing social activity, then socialisation within the field has significant importance in any understanding of the area.

Football clubs represent a variety of things to those who support them with those who are local highly identified fans and those who elect to share their success on an occasional or television level representing two very different groups. Whilst existing as concrete propositions, complete with playing staff, managerial staff, coaches, grounds-men, administrators and, perhaps most importantly, the paying customer - the fan - football clubs
also increasingly exist within the world of entertainment dominated by the presence of mass media. The situation engendered is one whereby football, in the same manner as any other sport given extensive television exposure, now exists as a form of entertainment, inviting an audience from anywhere with the facilities to receive its broadcast. Thus, there have been marked ‘winners’ in financial terms, with teams such as Liverpool, Manchester United, Arsenal and, more lately, Chelsea being professionally branded, marketed and promoted on a global level. This has led to a situation where each club has its own distinct branding and market position and seeming on one level to exist in a state of virtual television reality.

It has been shown by Blaine et al (1994) that the effect of terrestrial television and later satellite television coverage has had a transformational impact on the field and market, with greater levels of commodification the result. Armstrong and Guilianotti (1999) argue that this continuing commodification of football has had the effect of changing the composition of its audience. Given this duality of existence at football clubs, with it being seen as the conduit for the socio-cultural concerns of its local traditional fans, on one hand, yet simply being seen as a form of entertainment by other sections of its audience, there is considerable room for tensions within the game.

It has been noted that there is much scorn for these new fans (see Crolley, 1999), and that although it is women who seem to come in for the most derisory treatment at the hands of the traditional fans, it is in fact all newcomers who are scorned, with women simply being the most visible form that the new fan takes. This two-fold existence of football clubs has had a variable impact on those within the English football league system. Here, the most successful in terms of both receiving the greatest amount of media coverage, and actual success within the field, are most likely to attract a wider and more diverse following due to exposure and perceived success within the field.

The above phenomenon leads to a two-fold situation for clubs and for local, highly identifying fans. Following research in both Liverpool and Glasgow concerning Liverpool and Everton, and Celtic and Rangers, Boyle and Haynes (2000) showed that each football club has for its local fans its own socio-cultural concerns and issues, and can only be understood at this level of reality in terms of its specific socio-historical development, and the specific fan base that it represents. With this in mind, and given the fact that football is organized for competition at local, regional and national levels, then football clubs and national teams provide a focal point for potent cultural forms of expression, especially if
those involved see the game as best representing their interests on a socio-cultural level. This has a bearing on a great many tensions in the modern game, as clubs try to reconcile appealing to its local audiences, whilst at the same time trying to remain competitive in the market as those with the most economic resources can buy in better players and managers etc enabling them to compete at a higher level with more advantage over those with limited funding.

This television exposure has also led to a certain amount of elective membership of certain clubs as outlined in terms by Robson (2000), who rather than being members of the local community of the team they support, elect to support it. With this greater diversity of crowd composition and noting that the general habitus displayed at the football being one highly influenced by working class practice and custom there is potential for behaviour to be interpreted along differing lines of expectation from different sections of the crowd. Within this context it must be borne in mind that when dealing with any commentary on behaviour whether defined as problematic or not, we are not dealing with mechanical facts, but rather with a sliding scale of value judgments and it is highly dependent on who is commentating as to whether the observable behaviour is labelled as desirable or undesirable.

The situation outlined above is one where football means a variety of things to the different sections of its audience, and in which varying levels of success have had differing levels of impact with the influx of ‘new fans’. Clubs such as Cardiff City and others of a similar ilk, have had relatively little television exposure and success on any football level. Therefore, there has been very little influx of these fans and the predominant audience is composed of those fans who understand their club in terms outlined by Boyle and Haynes (2000). The habitus on display at these football grounds, such as at Cardiff, is often informed by the legacy of a heavy industrial heritage, even though these industries may have vanished, and is evident both in the culture of the locality and in the behaviour of those fans of the clubs least affected by the continued commodification of football. If the development of the field is understood within this framework, then what we are dealing with is a relatively self-enclosed field with its own concerns on both a cultural and economic level.

Within the field, tendencies towards football hooliganism are perhaps best understood in terms of ‘differential association’. An idea first outlined by Sutherland (1940), the concept of differential association was employed to show that the perpetrators of white collar crime, rather than being defective on personal psychological, level, or the victims of poverty, were,
in fact, seemingly respectable business men and therefore their criminal activities had to be seen as being of a rational, normal action learned within the field and seen as being of advantage to those who choose to engage in the described activity. Further expansion of this line of enquiry is engaged by Sutherland and Cressey (1978), who show that behaviour is learned on a social level and that this occurs in a variety of different settings. Taken within this context, and applied to the study of football disorder, entry within the field - rather than social class - may be viewed as the key to learning to become a football hooligan, although the field itself has been highly influenced by working class practice the outward violence of the lower working classes cannot be held to be the predominant reason for violence within the field. The football hooligan identity is just one of many available within football cultures, and any enquiry into the active adoption of a hooligan identity must examine levels of interest involved in both acquiring and then maintaining such an identity.

When examined in this manner, what is taken for ‘rough behaviour’ by the social commentator can be seen more in the light of the visible habitus within the field, with both player and spectator displaying the appropriate outward embodiment of physicality and masculinity preferred within the field. More specifically, this may be understood as what Bourdieu (1990) calls ‘a feel for the game’, whereby the individual or group is perfectly at ease within the confines of the field, whilst at the same time understanding its constraints.

Commitment, identity and participation

If each group of football supporters who participate in regularly occurring football violence understand their club’s specific interests within the field along the lines drawn by Boyle and Haynes (2000), then high levels of involvement from fans can be expected. Following on from this idea, within the work of social psychologists Doosje, Ellemers and Spears it is clearly stated that:

If we introduce an often-reported distinction between ‘die hard’ fans and ‘fair weather’ fans our argument, we propose that ‘die hard’ group members (i.e., those who feel committed to their group) are more predisposed to display group-oriented behaviour, and make sacrifices for it, than are ‘fair weather’ members. (1999: 85)

This theoretical framework suggests that levels of identification will have a direct bearing on displayed behaviour at the football on a variety of levels. Doosje, Ellemers and Spears then go on to show that:
In other words, high identifiers are more likely to think and act in terms of their group membership than low identifiers. In addition, people who feel strong ties with their group are more likely to stick by it when it is facing hard times than people for whom this group membership is less important (1999:85).

Developing this argument, we might propose that the people who fight at football matches have high levels of identification with the club they support having internalised the club as representing them in a specific arena with high levels of social identity and the individual bound to the club in a highly meaningful way. This has important implications for the study of football disorder, as it places those who participate in football violence at a different level than that outlined by Dunning et al (1988) who see the main protagonists as being lower working class overall. At this level of inquiry, there is nothing contradictory in the differing socio-economic class placement of the participants, as we are dealing with levels of identification and internalisation with regard to both their football club and salient social identity. Within this context, the work of Marsh et al (1978), Armstrong (1996) and Robson (2000) attains a high degree of relevance, showing that football violence is a markedly contextualised social activity that holds a high degree of meaning for its participants.

This idea is probably most clearly expressed by Colin Ward in Steaming In, who when talking about his own involvement in the activity in the 1970s and 1980s, states that:

'...those were the days. Your team could be crap, but the First Division of fans was what really mattered' (2004: xii).

It is also worth noting here the work of Bowen et al (2002) who show how reflected failure on the field can be offset by reflected glory in other areas. This would make football hooliganism an attractive proposition to some sections of its audience, especially those who do not see their interests best represented within the legitimate remit of the sport due to a variety of factors, most usually mismanagement and lack of economic resources. Protagonists of football hooliganism believe that they are participating in a game of their own creation, as demonstrated, for example, in the works of Pennant (2002) and Jones and Rivers (2002). Moreover, football hooliganism as a game has been formulated complete with informal rules, code of conduct, informal league table, form guide, clothing code, and even its own history as field of activity, complete with attendant mythologies and legends (see Berger and Luckmann, 1967 regarding adult play).
Such an understanding runs counter to the more limited model of football hooliganism and its motivational factors forwarded by Dunning *et al.* With the latter figurational model, there is a tendency to understand disorder in terms of a prejudice model of social conflict. Turner criticizes this prejudice based approach to social identity and self categorization in the following terms:

The implicit orthodoxy in intergroup relations is that social antagonism in its various forms is a product of prejudice, that is, of defect, irrationality and pathology at the level of individual psychology. Negative outgroup attitudes are assumed to be inherently pathological, irrational, invalid and unjustifiable. This notion is summarized by three main ideas that pervade much research: that specific dysfunctional individual-difference or personality factors more or less predispose people to more or less hostility to outgroups; that there are individual-level cognitive and/or motivational processes which directly produce negative outgroup attitudes which are socially irrational since they are purely psychologically caused; and that intergroup attitudes are mindless, meaningless and devoid of rational content. (Turner 1999: 18-19).

At another level of generality, this approach based around prejudice is also reflected with the outlook provided by Kerr in *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism* in which it is held that while 'soccer hooligans do claim allegiance to one soccer team or another, the style of play or success of the team are generally not important. A particular team is merely a kind of “flag of convenience” that allows the hooligans to pursue their activities against the followers of other teams, the police or members of the public’ (1994: 5).

This view is contrasted with, and is incommensurable with the more erudite social identity perspective of which it is stated:

It emphasizes that we need to understand social conflict as psychologically meaningful, as an expression of how people define themselves socially and of their understanding of the reality of their intergroup relationships. Social conflict can be a rational reaction to people’s historically evolved understanding of themselves in interaction with their theories of the social world and the realities of social structure. .....This is an important and radically different approach to social conflict which has implications for research in any and every area of ‘prejudice’ (1999: 19)

This model of conflict can be adapted to understand the constructed meaning of football hooliganism as an activity, standing as it does in opposition to the old model that is highly congruent with the work of Dunning *et al* (1988), and pointing to a more sophisticated understanding of inter-group behaviour especially in relation to hooligan groups and their motivations, as shaped both by socio-cultural factors and events within the field.

An alternative way of conceptualizing football hooligan groups is to understand them as a form of self contained peer group and regularly recurring community. In the case of Cardiff
City, the Soul Crew brings together individuals from localities across the area - from the villages and towns of the South Wales Valleys and as far West as Port Talbot and Neath, and as far East as Cwmbran and all points in between. The Leicester approach sees such groupings as a form of 'street gang', of a type as outlined as far back as research by the likes of Thrasher (1927). The views of Dunning *et al.* (1988), with its emphasis on the work of Suttles (1968), represent simply an elaboration on Suttles work representing a different unit of analysis in social research, with a naive scaling up to include an amalgamation of street gangs to form an inclusive football firm or hooligan group. The gangs outlined by Thrasher (1927) and Suttles (1968) can be seen, as being more suitable as units of research for an investigation into village and town street gangs within the South Wales area. Within the research tradition exemplified by the authors mentioned above, perhaps of the most use is Decker and Van Winkle's *Life in the Gang* (1996) whose outline of friendship groups is perhaps the most suitable at this level of enquiry. This would provide a more suitable line of enquiry as within the work it shows that members of various gangs suspend such allegiances when supporting sporting teams as members of friendship groups.

A related issue that needs to be examined further is the commitment and loyalty to the group. In this context, football cultures in Britain might be seen as similar to the ‘laddish behaviour’ outlined in Blackshaw’s *Leisure Life* (2003), and which is seen as being motivated by the need for a ‘solid’ ontological security because they as individuals now live in a world of constantly changing relations and expectations as proposed by Giddens (1991). Through leisure activities, such as football, group solidarity is reconstructed in a different form. Communities existing within this state of changing relations and expectations can now exist on a highly ethereal level, and in this way the field of football and the football casual community may be seen to represent such sites within society, allowing as they do for the individual to maintain a steady self identity and comparatively reliable relations to others within the field. Within this context, relationships are built on trust and reliability, and allow for the development of what Giddens (1991) would see as a coherent narrative of the self.

In terms of the individual and their relationship to a football identity, whether as a fan, football hooligan, football casual or any combination thereof, what is occurring is highly collaborative. Alongside a better understanding of group formation, including one that stresses the contextual nature of group formation, group behaviour and commitment to the group, commitment might also be analysed as a product of contemporary articulations of masculinity available at a meta level within British society. With this in mind, there will once
again be recourse to the work of Beynon (2002) in order to improve understanding in providing a cultural framework for these various masculinities. Research carried out in recent years concerning football violence shows that the practitioners do not rely on criminal endeavor to maintain their lifestyle by and large, but typically work for a living as shown by Armstrong (1996) and Robson (2000).

In this way, these individuals may be likened to what Paul Willis in *Learning to Labor* (1977) calls 'the lads', and who he sees as rejecting a middle class value system in favour of a tough working class masculinity in preparation for their involvement in work. In his research, Willis found that while there was considerable variation and complexity in sources of meaning on which for the lads to draw, there were also structural issues to take into account in employment choices such as class background, geographical location, local job market, and educational attainment as all being factors in employment chances. In a rejection of simple reductionism, Willis advocated the influence of the cultural realm, in that he proposed that structural forces act through, and are mediated by the cultural, allowing for a fair degree of interpretation and action for the individual, rather than mechanistic causation.

When considering constructed masculinities, especially those concerning localized, regional and national identity, then any sophisticated social science perspective would need to consider the interpretive elements of this construction process, and how ideas concerning social behaviour, violence, and the heroic would all need to be considered. Ideas surrounding masculinities will be considered alongside ideas surrounding the 'Heroic' both at individual and group levels, with the work of Hedetoft (1995) essential in its portrayal of the heroic as cultural specific, and being highly informed by media portrayal of both socio-historical events and current interpretations of national identity. The frame-work advocated above will be directly related to the followers of Cardiff City and more specifically its hooligan following in order to examine their position within the field of football cultures and more specifically in relation to their hooligan activities, and the meanings they attach to their actions as both individuals and members of the group.

Within this context an understanding of both personal and social identity is of paramount importance, and as such, ideas of national identity built from a local level upwards as shown by the likes of Thompson (1995) will be utilized, as will the ideas of Holt (1989) who asserts that cultural identity is a two way process, acting both as a way for people to define themselves whilst also providing the basis of how we become defined by others. Given the
above understanding of identity as a two way process, national identity has probably been most constructively seen in this way by Cronin and Mayall who show that:

"The concept of nationalism must be seen, therefore, as both an historic reality and as a contemporary continuum which has been, and still is central to the construction of identity and one which performs a vital function in sport." (1998:3)

Within this constructionist framework there may be glaring asymmetry between the way in which we see ourselves and how others perceive us as Hedetoft (1995:519) clearly shows, and as placement within the field of football hooliganism is both historically informed and performance related a positive self concept can be achieved through the commitment to continuing participation at a high level of involvement, with this involvement being informed by a hierarchy of meaningfulness.

Conclusions

Throughout the chapter it has been clearly shown that football has developed within British society as both distinct field and market, along with its own concerns and practices. With this being the case, then the works of Bourdieu provide a much more sophisticated framework for the expansion of the development of football in a socio-historic context than the one outlined by Dunning et al. allowing as it does for interests within the field to be highly contingent and thus changing over time. It has been easily shown that there have been massive changes at almost every level of football especially over the last century from its actual playing and particularly in its consumption as a leisure activity in the face of mass media coverage both of a terrestrial and satellite variety. The work of Dunning et al. has been shown as being less than adequate in explaining many of these changes on a variety of levels, yet still remains in a dominant position with regards to the game and its development. Within the theoretical framework outlined there must be moves towards a club specific history of both the official game of football, and the associated activity of football hooliganism. Given the weakness of the position of a figurational approach in the face of more recent research the position it holds can easily be shown to be completely untenable at a theoretical level, and one that is in need of revision at a socio-historic level.  

On a socio-theoretical level the work of Dunning et al can be said to provide a weak argument in the face of ethnographic study that proposes a highly contextualized view of football violence. Any new theory should be one that understands each clubs interests as being specific to its own socio-historic development, and its fans specific relationship with
the activity in question, both in relation to the club's followers on a historic level and at a present performative level. Given the lack of depth with the view espoused by Dunning et al. concerning the practice and motivation of the proponents of football hooliganism, the proposal of a new model based on advances within other areas of the social sciences as well as sociological theory would be of obvious benefit concerning an ongoing socio-cultural production. As the above weakness shows only too well the figurational approach to football violence is one that has foundation in broad based assumption and one that fits easily with an outmoded view of social conflict and social identity. As the chapter should have helped to show, the figurational approach can have limited value in modern social science apart from on a chronological level. However, if utilised in a meditational manner it provides the basis for many arguments and a viewpoint that acts as a sounding board for a more sophisticated viewpoint; broadly based on a constructionist viewpoint, and allowing for the latest advances in the social sciences.
Chapter 2

The evolution of the game and the contested violence of its followers

Introduction

This chapter aims to provide an overview of the aggression and violence displayed at and around football matches and stadiums in the English football league system. This has been done in order to separate and distinguish the variety of different possible behaviours displayed by fan groups. The main focus of the chapter is concerned with football violence as an organised group activity and its historical development in order to chart its development as a social phenomenon. Issues concerning salient social identity and a cultural model of violence are examined in to provide a clearer understanding of the activity. In order for a clearer understanding of football violence to emerge it is shown that a socio-historic perspective is essential and that any description of the activity should take an evolutionary approach in understanding both its specific development and the specific set of social relations that have emerged from within the field, and also influenced by wider society. It will be shown that the activity is rule bound, and at this level of description the activity clearly conforms to a violent ritual with its own attendant concerns. The question of racism within the field and at specific clubs is also outlined in order to ascertain both its pervasiveness, and societal perceptions of recurring racism within the field as a recurring problem.

Within the work of Dunning et al (1988), there is recognition that there have always been those willing to fight in the name of the team and that certain games have always had a higher degree of potential for trouble than others on a historic level due to proximity, and antagonistic social relations at group level. This point, and an understanding shown by both Dunning et al (1988), and Frosdick and Marsh (2005) that football has always been the site of violence beginning in the middle ages and continuing up until the present time in different forms leaves one in little doubt as to the persistence of violence, even if both its execution and form have changed. Following on from the previous chapter concerning the various explanations of football violence, the following discussion will provide an overview of the
aggression and violence displayed at and around football matches and stadiums. This will be examined in order to separate and distinguish the variety of different behaviours displayed. The main focus of the chapter will be concerned with organised group activity and its historical development, and will avoid any individual hooligan type endeavours but will include tipping point type incidents as demonstrated in the work of Stott and Pearson (2007).

Ideas surrounding biopolitics (Foucault 1997) would also need examination, and the incorporation of the working classes into general society would also require re-evaluation as to the purpose that this would serve. Following the reactivation of the sporting field, factors in the development of football hooliganism as an ongoing activity would also require examination along with professionalism and developments in travel chief among these. The influence of the carnival (Pearson 1983, Presdee 2000, Giulianotti 2001) within the field would also need evaluation as this is an element often present when identities are being contested in a leisure situation.

After reading the preceding chapter, it should be clear that certain commentators believe that the participants in football violence are those who identify highly with their team. When investigating football violence, the view of Dunning et al is that violent behaviour leads to pleasurable excitement in the individual and that:

"hooligan activities have to be understood, at least in the first instance, in the hooligans own terms; that is, as enjoyable, exciting and meaningful affairs." (1988: 220)

Whilst this view is accepted fully within the research undertaken, it is in no way held that the practitioners’ value system is flawed at any fundamental level, or keeping its practitioners locked at the bottom of the socio-economic scale, any more than those who participate in any other violent ritual – such as rugby union, boxing or karate – keeps its participants locked at the bottom of the socio-economic scale. These ideas concerning socio-economic placement and motivation offer little scope for understanding football hooliganism as a social activity, and there are alternative viewpoints available that may be considerably more helpful. Rather than accept the view of the violent lower classes as perpetrators of football hooliganism, it would be far more expansive to take up the variety of developments outlined in the previous chapter to augment knowledge, and provide a more inclusive account of the activity.

Utilizing advances in anthropology and social psychology primarily, it is possible to strengthen considerably the sociological viewpoint on football violence. As Coakley (2003) clearly suggests, those of a critical persuasion when it comes to sociological theory will find it
hard to find common ground with the dominant figurational model of football violence. The development of the field in socio-historic terms is crucial to understanding domestic football violence, as is a revision of the accepted understanding of the 'civilizing factor' and the role this has played in European and world affairs. Throughout, the violence displayed at the football will be presented as being competitive when utilized in an organized manner. Within this framework, the violence at this level should be seen as instrumental, as it is aimed at settling a contest conducted within the parameters of a violent ritual. The model of violence to be utilized should, however, be that outlined by Blok (2001), who shows that though violence may be instrumental in its aims there are definite ‘performative’ and ‘symbolic’ aspects. Football hooliganism as an organized activity will be presented as a well established violent ritual with a series of discernable patterns in escalation, with a variety of possible outcomes as a contest (Marsh et al 1978, Armstrong 1998).

In order to provide a more systematic commentary, it is also necessary to separate organised football violence in its various forms from the ‘carnivalisation’ of the field and general rowdiness displayed at sporting occasions. Numerous explanations of violence and aggression within the field have been proposed utilizing a variety of social science positions, most notably sociological (Dunning et al 1988; Robson2000), psychological (Marsh et al 1978; Kerr 1994; Wann et al 2001) and anthropological (Armstrong 1998) models, all utilizing different frameworks to explain spectator violence and its causes. A mediational approach utilizing developments in the different social sciences is perhaps the most helpful to separate the various forms, and targets of spectator violence and aggression. This reassessment of the field should provide a revised and conceptually different understanding of football violence as an ongoing socio-cultural production.

Throughout the discussion, there will be a reassessment of the argument of Dunning et al (1988) concerning the roots of football hooliganism, and their insistence that the lower working classes are outwardly violent, as in need of substantive revision. That most fan bases are drawn along geographic lines (Jones 1997), or formed by specific groups sharing a geographic space (Boyle and Haynes 2000, Armstrong 1998), much of the argument proposed by Dunning et al (1988) concerning ordered segmentation scaled up and applied to football clubs is in need of revision on a variety of levels utilizing various developments within the social sciences. Throughout the chapter, the proposal will be that the actual violence perpetrated by football hooligans is carried out by specific self contained groups of fans each representing football clubs or national teams and that the violence displayed is perhaps most
usefully understood in terms of the work of Marsh (1978); who suggests that they are indulging in ‘Aggro’ based on a code of conduct informed by the traditional values of masculinity, courage, and fair play. ‘Aggro’, as outlined by Marsh, presents those concerned with a way of expressing their aggression within a set of parameters, in a relatively non-injurious manner, thereby providing a ritualistic mode of conflict resolution. This distinction is crucial within the work as it sets football hooliganism as a recurring socio-cultural production within the framework of the violent ritual, rather than violence being understood as the product of the lower working classes.

The role and utilisation of the violent ritual of competitive sporting activities and events within Britain can only be understood fully in terms of the nation’s specific development and role as a military-industrial complex, and related to this specific historical development. Any understanding of violence within the field and the social relations that have developed since the inception of the football league would require a socio-historic analysis of the events leading towards the formation of the football league. Within this context, locating football violence within a framework that takes note of Britain’s military history, and its foreign policy both on a historic and contemporary level is essential in any understanding of its development as a social activity. Rather than place football hooliganism and other violent behaviour at the level of the lower working classes, the research will locate the activity as taking place within an inherently violent and competitive society.

Social Identity and a Cultural Model of Violence

As a social activity, both going to the football and participating in football hooliganism offers an attractive proposition as it seems to offer a number of things to the individual. On one level, as shown by the work of Blackshaw (2003), participating in laddish behaviour offers the possibility of a seemingly solid ontological security. As shown by Giddens (1991), this requirement of solidity is based on the idea that we live in a world of shifting roles and expectations, and relationships built on trust and reliability allow for the construction of a coherent narrative of the self enabling the individual and group to feel grounded in the face of change. Allied to the above, the game also allows for the exploration of the ‘heroic’, and this term is used in the same light as used by Hedetoft (1995) who sees this form as culture specific. Within this context, Britain can be said to have strong military ideals at the level of meta-narrative, being presented at a cultural level through the celebration and justification of British military endeavour using, in particular, television and movies. Football hooliganism as
a social activity would seem to supply a platform for the acting out of the heroic in a contextual setting, as shown clearly in films such as *The Football Factory* and the more sensationalised *Green Street*.

These ideas are highly congruent with a cultural model of violence, and Sipes in the exposition of his cultural model of violence proposes that:

> We learn our individual patterns of behavior, and that our culture supplies us with these patterns....We can decrease unwanted violence and other aggressive behavior by reducing the aggressive component of culture patterns wherever this component is found (1996:155)

Britain’s role in world affairs is such that war is constantly celebrated (Hedetoft 1995) both within literature and the media, especially in film and television drama. Within the British media, there is the continued non-problematic manner in which the instrumental use of violence is celebrated, especially if utilized by a heroic figure (Hedetoft 1995). Contemporary television programmes as *Ultimate Force* and *Sharpe* would be seen by the likes of Sipes (1996) as providing violent role models and approximations of scenarios where violence is utilized by both the individual and state in the pursuit of their own interests.

Utilizing a cultural model of violence (Sipes 1996), it is possible to reconceptualise football hooliganism as a recurring socio-cultural production. The view that we learn our models of violence and aggression from within our own cultural framework is entirely congruent with the social learning models of Sutherland and Cressey (1978) and Bandura (1973, 1986) who both advocate that behaviour is learned within a variety of settings, and most usually vicariously. If augmented with an understanding of socio-cultural transmission (Bourdieu 1990), this level of analysis would present the basis for a far more sophisticated understanding of violence in British society than the wish to displace the violence in society, presented as being the preserve of the uncivilized lower working classes. Rather than simply seeing Britain as being in a ‘decivilizing spurt’ as suggested by Dunning *et al* (1988), and signalled by an escalating ‘cycle of violence’ evident in Northern Ireland, industrial relations and at the football, should we reappraise this analysis and examine if the violence displayed within British society is indeed part of any decivilising spurt, or if it is rather, simply an ongoing feature of modern British society both at home and in terms of an aggressive historical and contemporary foreign policy. This disparity in viewpoint makes the socio-historic context of the re-emergence of sporting fields essential in any understanding of football hooliganism.
The reactivation of sporting fields within the nineteenth century also needs reconsideration to take account of Britain's continued development as a military-industrial complex.

**Football and society a historical perspective**

Football as a distinct socio-cultural field has long been the site of violence, being born out of a game of directed aggression played between towns and villages throughout Britain for hundreds of years. As shown in the work of Coakley (2003), after being an accepted part of peasant life, the game was banned for hundreds of years in Britain following numerous royal directives against it. Explaining the banning of football and many other folk games on a socio-historic level between 1300 and 1800, Coakley shows these games were seen as being against the interests of the ruling faction. As he argues:

>'those in authority saw the time peasants spent playing games as time they could spend learning to defend the lives and land of their masters' (2003:71).

Coakley goes on to show that there was also a double standard operating in society during this time:

>At about the same time that the peasants were being subjected to increasing controls in many of the locations, the “scholar-athlete” became the ideal among many of the aristocrats and affluent. (2003:71)

At this time in European societies, it is also shown by Foucault (1997) that any activity based on localised social relations was discouraged as it was seen as being against the interest of the aristocracy and the ruling elite, and weakened their hold on centralised legitimate power. This was because all folk games encouraged those who participated to engage in activities that promoted their own interests rather than those who would use them as material resources, most usually in war like relations. The element of control and the utilization of people as material resources meant that these games were severely discouraged over a considerable period throughout British history and only became promoted to the working classes as a mass participation event at the end of the nineteenth century. As shown in Chapter One, the work of Hargreaves (1987) is most useful in that it shows that this took place at a time of the emergence of a strong working class that was both militant and highly organised. Having successfully utilised sport within their own bloc to develop a suitable attitude for dominance among their own group, the combined upper and middle classes then went about conditioning the working classes to accepting their role in society.
Until this period, the working class had been left out of sport as a mass participation event through the amateur ideal that limited involvement to those who could meet the criteria of 'gentleman' and amateur. The inception of the professional football league provided, for the first time, a mass participation sport aimed directly at the British working classes. The professional aspect of the football league was crucial as it allowed for working class participation at a level where they could be paid for their efforts allowing for full time participation. This also had the effect of providing the working class sections of the crowd with its own role models and sports heroes, a crucial aspect of the sport and culture relationship as shown by Wann et al (2001) as this allows for high levels of identification at spectator level.

Utilizing the work of Hargreaves (1987), it has been shown that purpose of the promotion of professional sport was to garner the establishment of highly localized masculinities subordinate to the interests of the ruling classes. Hargreaves argues that one of the main aims was the control of the working classes through a process of hegemonisation in the corporate mould. This incorporation of the working classes on an acceptable level into society, and their willingness to be utilized as the instrument of the state in an arena of competitive nationalism is seen as being one of the central aims of providing the working classes with sport as a mass participation event (see also Hedetoft, 1995). Given that the field was instigated to promote localized social identity, any understanding of the field must recognize that it provides a site where identities are 'up for grabs' (Ellemers et al 1999) within a competitive arena and it always has whether on a historical or contemporary level.

Within the field of sport in general, it has been noted by commentators such as Hargreaves (1987) and Coakley (2003) that there are certain safeguards in operation to promote equal competition. These safeguards, constructed around equal numerical participation and level of competition, seek to ensure the most even match possible, making for a fair contest. Within the football league, professionalism has become more of an issue with the growing commodification of football. Though still represented by equal numerical participants, the commodification of football has skewed the contest enacted on the field on a performative level and this is of definite consequence as a factor in football violence.

As a leisure site, football has been strongly influenced by 'the carnival'. The influence of the carnival has been noted by the likes of Pearson (1983) and more lately Giulianotti (1994). Taking ideas of the carnival and applying them to the social behaviour displayed at and
around football games and occasion, Giulianotti (1994) provides a rich example of the influence of carnival within the field suggesting a situation where hierarchical principles are negated and often subverted. This recognition of the behaviours displayed, varying from harmless outpourings at group level on one hand, and serious organized violence on the other, is indicative of the range of possibilities available at the individual and group level within a competitive arena. Within the arena, there is reliance on the mobilisation of fans, and also on the performative aspects of fandom, and the form of this competition may range from who can make the most noise to which fan group is the most proficient in aggro.

Given the concerns of the social-psychologists, and noting the work of Wann et al (2001) and Bowen et al (2002) who show how reflected failure on the field can be offset by reflected glory in other areas, the ability to compete on the accredited field of play is of definite consequence, as are specific groups’ abilities to circumvent these constraints. All accounts from within the field point to a situation where many of the followers of clubs, rather than relying on a game that was becoming more and more economically informed, instead chose and still choose to participate in the activity known as football violence. While not slipping into the simplistic, it should be understood that while poor performance on the field is not the cause of football hooliganism, it may be a significant factor in making the activity an attractive proposition for the fans of many clubs, with ritualised violence providing an activity where failure on the pitch may be offset by performance off it. However, this should be augmented with an understanding that any violence employed within the context of the violent ritual is not decorous but real in its consequences (Tilly 2003). At this point, however, it is essential not to over simplify the activity, as all teams have a hooligan following regardless of success or failure on the pitch, and it is quite clear that at the height of their success Liverpool F.C. had a substantial number of hooligan followers (Thornton 2003) as have Manchester United in more later times. In considering the above there has been an attempt to identify those who participate in football violence and explain their motivations in relation to the activity. Within this context, we now need to examine what they are doing in terms of practice and the ideas that the participants hold surrounding their involvement in the activity.

Some suitable British examples of locally occurring rivalries when looking at football violence would include Millwall-West Ham (Robson 2000) and Sheffield Wednesday-Sheffield United (Armstrong 1998), Cardiff City-Swansea City, Portsmouth-Southampton, and Celtic-Rangers. The work of Robson is highly informative in relation to crowd behaviour.
at Millwall, and using evidence in the shape of directives for good crowd behaviour dating back to 1919 when the problem behaviour seen by the club directors was mainly verbal. By the 1949-1950 season however, problem behaviour was seen as more physical and seems to indicate a process of escalation into behaviour now known as football hooliganism. In a notice published in the programme for the 1966 Millwall-Swansea City game, there is an appeal to the teenage fans to curb their unruliness as this is seen as shocking by genuine supporters of the club and lest they put off ‘civilised supporters’ and that this would not do for the club (Robson 2000: 25). This behaviour, seen as problematic as far back as 1919, and escalating in intensity, can be said to be concerned firstly with the playing and management staff failing to represent the group’s best interests due to incompetence on a performative level, then in an outward action turned towards the referee and opposing team’s fans. It should be quite clear that certain clubs, if not all, in the English League system have witnessed behaviour that has been interpreted as problematic for a long number of years due to the nature of the masculinities displayed. Groups such as Millwall fans (Robson 2000) are clearly shown to be vociferous if they think their best interests are not being served by legitimate means, and that this situation exists at many clubs with some more militant than others. At Cardiff City, the supporters are probably best understood as a militant group (Jones and Rivers 2002), who in the same vein as Millwall fans react badly to their interests not being seen to be served adequately.

Although habitus and performative masculinity cannot be held to be the cause of football hooliganism, these factors may help to explain why some groups are far more volatile than others in their means of expression. With different sections of the audience placing differing expectations around displayed behaviour, there is the possibility for certain behaviour to be interpreted as highly aggressive. The research conducted at and around these football clubs points to a situation where each group of fans understand its own club in terms of their social identity and define themselves in relation to the other group with which it shares geographic space or borders. This is crucial, as it amounts to the recognition that the field has, from its inception, provided a forum where in-group and out-group identities are polarized within a competitive environment making unfavourable comparison commonplace (see Ellemers et al 1999). Studies show that football violence has occurred, in one form or another, from the beginning, whenever opposition fan groups have come into contact, and as the arena provides a forum where identities may be continually contested, and that these have been contested from the very start.
All sections of modern British football grounds are now extensively covered by C.C.T.V. surveillance, and wherever possible the individual is tied to a specific location (Foucault 1977) via a seat number or membership scheme, and yet violence still occurs at and around games. With the field subject to a high degree of surveillance, there is constant filming and surveillance working to a principle of panopticism of which it has been stated, functions:

'so to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action' (Foucault 1977: 201).

Also, while all attempts are made to control the individual within the field, there is always the availability of the banning order making exclusion a real possibility. This situation is, however, still not enough to make certain fans feel safe at away grounds and *The Football and Football Spectators after Hillsborough Survey 1989* has suggested that almost two thirds of its sample found the atmosphere at some matches is overly aggressive, and seven out of ten found some grounds dangerous to visit as an away fan. With this being the case and the fact that groups still fight regularly at and around football matches necessitates an understanding of football violence and its development over a considerable time period.

**Football violence an evolutionary approach**

An understanding of the development of football hooliganism as a socio-cultural production is required that takes account of the changes in its development. This would require an evolutionary approach to be utilized describing an activity developing from the simplistic towards the complex. The development of football hooliganism during the 1960s and 1970s, as outlined by both Smith (2000) and Brown (2002), is an activity that can be seen to have started with large-scale disruption within football grounds. The form that this disruption took was rival groups of fans engaged in physical fighting over contested space within the ground, an activity somewhat curtailed by segregation laws in 1975. As participant accounts in particular indicate (see Jones and Rivers 2002, Pennant 2002), the activity then changed and the arena became the streets around the ground, with the opposition's pub the new focus of attention. At present, the activity is one that is well established and sophisticated in its execution, with the participation of many people on different levels to achieve a successful outcome.

Each group within the arena is provided with a site in which competitive and antagonistic displays are enacted. What can be said with some certainty is that the levels and frequency of violent confrontations between football fans was increasingly facilitated by advances in public
transport as noted by Dunning et al (1988), and by commentators within the field (Jones and Rivers 2002, Pennant 2002). The ability of large groups of fans to attend away games has ensured that conflict, whilst not an inevitability is always a possibility, both at present and on a historic level. Modern football hooliganism has been highly influenced in the way that it is carried out, due in large part to greater transport availability and the possibilities for independent travel that have resulted. These developments have been shown by those who regularly participate in the activity that the most actual action to be had as a football hooligan happens away from home and has done since the 1970s.

When charting the development of football hooliganism, there should be high degrees of utilisation of biographies from within the field especially those by the likes of Pennant (2002), Ward (1989), and Jones and Rivers (2002) to name but a few. In the eyes of the participants they were all taking part in a game that ran alongside the legitimate sport of football and primarily involved in the taking of ‘Ends’ in order to prove supremacy. The game was football specific and held a high degree of meaning for its participants. Taylor (1971) proposes the early part of the 1960s as the start of football hooliganism as a wide scale social activity in his work on the history of the football hooligan, and Polley (1998) similarly advances the 1960s as witnessing the origins of modern football hooliganism in his research. This timescale is backed by biographies from within the field, as both Bovver (Brown 2002) and The First Guvnors: Life as a West Ham fan in the 60s and 70s (Smith 2000) both suggest that in the 1960s hooliganism was an established part of football. Smith concentrates on West Ham and shows that in London the activity was one that was becoming well established as part of the game by this period. Brown’s work is a useful companion as it deals with the supporters of Bristol Rovers, and provides a view from outside London that shows the activity was widespread by the middle- to late 1960s.

Brown (2002) also provides a socio-historic context for Cardiff City’s followers in the activity when he notes hooligan encounters at Ninian Park and talks of battling the ‘Grange’, a section of the ground behind the goals known as the Grange End. These encounters, said by Brown to be evenly contested, offer some proof of Cardiff City fans’ involvement on an active level and, with Bristol being the nearest English city, would have come under the heading of a local derby. The works are also good descriptive items and make clear that at this time football hooliganism as a social activity involved large numbers of young men fighting for supremacy at the home end of the ground. The ultimate aim of the activity at this point was the taking of ‘Ends’ whereby the away fans would get in among the home supporters and physically fight
with them in the hope of displacing them from the terracing they inhabited. These fights could spread to other sections of the ground and spill on to the pitch with the idea being to 'back off' your opponents, thus winning the contest without the need for further violence.

At this stage in the development of football hooliganism as a social activity, media reporting had a notable impact on the activity. As shown by Dunning et al (1988), rather than having the effect of shaming the fans of football league clubs, sensationalised media reporting further formalized the activity. During this stage in the development of football hooliganism, Cardiff City fans were involved in a watershed moment when the club played Manchester United in the F.A Cup. Here, Jones and Rivers report that:

The match, in September 1974 was described in the book *The Roots of Football Hooliganism* as 'a watershed in the reporting of football hooliganism'. It was the first time that the clash between the two sets of fans – rather than the game itself - was the main topic of newspaper coverage. Reams of newsprint were devoted to the threat posed by the forthcoming encounter, for in those wild, boot boy days, the supporters of United stood out above all others for their hooligan reputation. Many wanted to see if the much vaunted Stretford Enders would finally meet their match among the rugged miners and dockers of South Wales. (2002: 3)

Although accounts differ as to the result of this clash, it would seem that the supporters of Cardiff City held their own, and this shows that even in the 1970s Cardiff were able to draw on large numbers of lads willing to fight in the name of the team. Given the scale of the disturbance at Cardiff, and at a number of other grounds during the season, legislation was passed in 1975 that enforced strict segregation within the ground and forced the participants to find another way to carry on with their chosen game.

During the second half of the 1970s, the battlefield now became the streets around the ground, and the pubs occupied by the home team's lads also became fair game in the battle for supremacy among fan groups. The participants involved were by now becoming predictable in their manner of operations, and easier still to identify. Accordingly, a new approach was now required. Many biographies from within the field show how by a series of innovative steps the lads were able to subtly alter their usual behaviour, tactics and appearance in order to carry on their active involvement in the game. Thornton (2003) clearly shows how rail travel became independent of 'the football special', including the use of commercial special offers exploited to get cheap Young Person's rail cards in order to circumvent legal chaperones. Football hooligan 'firms', as they were now becoming known, were showing themselves to be
both increasingly reflexive and innovative in their outlook towards the game, and in how to best facilitate its successful outcome.

Available accounts of the situation at Cardiff City at this time (Jones and Rivers 2002), show that many of the supporters of Cardiff City who participated in football violence began calling themselves ‘the Soul Crew’, getting in line with the teams in the rest of football league as the lads at other clubs all took to naming their crews, further formalizing the activity in the popular imagination. On a performative level, at this time Cardiff were not among the very top ‘players’ in the game, yet could always get a fairly large crew out, with one of their most famous exploits being the dismantling of Portsmouth Clock, another action legendary at the club. Jones and Rivers (2002) acknowledge, however, that against the top and more organised firms at this time, Cardiff could not compete.

The look of the participants was also up for revision during this period, as the skinhead/suedehead look of the terraces was too easy for the police to pick out, even at a distance. At the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, there emerged from the terraces a new look specifically developed by the various hooligan firms to outwit the police, and facilitate hooligan encounters away from grounds through mutual signalling and recognition. The development of this new look is contested in its inception, and the works by Thornton (2003) and Pennant (2002) offer different points of view regarding its creation. Thornton (2003) makes much of the fact that whilst teams like Liverpool, Aberdeen, and Tottenham played in Europe at this time in club competitions, they all appropriated foreign sportswear that they brought back with them and wore to football games. On the other hand, Pennant (2002) states that the look was born of wearing what were essentially clubbing clothes to the football, and looking at the photos of the casual gear worn by Pennant and others it is apparent that that is what they are doing. A mixture of the two accounts is nevertheless probable.

Through the use of extensive use of ‘bricolage’, this new way of dressing had created a look that took the best of golf and tennis wear and, changing boots for trainers, made the lads look as inoffensive as possible. Allied to new methods of travel, this innovation left the way open for the activity to develop. Here, *The Firm* (1983), a television play by Alan Clarke, offers a fairly good exposition of the change in activity, charting the greater sophistication required by the lads in the successful pursuit of the activity. Having said that, it may be argued that *The Firm* is also as much about societal fear of football hooliganism and perceived room for
escalation up to the point of murder. The levels of sophistication now required for the successful outcome by the 1980s, and up until the present are outlined in the work of the Brimson’s (1996), who point to an increasingly sophisticated activity making use of a variety of tactics, and harnessing all available technological advances to produce the correct result.

Given the concerns of football firms, the successful outcome was one that enabled a situation where contact was possible, whereby the firm could impose its will on the opposition through the use of violence, or implied violence and the displacement of opposing fans, signalling a successful conclusion and winning result. Consideration of the work of Berger and Luckmann (1967), who stress the importance of play in adults, is also helpful in examining football hooliganism at this level of enquiry. The game had been formulated by those who engaged in the activity, complete with its own rituals, rules, code of conduct, informal league table, form guide, clothing code, and even its own history and attendant mythologies. This reflexivity in actual practice and ability to innovate has been a continual feature of football hooliganism throughout its development, and is now noticeable in the use of the mobile phone and Internet sites such as Terrace Links in the facilitation and self-reporting of hooligan activities. All the above factors led to a situation where the activity by the end of the 1970s and throughout the 1980s became highly formalised, and a well-established game/contest that ran parallel to the game/contest on the accredited field of play.

Understanding the rules

Over time, the positioning of Cardiff City’s hooligan following has changed markedly, to the point where it is widely accepted as being one of the premier firms in the country. This change of position can be explained in accordance with the work of Ellemers, Spears, and Doosje concerning inter-group relations who show that:

According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978a), social identity should be particularly salient when the status relations between groups are or become unstable. When these relations are unstable, the alternative status position (as a group) becomes a realistic possibility for members of both low and high status groups. The salience of this possibility is likely to elicit group action designed either to accomplish a change in the status structure or to defend the status quo (Turner and Brown, 1978). In line with social identity theory, we predict that group commitment underlies this coordinated group behaviour. (1999: 93)

Arguably the best way to understand the violence associated with football hooliganism as outlined above would be to utilize the model provided by Blok (2001). Rather than seeing violence in purely instrumental or expressive terms, Blok contends that:
Anthropologists have found it useful to distinguish between instrumental (technical) and expressive (ritual, symbolic, communicative) aspects of human behaviour. The former involve expediency and practical reason, the relation between means and goals. The latter involve meaning: what do practices ‘say’, what do they express? The emphasis is on the cultural form rather than on means and ends. Both aspects are important and closely connected. It may be useful to see this relationship in terms of a continuum: some actions are more instrumental, other actions are more expressive. (2001: 107-108)

Seeing the violence displayed at the football in such a manner has obvious benefits, seeking to understand if the violence is instrumental or expressive no longer becomes an issue.

The violence displayed can be seen in Blok’s (ibid) terms to be instrumental in that it settles a competitive violent encounter, yet there are definite performative and symbolic aspects. Making this view highly congruent with the work of Spireburg who when distinguishing between the instrumental-expressive continuum shows that:

“human behaviour always falls between the extremes of both axis, but not necessarily in the middle. In principle, every violent incident can be situated at some point on each of the axes”. (2008: 7)

Despite the assertions of Dunning et al (1988) concerning the levels of violence at football matches, the proposition is that the work of Marsh et al (1978) provides a stronger basis for the development of both narrative and practical investigation into the area. This provides a different view to that obtained by Dunning et al (1988), who suggest that the work of Marsh et al (1978) is flawed in its understanding of the violence at the football:

However, they [Marsh et al] failed to engage in comparably systematic observations of pre-match and post-match encounters; that is of those vital segments of what is, for hooligan fans, the ‘total football occasion’ that are least susceptible to police control and when, as a result, such fans enjoy greater freedom to pursue their objectives. The behaviour of fans in such situations conforms more closely to the idea of self-regulation that is implicit in the ritual aggression hypothesis, and it is our observation that it not infrequently involves forms and levels of violence that are more serious than is admitted by Marsh and his colleagues (1988:23).

Dunning et al (1988) object to ideas of self-regulation and parameters of behaviour in the pursuit of violent encounters. Accounts from within the field, however, explain the limitations of violence and the results of transgressions of these parameters. The accounts from within the field concur with the work of Marsh (1978) who would see the activity being carried out within a well understood set of boundaries, and the later work of Armstrong (1998) who shows the disdain for weapons except those utilised from within the confines of the immediate vicinity and who both see the activity as a violent ritual. The escalation in violence seemingly apparent at the football during the 1980s and onwards is however addressed in the
later work of Frosdick and Marsh (2005). Even allowing for these escalations football hooliganism is perhaps best thought of as falling within the remits of the violent ritual as it is an activity that takes place within set parameters and allows for a variety of possible outcomes with the end result not usually death in Britain.

Many academic and cultural commentators stress the levels and forms of violence involved in football hooliganism, reflecting the concerns represented by the *The Firm* (1983), and *Green Street* (2005), both of which show the escalation of violence up to the point of death. Death has occurred within the context of football violence, although the way that the death is interpreted is variable amongst different fan groups not automatically resulting in a vendetta (Armstrong 1998, Robson 2000). Within the activity known as football hooliganism, self-regulation by participants follows a discernable pattern, making unarmed combat the ideal, though there is the propensity to pick up object in the immediate environment to use as makeshift weapons (Armstrong 1998). Within these parameters, the use of knives is frowned upon, but they have been used, though with justification having to be provided in the construction of any narrative surrounding the event. If weapons are to be used, Armstrong notes that there has to be an element of justification, such as being heavily outnumbered.

When relating the violence at the football to the violence in wider society *The Football Factory* (2003) is perhaps the most helpful cultural representation in relation to this complex inter-relationship. When someone is shot in the film, it is by a local crack dealer and this correctly points to the fact that there are guns within society but they do not feature at the football in Britain, but they are regularly used to settle disputes in criminal activities, and most usually at the level of street gangs coming into conflict whether concerned with economic or disrespect issues. In simple terms guns within British society are most usually the preserve of inner city street gangs, crack dealers, and not football hooligans. The utilisation of violence within the field of football may be better understood in terms of dominating the field, because as in any other social field dominance is of vital importance. The aim of any team within the field is to win as many games as possible, and win any particular league in which they are competing. Supporters of different clubs have, over the years, by a small leap of imagination applied the same analogy to themselves and their group, thereby allowing themselves to become more interactive within the contest. The instrumental use of violence allows for the imposition of will on another group, with the result the same as in football. That is, the ability to win, lose, or draw with your opponent. Within this context, the fans with the most proficiency in aggro, gain the greatest amount of power, prestige,
status, and honour within the activity. As with football, each hooligan group's standing is both performance related, but also informed by its historical standing in relation to the activity.

Accounts from within the field by the anthropologist Armstrong (1998) and the social psychologist Finn (1994), confirm that football firms are competitive. Within this framework, football firms can be seen as reflecting the concerns of the field. There has been the development of a game that utilizes violence and aggression in order to achieve victory over another group of football fans. As shown by Marsh et al (1978), the participants frame their experience within a well understood set of informal rules, there being no requirement for escalation above the utilization of aggro, providing an activity where failure on the pitch may be offset by performance off it. When we look at the biographies from within the field by the likes of Pennant (2002), Ward (2004), and Jones and Rivers (2002), then in the eyes of the participants they were all taking part in a game that ran alongside the legitimate sport of football and primarily involved in the taking of 'ends' and more latterly the taking of pubs in order to prove supremacy.

If television specials such as Channel 4's Football Fight Club, or BBC2's Hooligans are correct, then most violence surrounding the football is highly orchestrated and carried out with military style precision, and there is in fact ample evidence on both programmes of coordination and networking, between different hooligan groups. It must be noted, however, that a good deal of this violence is of a 'confrontational' nature, as outlined by King (1995), whereby previous 'form' between the two groups of fans is often enough to cause a repeat. Also the 'flashpoint' theory of Waddington et al (1987) must be given credence, dealing as it does with socio-historic considerations and perceived grievances between the two groups.

It is also necessary to understand the utilization of violence as different when applied in different forms (difference between 'a doing' and 'a straightener'). As football firms are highly competitive; within this context the ultimate aim within the field is for the meeting of equal numbers of participants as this would provide for the fairest contest, and thus afford the victorious group with the largest amount of credit as the outcome could not be disputed. The degree to which all firms aspire to this ideal is reflected both in accounts from within the field (Ward and Thornton) and in media productions such as The Firm, The Football Factory, and Green Street, pointing towards the understanding that this is an enduring feature of modern
football hooliganism. The contest is decided by physical violence set within the parameters of aggro (Marsh et al 1978), and the most desirable situation being an equal contest to settle who has the better firm ('straightener'). This form of contest between hooligan firms is part of a large and sprawling game conducted by mutual participants, a highly reflexive activity allowing for a variety of participation patterns (ranging from five-a-side or five hundred-a-side).

This, however, is only half the story, and on match-days when the away team fans arrive via independent travel the contest is decided by both the mobilization of participants (weight of numbers), and performative abilities. When the opposing groups of fans meet within the spatial corridors or at known locations (pubs used by home fan group) on the day of the match, the contest has a number of possible outcomes depending on a variety of factors. Rather than an escalation towards violence as an inevitability, all accounts from within the field (Jones and Rivers 2002, Pennant 2002) and researchers (Marsh et al 1978, Armstrong 1998) point to a situation where any engagement is played out within the confines of a violent ritual complete with its own code of conduct. If both sides feel that there is the chance of a mutual contest, then there is the possibility of a straightener. Within the contest, physical violence and everyday objects picked up within the environment (Armstrong 1998), are utilized to displace the opponent from the arena or beat them into submission. Violence is not always the outcome of such contests (Ward 2004, Pennant 2002), and each side has the ability to concede defeat. Within the framework of the violent ritual, following a signalling spiral there is the possibility of a shaming ceremony (Tilly 2003) if numbers are unequal, or one side concedes defeat within the contest and is displaced from within the arena.

This understanding of mutual signalling and possibility of an outcome occurring within an informal set of rules was proposed by Marsh et al (1978), but has been overlooked in favour of the position of the Leicester School that focuses on the violence in a far more arbitrary manner. The work of Marsh et al (1978), if augmented by the work of Armstrong (1998), perhaps provides a sounder framework for the escalation of a social situation towards violence, as performed through a series of discernable steps, rather than being random in application. If the rules of engagement within the activity are transgressed, then there is the need for what football firms call ‘a doing’ (Jones and Rivers 2002, Pennant 2003). This action is designed to teach the opponent a lesson, and is not based on the principles of aggro. Rather, it will most usually result in an unannounced attack on the rival group. Attacks such as this are displays of power and the ability to manifest this in a suitable manner can involve more
serious violence than usual, as it is conducted in response to a perceived transgression by another group (Armstrong 1998). Examples of these sorts of action are also common to all drama and feature film interpretations of the activity.

Within the activity, it is shown that there are a variety of outcomes, none guaranteed, and all subject to negotiation within set parameters. Escalations of violence beyond the utilization of aggro are not required within the game (Jones and Rivers 2002), as the aim is to have another meeting at the next fixture, rather than seriously injure or maim the opposition. This is not to say individuals do not receive serious physical assaults in the playing of the game, but rather that the recognition that serious injury is not the intent. The juxtaposition of game and hooligan activity can change in relation of importance as suggested by Jones and Rivers (2002) and Thornton (2003) according to a variety of factors such as strength of the firm to be encountered, and the perceived grievances with said firm. In other words, it will depend on how determined each firm is to meet the other, even if that means missing the football in pursuit of a hooligan encounters, and as this is the central element of their game, they will go to great lengths to facilitate this.

Within the bounds of the activity as there are definite combative elements, there is the possibility for both individuals and groups to engage in the active enactment of ‘the heroic’. When the term ‘heroic’ is utilized within this research, this is within the sense outlined by Hedetoft (1995) as a cultural specific form. Within British society at the level of meta-narrative, and permeating through all aspects of culture, there is the employment of the hero. Whether presented in the form of military hero or through the medium of civic heroism; this pattern of representation is engrained deeply within British society, and those who embody the heroic are most usually presented as being an ideal type of citizen. Within the violent ritual based on unarmed combat, and utilizing quasi-military tactics in the engagement of the opposition, there is, I want to suggest, ample scope for the ‘heroic’ to be acted out within the field. Hedetoft (1995) is quite clear within his work that as Britain has not lost a war in modern times, this sense of the heroic is strongly portrayed throughout the mass media, and war is seen as justifiable when presented through a moral framework. Given the views of Sipes (1996) concerning the cultural model of violence, this presentation of the heroic will be of definite consequence. Accounts from within the field (Jones and Rivers 2002, Ward 2004, Pennant 2002) all point towards the utilization of the heroic in relation to the narrative developed and sustained in relation to the activity by its participants. In an arena where identities are up for grabs (Ellemers et al 1999), the enactment of a violent ritual provides a
contextual setting for the heroic to be acted out amongst a set of self-selecting groups, within a set of mutually accepted parameters.

Within the field, the notion of rivalry is utilized extensively in the understanding of the social relations of the various fan groups. Though rivalries can help account for behaviour within the field, it is necessary to understand that much of what is at stake is perhaps best explained in terms of social identity issues both at individual and group level (Ellemers et al 1999, Wann et al 2001). Within the activity, there is the possibility of purely field specific relations, with the two fan groups’ understanding of each other being constructed solely within the field. These relations within the field are enough to provide the basis for rivalries, however wider social relations have a considerable impact on the field. Here, the work of King (1995) shows that wider social relations have a high degree of influence on fan group behaviour, as it limits the possible ways in which two fan groups can interact.

Thus, Dunning et al (1988) show quite clearly that in Glasgow, Celtic-Rangers interactions must include an understanding of the sectarian division of the two fan groups. Given the history of the two groups, their possibilities of interaction are limited, and are shown to be conducted through mutual antagonism. The different interests that each club represents is one factor in an intra-city rivalry, but is not the only possibility as the rivalry between Sheffield United-Sheffield Wednesday has been shown as being based around ideas of authentication, in who best represents the city within a football context (Armstrong 1998), and more latterly racial issues (Lowles 2001). Within London, the rivalry between Millwall-West Ham is again one based on authentication issues framed around ideas of the archetypal cockney, and which group best represents this ideal type as the ‘top boys’ of London (Robson 2000).

Inter city rivalries are either formed by field specific relations, or informed by wider social relations. The animosity felt between Portsmouth-Southampton is widely understood to have its roots in industrial conflict, and the two groups dislike of each other can probably best be understood in these terms. The fans of Cardiff City-Swansea City engage in a rivalry based on authentication and differing attitudes to being Welsh (Jones and Rivers 2002) showing that the supporters of each club understand their club in terms of its specific development (Boyle and Haynes 2000). The English football league system includes Welsh teams and this raises the stakes even higher in relation to each group’s standing. Looking at nationalism as a specific issue, it is apparent that this will also have far reaching implications when it comes to hooligan activities. Enacted within a competitive environment, these identities are up for
grabs with each group able to act within the field in a variety of manners (Giulianotti 2001). The behaviour displayed within the sporting field becomes a way for a people to both define themselves and be defined by others (Holt 1989), the argument being that cultural identity is a two way process.

The question of nationality in sport will be of definitive importance for those taking part or spectating in any capacity, as within a competitive arena the way each group may become defined is able to be contested (Ellemers et al 1999). There have been important strides in our understanding of national identity, and there is now considerable attention being placed on national identities developed at local level upwards as shown by Thompson (1995). If we adopt this model of identity formation from the bottom up, then football clubs represent the utilization of these building blocks in a conscious effort at engineering civic pride (Hargreaves 1987). Within this framework, it is perhaps best to understand national identity within the field as holding a superordinate task position (Ellemers et al 1999), capable of being utilized in a divisive manner as between English and Welsh fans, or as being utilized within a positive manner as with an all England firm. As a Welsh club in the English football league, nationalism is a factor in football violence, but is not a direct cause because as shown in the work of Jones and Rivers (2002), Cardiff City football hooligans believe they are the participants in a large, sprawling game. It may be better to think of nationalism within the context of domestic football hooliganism as raising the stakes, rather than being the cause.

The question of racism

Overt racism within fan groups is arguably best understood in terms of the relative homogeneity and heterogeneity (Ellemers et al 1999) of the fan group in question. The work of Lowles (2001) is quite illuminating on the question of organized racism at the football as he shows that most football firms have black members making overt displays of racism unwelcome. This is not to say that there are not racists at these clubs but the work correctly describes a situation where those with racist views fight alongside hooligans of various ethnic background (most usually black). Those from different ethnic backgrounds most usually become assimilated within the group due to performative qualities that are equal, or more highly developed than those already within the group.

Relying on the work of Ellemers et al (1999), it is shown that performance, if equal to or above established levels, results in favourable comparison within the group for those seeking entry. The followers from the Docks area of Cardiff, black Birmingham Zulu’s and the likes
of West Ham I.C.F.'s Cass Pennant would fit squarely within this category of showing performance levels at least the equal of anything within the rest of the group. Lowles (2001) shows, that any attempt to locate racism at the football would need a club specific approach. He shows within the work that in recent times Cardiff City fans, and more specifically the black lads from the Docks have told those with racist views to keep these off the agenda. This refusal to accept overt centralised racism has followed on from a situation outlined in Jones and Rivers (2002) in the clubs past where racist activists were told that there would be no all white crew at the club as this was unwanted. The situation at Swansea City is far different and the more homogenous, all white group has been implicated as having racist involvement at both leadership and member level (Lowles 2001).

Conclusions

As shown through out this continued violence and aggression at and around football games, has been with us as long as the game itself, and has been commented upon by practitioners of the social sciences for the last forty years in order to best understand the motivations of those involved. The chapter has provided a broad discussion concerning the violence at group level that has occurred at the football on both a historic and contemporary level in order to provide a broad based perspective on what those involved hope to achieve by their participation and the meaning they give to their actions. Also there has been outlined the development of the activity and the socio-cultural context of those who were and are involved in the activity on an organised level. The following chapter will go on to outline and discuss both the construction of the activity on a socio-historic level and the participants involved to provide a comprehensive overview of the activity and participants.
Chapter Three

Participants and the Politics of Disorder

Introduction

Within the chapter, there will be an examination of the different participants within the field, societal perceptions of them, and the ability of each group within the field to both influence and shape the way society perceives them. The above points are essential to the research, especially when related to the work of Bourdieu concerning the representation of reality and the reality of representation. Media representations of football hooliganism are outlined and examined, in order to understand both its recurring nature and its considerable interest as a societal phenomenon and research subject. The policing of the field and the relationship that has developed between the police and football hooligans is also outlined in order to contextualise the presence of the police as a discernable force within the field. The socio-historic development of the modern police force and the specific police culture that has developed is also given consideration in order to understand their interactions within the field to the fullest extent. Modern day football hooligans and the birth of the football firms are also examined from an evolutionary perspective.

Cultural influences on what became known as football casuals are outlined, as is their relationship to the original hooligans and other youth subcultures that have existed previously in order to correctly place them at a cultural level. The development of the football casual scene, and the diffusion of the casual fashion is also examined in order to gauge both its persistence and pervasive influence in modern day British society. The development of the football casual look and the football casual scene will be outlined from inception to present, as will societal reactions to the movement. The socio-cultural aspects of this type of fandom will also be considered with recourse to the work of Cohen (1972) and Guilianotti (1994), to show how the complexities involved in the formation of this specific football identity have been ignored with the moral panic often providing the backdrop, and with the violence displayed within the field being massively over-constructed as an issue. This will then be contrasted with a view of the role of police within the arena and the way in which their
involvement becomes represented. The rise to prominence of the football hooligan firms will firstly be addressed, as will the specific developments within the activity throughout the period under consideration. The socio-cultural influences of wider society will also be examined in relation to the look known as casual to situate the movement on a socio-historic level. The development of a sustainable social movement will also be considered, as will the diffusion of the casual look both throughout football and wider society to gauge the importance of the movement on both socio-cultural and socio-historic levels.

Any examination carried out concerning the football casual movement will reveal that societal reactions to its development have been adverse from its inception. As with the mods and rockers studied by Cohen (1972), the violence associated with the movement has been given far more prominence than it has deserved, while the sociological aspects of the movement have often been underplayed. In order to get past the implications of the 'moral panic' in presenting a distorted and highly limited view of the movement, an understanding of the complexities of both the casual movement and its links to previous sub-cultures that have provided a focal point for societal anxieties (Pearson 1983), is required in order to provide a more sophisticated understanding of the various protagonists within the field, and the construction processes that they are open to.

**Media representations of football hooliganism**

The reporting of football hooliganism in the media can be said to have been one that has followed a familiar pattern. It has been argued that early media responses from the late sixties and early seventies in response to the football hooligan problem in Britain created a self-fulfilling prophecy that had lasted up until the present time (Murphy, Williams and Dunning 1990). With the pattern of reporting on football hooliganism allowing for the creation of a moral panic (Cohen 1972), rather than simply acting to amplify the conditions of the field to anyone with an interest (Dunning et al 1988) media coverage of events within the field has been seen to be tailored to suit the idea of a 'spectrum of violence' within British society (Scraton 1987). Here, the major players in what has transpired are the press, through the distortion and sensationalism of events, the 'public' in the shape of perception of a problem area, the police in the form of greater powers, magistrates in the shape of greater powers, and politicians in the legitimisation for the creation of new legislation.
According to Hall (1978), it was during the 1960s football hooliganism first became a newsworthy socio-cultural phenomenon and the reporting around the field can be said to have followed a certain pattern throughout. Hall states that:

If you look at the general press coverage of hooliganism, riots, and violence associated with the game since the mid 1960's, it is hard to sustain the argument that this treatment has been careful, judicious, measured, inquiring, attentive to the complexities of the problem, sceptical of exaggerated claims, anxious to calm unreal fears or demystifying. Instead the treatment has been accompanied by graphic headlines, bold typefaces, warlike imagery and epithets, vivid photographs cropped to the edges to create an image of menace, and the stories have been decorated with black lines and exclamation marks (1978: 26)

Football hooliganism as a recurring socio-cultural production can be seen within this light, being presented within the media most usually in sensationalist and unrealistic terms throughout the period. If this is the case then there needs to be an understanding of why this has been allowed to happen, and whose interests are being served.

When Pennant (2003) also backed by personal accounts of those involved, suggests that the game between Millwall and West Ham in 1972 was the most frightening game that he has ever witnessed we should take these assertions seriously. If we accept this account in any way, then it should be examined why all media representations provide a commentary that suggests a growing threat in terms of linear socio-historic development suggesting an increased menace that required both increased policing and a heavier handed approach to policing in order to combat the threat to society that this represented. The 1974 game featuring Cardiff City versus Manchester United in the F.A. Cup the reporting around football violence was to reach a new level. It is shown in the work of Dunning et al (1989) that this game represents the first occasion in which reporting of the potential for hooligan encounters between the fan groups outweighed reporting of the actual upcoming contest on the official field of play. This form of media coverage with its attendant sensationalism can be seen as continuing throughout the 1970s, both amplifying the conditions of the field, and promoting the furtherance of the authoritarian state when used at a level of montage.

By the 1980s, those who participated in football violence were placed by the media and leading public figures squarely at the level of being a danger to society, rather than simply being a recurring public order danger. While the work of Dunning et al (1989) offers the examples of football hooliganism, industrial dispute, and the conflict in Northern Ireland as
examples of a 'decivilising spurt', there is another more critical view available. Thus, it is shown by Scraton (1987), that by the mid 1980s images of football hooliganism were being mobilised in a specific manner:

In May 1985 when the first details of the Public Order White Paper were leaked to the media the first television news coverage used out-takes of soccer violence, picket-line clashes and the Greenham women to announce a 'tough line on Hooliganism, thuggery, militancy and terrorism. The juxtaposition of such widely diverse categories of 'acts of violence' and 'threats to democracy' became the central ideological construction of the political representation and media portrayal of the 'necessity' for extended police powers (1987: 162)

While certainly providing a recurring public order issue, football hooliganism is shown by Scraton as being utilised at this time as part of Thatcher's so called 'spectrum of violence' that threatened society, and needed sorting out on the behalf of the upright moral majority by means of what he terms the 'authoritarian state' and that images of football violence were becoming utilised whenever necessary; to provide a backdrop in the call for greater police powers and the justification for the non-application of usual judicial procedure.

If we accept the further development of the 'Authoritarian State' in any way, there requires a re-examination of the perceived super-hooligan group and the role that such groups may hold in society. These groups are presently seen as being both highly evolved and highly organised, intent on causing as much trouble as possible and a distinct break with what had gone before, and much more dangerous in terms of policing and societal control because of these developments. Seeing the field of football as a recurring socio-cultural field capable of being utilised to justify the furtherance of greater social control brings into question the idea of the super-hooligan group. As shown in Chapter 2, the naming of football firms was an important step in the formalisation of the activity and the development of the casuals, and it is possible to agree with Giulianiotti (1994) when he cites Featherstone (1991) concerning the naming of groups. Here, Featherstone suggests that the ability of a new cultural movement to name itself is a crucial symbolic and sociological device, utilised in order to secure a place for the group within the field, and to differentiate itself from previous and existing groups within the field. When applied to the emergence of what Dunning et al call the named super-hooligan groups, ideas based around reflexivity of practice and securing recognition and notoriety within the field would perhaps be more accurate in relation to the groups; as in any shared arena securing ones own space is of paramount importance, as is promoting ones own interests.
Reporting around the events featuring the Hibs casuals - a group of Scottish football supporters following Hibernian F.C. of Edinburgh - provides an illustration of this misconstruction process as all media representations concerning the group were highly sensationalized and derogatory in the main to the participants, clearly showing signs of the production of a modern day folk devil (Cohen 1972). As shown by Giulianotti (1994), the reporting of the Hibs casuals and their activities portrayed group members as being the proponents of extreme violence. The construction process employed inferred that the group operated in the context of wider society becoming a quasi-mafia organisation, rather than a group of lads who followed a specific football team, and participated in violence at and around football on match days after games when drinking in the town centre. The hyperbole around this case changed perception of the existence of football specific firms, and greatly increased their value in the construction of a moral panic. This form of reporting concerning perceived superhooligan groups has continued throughout the period up until the present day with ITN Online featuring an article concerning police and NCIS fears surrounding the use of technology to organise and facilitate hooligan encounters, using a match between Cardiff City and Millwall as a prime example (08-08-99). The commentary developed within such media constructions of events within the field often build on societal fears of escalation and sophistication in terms of organised violence, and the perceived threat that this poses on a societal and constitutional level.

This form of construction process continues to be recycled within media analysis of events within the field. Writing in the Financial Times (9th December 2006), Christopher Caldwell a senior writer at The Weekly Standard, commented on recent incidents within the field on a European level, notably...Caldwell suggests that the criminal and constitutional threat posed by football hooliganism has returned, and that the British model of policing has emerged as the best response to the continued threat. According to Caldwell:

In broad terms, Britain's hooligan problem is waning - and Europe's is waxing - because the latter has been more fastidious about protecting 'individual rights' and due process. Since 2000, the lynchpin of UK enforcement has been the 'banning order', which can be used to keep suspect supporters from travelling to matches (or from going abroad at all when the England team is travelling)...This hard discipline is made possible by two broad developments: broad anti-terrorist powers voted through parliament after 2000 and the invention of 'anti social behaviour orders' (ASBOs). In countries that do not have those instruments, the constitutionality of anti-hooligan laws is dubious.
Here again, the justification for ‘hard discipline’ stems from placing hooliganism at the level of a constitutional threat, alongside international terrorism and the control of the problem working class, once again showing the influence of the ‘spectrum of violence’ as a discursive device. Within this piece, various attempts are made to justify the furtherance of discretionary police powers, with civil liberties presented as a secondary consideration.

Such views, alongside others of a similar opinion, are probably best understood with recourse to the work of Hill (2002), who agrees with Russell (1997) in seeing football as one of the ways in which middle class perceptions of the working classes have been formed over the last century. Thus, Hill suggests that in addition to justified crowd control and safety measures at football matches, there has, more particularly, been:

an element of political comment which seemed to be designed to generalize about the nature of the working classes from the specific behaviour of the soccer hooligan (2002: 162)

The wish to generalise and categorise in terms of working class behaviour is essential to an understanding of the construction of the issue of the problematic violent working classes and how best to control them. When understood in conjunction with the ideas of Dunning et al (1989) the lower working class and its lack of incorporation into wider civilised society, the ‘dangerous classes’ thesis is very much evident in this form of commentary.

In examining the media treatment of football violence, it should be apparent that this has been shaped by political discourse, being continually bound with other issues, such as the asbo generation, and presented as a threat to constitutional order. While agreeing with much in the work of Robson (2000), I would suggest it is necessary to go further with regard to the use of the images generated within the field. Quoting Rock (1973) on the dramatic, and apparent cyclical qualities achievable in terms of news coverage, Robson suggests that the Millwall archetype has transgressed the specific moral panic to a point where it now operates as a specific symbolic marker in a recurring ritualised media narrative regarding social order and the illegitimacy of certain moral and cultural forms. This concern for the particular, while firmly within the remit of Robson’s specific focus on Milwall, does not, I would argue, fully explore media construction thoroughly in terms of the ‘authoritarian state’, although there are definite implications of his analysis for social control.
A recurring field such as football certainly does have cyclical qualities, and around major championships and events within the field such as the FA Cup and the European Cup, reporting of football hooliganism can be increased in frequency in the build up to these events. Whilst not always including any one specific fan group, the cyclical form of the moral panic does have the qualities Rock (1973) implies, and over time the continued presentation of the field in a negative and sensationalist style has had a definite impact on how the activity, participants and field are perceived. These portrayals have had a major impact on a socio-political level and have been used extensively to suggest the need for a certain type of policing and social order measures. The continual construction and reconstruction around the area is such that certain groups are now on the verge of becoming viewed at the level of 'outlaw', rather than simply being utilised as a convenient folk devil. The term 'outlaw' should be understood in terms outlined by Young (1996) in which the group categorised as such is seen as being impossible to incorporate within the community in question. Rather than being ostracised within the field, certain groups are thus deemed too dangerous to accommodate, and therefore any means necessary can be used for their removal and exclusion; marking a definite step up in the construction process, and methods of justification for the exclusion of certain groups from within the arena.

Policing football hooliganism

Having examined the impact of media representations of football violence, it is necessary to consider the role of the police at and around the football matches; in order to contextualise both their presence in relation to the general policing of the field, and policing in response to organised football violence. More specifically, any understanding of the field and the relationships enacted within it on a regular basis requires an understanding of the field specific policing that has emerged in recent decades. The relationship between the police and those who participate in organised football violence would need consideration, as would an understanding of the reflexivity shown by both participants and police throughout the time period considered. The role of the moral panic (Cohen 1972) would also need examination in relation to the policing and continued legislation around the field. On the ground, the police occupy a distinct space within a competitive arena where identities are 'up for grabs', and are involved operationally within the field as a distinct and discernable group. Between the groups of rival fans, it can be said with some certainty that the police occupy a role as the third party within a violent ritual.
When Armstrong (1998) suggests that being a football hooligan provides those involved with something to do and to be, then this should similarly, I want to suggest, be extended in a reflexive action towards the police. Here, I draw on constructionist and structural social conflict models, both on a contemporary and socio-historic level. The view of Quinney is worth noting when he says:

Society is characterized by diversity, conflict, coercion and change, rather than by consensus and stability. Second, law is a result of the operation of interests, rather than an instrument that functions outside of particular interests, though law may control interests, it is in the first place created by interests. Third, law incorporates the specific interests of specific persons and groups; it is seldom the product of the whole society. Law is made by men[sic], representing special interests, who have the power to translate their interests into public policy (1970: 35)

The above statement is indicative of the situation at both contemporary and historical levels within British society, where the law can be shown to have been formulated by those in power, rather than having the consent of the whole of society. It is worth noting at this point that this situation is probably best understood in constructionist terms as shown by Hester and Eglin (1987) in which every act, statute, and the creation of the police force can be taken back to the point of construction, and should seen as its own accomplishment, although now engrained within the social fabric of British society thus both legitimising and reinforcing its own place within society.

The work of Spitzer and Scull (1977) is also highly informative in relation to the ‘rationalization of crime control’, offering a structural account of the formation of the modern police and the specific conditions of its development. They argue that the development of the modern police force is linked to the demise of private policing, seen as incapable of rising above the local and individual, and not fit for purpose in relation to collective and public interests. According to Spitzer and Scull the ability to maintain a stable public order was an essential precondition of modern capitalism, having a soothing effect on the financial markets, facilitating orderly commerce and maximising the accumulation of wealth. This centralisation of power would also reduce the power of the landed gentry, as private policing was seen to act in their best interests by inhibiting the growth of capitalism. Consequently, the implementation of a central state apparatus was seen as essential in developmental terms to modern British society.

Public response to the development of the modern police service can be conceptualised along three lines according to Hester and Eglin (1992): widespread public consent (Gordon 1987); widespread opposition by the mass of the population; and, perhaps most persuasively, that
opposition was contained within the lower sections of the working classes and among the poor (Norrie and Adelman 1989). This point can be understood in terms of widespread hostility and resentment of the police on both a historic and contemporary level among the poor who would see the police in punitive rather than judicial terms. Within the latter account, it is shown that resistance among the ‘respectable’ working class and ‘labour aristocracy’ was noticeable in its absence, thus showing both consensus and conflict within attitudes towards policing among the different sections of the working classes. The continued development of the modern legal system has been shown by Scraton to have a structural foundation:

Relations of class, race and gender, therefore are derived in the historical and material development of systems of power: capitalism; slavery and colonization; patriarchy. These form the central relations of conflict and confrontation out of which advanced capitalism and the infrastructure of the state has grown and developed. The struggles around class, race and gender are not aberrations; rather they form permanent and inevitable antagonisms. The rule of law provides a site upon which these conflicts and antagonisms can be regulated and contained: it reinforces power relations and seeks to maintain established forms of legal and political order (1992:181)

Rejecting an idealisation of the post war period (The Golden Age) when Labour was in power, Gilroy and Sim (1992) argue against a revisionist perspective on criminal justice policy. This is done without abandoning the idea of the authoritarian state; instead, they prefer to locate its development to the period before ‘Thatcherism’. The active differentiation between the various sections of the working class between; the respectable group, and the problematic violent group, and how these groups are perceived by the police has had important repercussions for the policing of football. There are definite issues to address when it is considered that the work of Dunning et al (1989) places the participants of football hooliganism within the lower working classes. This level of analysis has the effect of perpetuating the ‘dangerous classes’ thesis, incorrectly placing its practitioners within a bracket that the British police have been seen to discriminate against regularly within the carrying out of their duties. Given the above structural concerns in the formation and development of the modern police, it is necessary to discuss the specific culture that has developed within the modern British police force.

Police culture
The work of Holdaway (1983) is essential in understanding police culture in showing that within the modern force there was still a continuation of canteen culture, wherein the most influence on the behaviour of rank and file police officers was exerted by the sergeants and
constables. There was also shown to be considerable scope within the remit of everyday policing for the demonstration of power utilising a variety of methods. The pervasiveness of canteen culture has been shown throughout the period, and this culture obviously impacts on any field with a police presence. Within the work of Dunning et al (1989) and Murphy et al (1990), while the social roots of the masculinity displayed by the so called ‘rougner’ members of the lower working classes and more specifically the ‘Kingsley Lads’ is commented upon extensively, the question of police culture and its impact on the field is never mentioned, discussed, or open to any level of critical analysis. The lack of critical analysis concerning police culture is especially important when we note the work of Gilroy and Sim (1987) who show that any understanding of the police would need to account for a variety of factors. In particular, they argue that there needs to be analysis of the police as an independent force within society; and that there are issues concerning interactions between individual officers, particular forces, and the role of the police within the general criminal justice system.

Any ideas of the police as a neutral force within the arena in the face of such claims would seem to require serious reconsideration. Moreover, any analysis of the police would in this context, require the understanding that each specific area force may be understood as existing as its own ‘bounded system’, as outlined by Adelman, Jenkins, and Kemmis (1984). Within the work it is shown, that the relationship between the system and its context may be as important as relationships and interactions within the system. Each separate force would be seen as existing within a contained sub-field of the wider police force, with interests at multiple levels, from individual force interests to general level concerns, with all being situated within the general field of the criminal justice system. The work of O’Neill (2005) is also of vital importance as it acknowledges that the various roles carried out by different sections of the police on a football occasion are in fact just that; each with its own attendant concerns and approximations in search of the ideal performance by each individual officer, and all played out within the context of each specific performative category. If the above points are in any way accepted, then the way in which the police and those fans perceived to be largely problematic, violent and largely lower working class in origin interact, and are furthermore controlled within the context of football matches needs further elaboration.
The police and football hooligans

The development of football hooliganism during the 1960s and 1970s, as outlined by both Brown (2002) and Smith (2000), is an activity that can be seen to have started with large-scale disruption within football grounds. During the 1970s, the majority of large scale disturbances where aimed at the taking of ‘ends’ and were therefore largely contained within the actual stadium and its immediate vicinity. Within this period, anyone within the terracing attacked by rival fans was open to physical injury, with violence often quite random in its application (Pennant 2003, Ward 2004). Consequently, the followers of many clubs, whether wishing active involvement or not, were forced to if wishing to remain within the field to utilise reflexive adaptation in the formation of coping strategies in the face of hostile fan groups occupying the home teams stadium. Those socialised within the field at this time would have entered a field in which a culture of open ritualised violence was already in effect. This form of organised football violence while creating widespread disruption within football grounds was far more contained than the form taken after the introduction of segregation laws in 1975.

The change in the activity that followed has had implications with regard to the specific forms of policing required for the successful management of the field, as the arena became the streets around the ground, with the opposition’s pub the new focus of attention (Jones and Rivers 2002, Pennant 2002). The participants involved were by now becoming predictable in their manner of operations, and easier still to identify so a new approach was now required. Many biographies from within the field show how by a series of innovative steps the lads were able to subtly alter their M.O. and appearance in order to carry on their active involvement in the game (Pennant 2002, Jones and Rivers 2002, and Thornton 2003). All commentators show how rail travel became independent of ‘the football special’ with special offers by Persil etc exploited to get cheap Young persons rail cards. Football hooligan firms as they were now becoming known were showing themselves to be both reflexive and innovative in their outlook to the game, and how to best facilitate its successful completion. The policing of football, and specifically organised football violence has also had to show a great amount of innovation and reflexivity to cope with the requirements of the field.

If the above were accepted then the police would seem to be dealing with large organised groups of youths and young men intent on essentially kicking and punching each other into submission. Police powers in relation to football hooliganism can be seen throughout the
work of Giulianotti, Bonney and Hepworth (1994) as far outweighing the situation that they were dealing with, which is now still, and always has been a public order issue. The dawn raid, undercover policing, personal spotters, covert filming, the baton charge, and mounted charges have been the order of the day when it comes to the policing of football and its fans. It has been shown that, these measures have been at best partially successful and at worst totally ineffective (Murphy, Williams & Dunning 1990), and can be seen as in some cases as reinforcing the hooligan's belief system encouraging further participation. These measures however, would not seem out of the ordinary if considered in the light of (Cohen 1972) the moral panic. It would seem that if you consider the super-hooligan group in the context of its policing and the medias reporting on its activities, then you would have a situation that cast the group firmly in the role of folk devil, thus making any balance in either policing or reporting almost impossible to achieve.

Policing the field
The first requirement of any examination of the general policing of football must note that hooliganism and violent confrontations at the football do impact on other fans within the field. Noting, that those who participate in football violence certainly impact the field, should not however provide the commentator with a position to suggest; that policing should be undertaken in the interests of security before safety. Duty of care issues within the field have been expressed at a variety of levels concerning police behaviour. The issues concerning the policing and management of the field can be placed at the level of both form and content. The form of policing in relation to the field is probably best understood in terms outlined by Foucault (1977) and concerning containment, docility, surveillance, and exclusion.

The containment and management of football crowds before, during and after the actual game of football is one of the main duties in any remit towards the policing of the field. The proper policing of the spatial corridors between the main transport links and the football stadium, and also surrounding the pubs used by recognised lads should be the order of the day as it already is in many cities within Britain. This method of policing however is not foolproof and it has been shown that usually the best that can be hoped to be achieved is the displacement of confrontations with rival hooligan groups from around the vicinity of the ground, often to highly peripheral locations (Murphy et al 1990). If a temporal-spatial form of the situational model of policing was adopted by all area police forces, it would immediately clear the way for a more enjoyable day for the followers of clubs like Cardiff City, West Ham United,
Millwall, and Portsmouth who are often the subject of arbitrary and harsh treatment on away trips, simply for supporting a team with a perceived super-hooligan following (Murphy et al 1990), rather than being taken on their individual merits.

A greater level of incident specific policing, free of the connotations of the moral panic and ideas of super-hooligan groups would certainly suit the supporters of many clubs, as it would provide a situation in which each group was taken at face value rather than being policed following negative socio-cultural transmission. This manner of managing the field would return the level of policing to one that favoured a personal level of perception rather than one based on membership categorisation. The adoption of incident specific policing by all area forces would make a huge difference in the fans perception of the police who are often seen as arbitrary and very heavy handed; pushing fathers around in front of their kids, hitting teenagers about for pushing and shoving, the list goes on and the effect is the same, namely the alienation of the fans from the police force that are supposed to best represent their interests within the field.

Docility is a central issue with reference to the policing of football, especially when noting the effects of the carnival as outlined by Giulianotti (1994), and supplementing these with an understanding of the grotesque and other negative aspects of the carnival on the field (Robson 2000). Footballs commoditised placement within the entertainment sector also requires fans to provide limited behavioural displays in terms of acceptable spectacle, and the commercial interests of the field also require docility. In terms of behaviour deemed acceptable or unacceptable within the field The Criminal Justice Act 1994 (Section 154) introduced the concept of intentional harassment, alarm, or distress into the arena, and if this was conducted either verbally or visually within sight or hearing of those likely to feel harassed, alarmed, or distressed those convicted could receive a sentence of up to six months imprisonment. Within the remit of the Act, under Section 60 it also became legal for police officers to stop and search any person or vehicle on ‘reasonable suspicion’ of unspecified offences whether near a football ground or not, and Sections 68-71 also created the act of aggravated trespass making peaceful demonstrations (most usually against ones own club) unlawful within football grounds.

The introduction of this legislation was opposed from inception by football fans in the form of F.F.A.C.J.A. (Football Fans against Criminal Justice Act), on the basis that the act criminalised football fans simply for wishing to attend matches. The enactments were
presented throughout as being against the interests of all football fans in terms of; harassment, criminalisation, removing the right to protest, the ability of the police to remove DNA forcibly, criminalising the selling of extra tickets even at face value, and criminalising banter, taunting and teasing (www.urban.org). The legislation can only be seen as severely limiting on the fans of football and their range of possible behavioural expressions within the field, while at the same time extending discretionary powers in relation to their policing. The range of discretionary powers awarded to the police in relation to football is further strengthened by the amendments made to The Football Spectators Act 1989 in the form of the Football (Disorder) Act 2000.

The field is subject to a high degree of surveillance with the principles involved conforming to ideas of Panopticism as shown in the work of Foucault (1977). Within the field there is constant filming and surveillance working to the principle, of which it is stated that it functions so as to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action (Foucault 1977). Within this framework of surveillance as well as overt filming taking place there are also police spotters, liaison officers, and undercover officers. Also, while all attempts are made to control the individual within the field, there is always the availability of the banning order making exclusion a real possibility. Following amendments to the Football Spectators Act 1989 in the form of the Football (Disorder) Act 2000, banning orders and their implementation have been changed. Changes in established legal procedure have been abandoned in favour of a system of operation far more discretionary in its application. Banning orders can now be applied for by individual police forces, even though those individuals concerned may have no prior convictions for football related issues. The discretionary powers employed by the police in relation to football have been seen as further proof of authoritarianism, against civil liberties, and greater levels of public accountability. Any research into the policing of football would have to investigate the above issues in order to provide a reflexive commentary where all parties within the field are examined in the same manner and all issues within the research applied across the board, rather than aimed at any one specific group within the arena.

The police at the football would if utilizing the model proposed by Ellemers et al (1999) represent a distinct group, and as such would have their own specific interests within the field. This is an area of major concern on a research level if, as stated previously, the policing takes place within the climate of the on-going moral panic surrounding football hooliganism. There has been considerable change in the specific activities that constitute organised football
hooliganism, from the ‘taking of ends’ to the ‘taking of pubs’ and any attempt at policing has had to account for these variations in activity. Commentators within the field whilst all recognising the necessity of policing at the football, describe a situation where police violence is often applied in a haphazard manner (Jones and Rivers 2002, Pennant 2002, Ward 2004)

As shown throughout the chapter the various discernable groups within the field have their own interests and concerns; and that these must be disentangled and subjected to the reflexive application of theory to best understand the complex issues involved. With these concerns outlined it becomes clear that the concerns of the field have often been understood and presented in a skewed manner. Whilst this may have been done in the interests of supposed public safety and the upholding of law and order, it has diminished the scientific standing of the commentary involved very often and allowed for a reductionist understanding of a recurring socio-cultural phenomenon, and an improved understanding of those who participate regularly in its production and continued reproduction. The more critical view provided within the confines of the chapter would perhaps it is hoped allow for the construction of a more sophisticated and complex understanding of both the participants, and their relationship to both the field, and the wider society in which these encounters take place. With the interests and position of both the media and various police forces outlined and investigated there is a need to further elaborate on those involved in football violence and their impact on both the field and wider society.

**Modern day football hooligans**

The position of the research will be that the look/style of those involved in football violence was football specific in its inception and intentions, as these were simply to evade the police in pursuit of violent encounters with rival fans, and then that this look developed into a distinct style. To understand the development of the football casual style would require knowledge of the changes that were happening within the activity throughout the period under consideration. When the hooligan became attached to football, it is unclear as an exact moment in time, although 1961 is proposed by Taylor (1971) in his work on the history of the football hooligan, and the 60s is also advocated by Polley (1998), whilst the work of Dunning (1999) would place the hooligans attachment much further back. Whatever the exact dates, throughout the 60s and 70s football hooliganism was to become an established part of the football experience in Britain and this would last until the present day.
It was at this time that the skinhead or suede-head as described by Thornton (2003) became the recognisable face of the football hooligan. This easily identifiable type of fan was an easy target for policing and there was need for innovation on the part of the hooligan if this problem was to be both resolved and surmounted. It has been shown by Thornton (2003) that during the latter part of the 70s Liverpool F.C was the dominant force in European football and their fans brought various fashions back from the continent, as did the fans of Tottenham and Aberdeen. This new casual look would have two effects if examined in light of the work of Berger and Luckmann (1967); firstly it would act as a sign to other likeminded individuals, whilst being invisible to the Police. On another level, it may be seen as a method of achieving ‘commutation’ between everyday reality and the world of football.

Those who participated within the activity and who adopted the casual style have been shown (Armstrong 1998, Robson 2000) to come from a variety of social backgrounds rather than reinforcing simplistic assertions that the protagonists were usually lower working class. Armstrong (1998) suggests a major flaw in such arguments is that it presupposes a lack of inter-class contact, and if we take Bourdieu’s (1990) ideas surrounding socio-cultural transmission then probably the most expansive view would place the activity as open to those of the ‘Comprehensive Classes’. Given that all sections of the working classes and the lower middle classes all attend the comprehensive schooling system it should not be unreasonable to accept that there were members within the group that came from within all these sections of society, rather than to try to locate the activity at the level of the lower working classes. Recourse to the work of Macleod (1987) concerning levelled aspirations is required at this level of analysis as this would allow for the football hooligan and casual identity to be available to all sections of working classes and lower middle class who inhabited the same educational environment.

Cultural influences
The look that was to become known as ‘casual’ was born of a variety of divergent looks. It is probably fair to say that there was not one look but at least three and probably more with the likes of Thornton (2003) stressing the aspects of ‘scally wear’ as well as the developing continental sports casual look, and Pennant (2003) keen to promote the smart casual look. One look at the photograph (192:2003) claimed by Cass Pennant to show the I.C.F. casual look circa the early eighties clearly shows the heritage of the smart casual look adopted by the group. Of the four lads pictured from left to right; the first appears to be holding a
Harrington jacket whilst wearing straight leg jeans, lambs wool crew-neck jumper and Fred Perry T-shirt. The second wears a crew-neck lambs wool jumper and straight leg jeans, the third wears a leather 3 button blazer, polo shirt and mohair trousers, and the final lad wears a flight jacket with v-neck jumper covering a polo shirt with dogtooth trousers. All the lads in the photo have hair that can be described as short but not shorn removing them from the skinhead look, with one sporting a backcombed number reminiscent of the mod-father Paul Weller.

An understanding of British culture at this time would leave one in no doubt that those pictured appear to be wearing a mixture of clothing found within the range of the mods and rude-boys prevalent at the time. This appropriation of smart casual-wear to facilitate hooligan encounters was taken to its conclusion by the Portsmouth 657 Crew who turned up at Cardiff in the early eighties, all kitted out in blazers and Aquascutum ties pretending to be a wedding party. This development of a distinct smart casual look is one of a variety of separate strands in what has become an all encompassing look of the football casual, with the work of Thornton outlining the other two main influences, notably the scally look, and the continental sportswear influence. Firstly when Thornton (2003) talks of the scally look he refers to the wearing of Cagoules, jeans and trainers/Kickers in a form of street fashion that owed nothing to any particular sub-culture at the time. The clothing under discussion was prevalent among the youths who owed no allegiance to the mod, skinhead or punk fraternity but who inhabited the streets of many British towns and cities, especially up north.

Thornton (ibid) stresses the influence of the French and Italian designers such as Lacoste, Sergio Tachinni and Robe de Kappa encountered by the likes of Liverpool, Tottenham, and Aberdeen on their European adventures. The designer labels mentioned among others, formed the basis for the classic sports casual look with high quality tennis and ski wear chief among garments considered appropriate for the aspiring football casual to wear. Thornton is probably right in emphasising the continental influence of this look, and as only certain clubs played in European competition (European Cup, U.E.F.A. Cup, Cup Winners Cup) at this time, those who did must take the major credit for its development. According to Thornton the fans of clubs like Liverpool F.C. when visiting the continent appropriated various articles of sporting apparel either by fair means or theft.

However, there must also be some recognition that for many of those involved the look that was approximated was taken straight off the British golf course. During the 1970s there was a proliferation of building new golf courses both public and private as shown by Hill (2002),
and one of the central features throughout the development of the casual look was the wearing of golf clothing. At the same time as the continental influence was taking hold, so to was the wearing of Pringle and Lyle and Scott sweaters, and this was probably helped by the fact that the professional footballers of the day had plenty of leisure time, and golf is and was one of the more popular pastimes in which they participated as would be easily attested to by simply reading back issues of Shoot magazine. On a televisual level, *A Question of Sport* was hugely popular, featuring the high profile sport stars of the day, a large proportion of whom often appeared wearing pastel coloured golf sweaters.

The above, when added to a pair of sport shoes presented an outward image as far from the skinhead image as it could get, with the boy next door look as shown by Pennant (2002) the one to be achieved. The utilisation of golf wear and a variety of other continental sportswear may be most usefully understood as maintaining the outward appearance of respectability (Veblen 1899) to those outside of the activity, especially the police. This new way of dressing, had through the use of extensive use of ‘bricolage’ created a look that taking the best of golf and tennis wear, and changing boots for trainers made the lads look as inoffensive as possible. The adoption of the casual look also served those who took it up with a way to actively differentiate (Bourdieu 1986) themselves from other members of the group.

Accounts from within the field (Jones and Rivers 2002, Pennant 2003) show that those who took up this new way of dressing differentiated themselves from those others within the field know as ‘beer monsters’ and those who favoured the skinhead or proletarian look, popular at the time. This form of differentiation from the skinhead and proletariat look of the terraces can probably be best understood in generational terms. When reading the work of Pennant (2003) it is clear that those who adopted the new casual look coexisted with the skinheads at clubs like West Ham United, with those who had invested heavily on a personal level choosing the look that met each individual’s requirements. The ideas behind the casual look being highly influenced at this level of development by a sharp, cool and urbane street style, rather than the idealization of the proletariat as in the skinhead fashion (Brake 1985).

As the field encourages hegemonic masculinities, then the football casual look requires interpretation in this manner. Taking the understated look as the ideal the work of Robson proposes that the look to be adopted was:

unambiguously masculine, overwhelmingly normatively guided, formally and stylistically uncluttered, attentive to detail and sharp. The style is conspicuous for its lack of sub-
cultural spectacle, expressing an orientation to implicitly structured canons of taste and

This manner of dressing was open to all those with an interest and Armstrong (1998)
correctly points to the fact that the clothing was enabling, allowing a greater freedom of
movement than boots if pursued, the ability to convince authority figures of the wearers'
respectability, to convince rival fans of their toughness and willingness to fight, and the
chance to impress members of one's own group with their stylistic interpretation.

As shown by all accounts from within the field, a willingness to fight is central to the casual
identity. Probably the best way to see the football casual identity is in terms similar to those
outlined by Tolson (1977) concerning deportment of the individual within a group setting. At
this level of analysis the football casual identity would correspond to a hyper realisation of a
highly hegemonic form of masculinity, and those who over-stress the importance of the
clothing involved would do well to remember that the adoption of such clothing was to
facilitate hooligan encounters. As such, the clothing whilst a central feature was highly
expendable as it would be worn in violent encounters with rival groups, making damage a
real possibility. Designer clothing could also become incorporated within the context of a
shaming ceremony in a situation where the wearer could have this appropriated under duress,
known as taxing (Jones and Rivers 2002, Pennant 2002).

As shown by the above, any attempt to understand the football casual look and style would
need to note that the look was football specific. An understanding of the specific socio-
historic factors is essential in locating the football casual movement within the field of
football, and more specifically those who participate in football violence. In an act
comprising both reflexive adaptation and an element of active differentiation, those who
participated in the activity created a style that has gone on to dominate the football grounds
around the country. Utilising a form of bricolage (Clarke 1976) the participants tried to free
themselves of the visible representations of existing sub-cultural styles (Armstrong 1998) in
order to successfully engage rival groups within the arena. As the specific conditions of the
formation of the football casual look have been outlined there requires an examination of the
various points of convergence and similitude with previous sub-cultural styles.
Football casuals, the original hooligans, and other youth subcultures

The emphasis on a sharp, cool and urbane smartness is not a new occurrence, and although its heritage can be traced back to the appropriation of the clothing of the middle classes by the original Victorian Hooligan (Rook 1899) the football casual identity cannot be linked directly however speculatively (Robson 2000). So, when Thornton (2003) suggests that the stylistic interpretation favoured found its previous defining moment in the mods, this should be understood as operating on the level of ethos, for the clothing of the mods had no functional foundation, but rather operated on an aspirational level. As the casual style developed along lines acceptable to those who participated within the field and in the activity specifically, there were certainly points of convergence with both the skinhead and mod identity as the appropriation had utilised a great deal of bricolage. However, any attempt to link the casuals directly to either sub-culture would be both simplistic and ill advised, as there was a conscious effort by participants to differentiate themselves to all existing styles.

When considering the development of the casual look and scene it must be recognised that rather than simply developing a new fashion or way of dressing, that the look was a case of reflexive adaptation (Bourdieu 1990) and active differentiation (Bourdieu 1986), on the part of those already involved within the activity. Given this concern, a working knowledge of the original hooligans is essential as the look developed was again a case of reflexive adaptation rather than the simple development of a street style/fashion. The style that was conceived by the original hooligans was born of necessity and the wish to appear inconspicuous in the company of strangers; easily showing a form of conspicuous consumption through demonstrable wealth that was being conceptualized by Thorstein Veblen (1899). Within the work, Veblen proposes that wealth lies at the basis of social honour, status and prestige and therefore the ability to demonstrate the possession of wealth on a performative level is essential at an individual level.

The type of clothing worn, and the stylistic interpretation of this clothing by the original hooligans shows a level of sophistication and awareness of symbolic representation, in the presentation of self (Goffman 1969). Through an act of ‘bricolage’ in terms broadly similar to those proposed by Clarke (1976) the original hooligans re-appropriated the clothing of the middle classes for their own purposes. It is important to note that although Clarke tends to see the use of bricolage operating on the level of collage, there must be seen to be a functional foundation to the clothing appropriated by the original hooligans, especially when we
consider their criminal activities. Hooligans on a historic level, had to be able in the course of their criminal activities mix with the crowd unnoticed, or if noticed be taken for the ‘respectable’. This becomes especially important if we take Veblen (1899) into account who shows that in a society of strangers, within the city the display of conspicuous wealth was an easy way to attain or conversely, display status and prestige.

With this in mind, hooligans in appropriating the clothing of the class above would be sending out a variety of messages as well as looking appropriate for the types of crimes they were committing. For crimes like the confidence trick, the passing of forged currency, etc to be carried out successfully it is essential that the criminal seems able to present himself in such a manner as to not raise suspicion on the part of the dupe, and for this to work simply looking right is of the utmost importance. Simply seeing the above appropriation of clothing in a functional light would however be only half the picture and we must take the interpretation of the clothing as being of high significance. In attaining high quality clothing individual hooligans would also be sending out the signal that they were successful, and accomplished within the field showing a suitable ‘feel for the game’ (Bourdieu 1990).

In certain respects, the football casual look and the clothing choices of the original hooligans do have certain points of convergence, most notably that the clothing appropriated was utilized in a functional manner, and that it is highly influenced by conspicuous consumption. These however are probably the only links between the two movements, with any wish to place these different historical categories as a form of recurring working class sub-culture probably too simplistic. Within such an outlook football casuals would be seen by the likes of Pearson (1983), and Brake (1985) as being part of an on going British Working Class youth sub-culture that has taken on many forms. The various forms that these have taken would include the 50s Teddy Boy with his subverted Edwardian fashion, the Mods and Rockers of the 60s famous for their beach front battles on the South Coast of England, and the Skinheads of the late 60s and 70s with their perceived love of Aggro. These and the nihilistic Punk Rockers of the 70s, are all seen by the likes of Pearson (1983) and Brake (1985) as being different manifestations of the same phenomena.

The position of the research is that the activity has always had a youth component as the field has strong youth-adult bridging properties (Marsh et al 1978, Robson 2000), but rather, is situated within the range of adult ‘leisure life’ (Blackshaw 2003). Football casuals and other members of hooligan groups exist within the general field alongside other fans but share
specific interests. The work of Armstrong (1998) is quite clear that all participants understand that the activity is a highly contextual group activity making violent encounters when out with the family unlikely on an individual level. This has led to a situation where hooligans from different firms meet on a social level outside football situations, when the recognition is one of mutual participation and interests, rather than outright hostility. All accounts from within the field show a great deal of social networking within activities that fall outside of football, and lads from various firms often meet up with friends and socialise on a general level. Foreign holidays, the work environment, the internet, rave culture, drug culture, and outings with the various national football teams have all provide situations where social networking is likely, and which in turn has facilitated the development of a scene.

The development of a scene
If we take all of the above, it soon becomes clear that we are dealing with quite a large group of people who have willingly designated themselves as football casuals/football hooligans, so the question we must now proceed to, is one that asks, what do those individuals involved get out of this? The work of Armstrong is highly illuminating in relation to this point as it suggests that football hooliganism provides those involved with things to be and do (1998: 306-310). Therefore it is essential to think in similar terms to those outlined in Blackshaw’s (2003) work namely Leisure life, and who would see all laddish behaviour as being motivated by the need for a ‘solid’ ontological security, because they as individuals now live in a state of ‘liquid’ modernity as proposed by Giddens (1991). If we accept the above point in any way we would need to think in terms of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft or community and association as proposed by Durkheim’s The Division of Labour in Society (1933) who rather than seeing solidarity being destroyed as did Tonnies (1897) more pessimistic outlook, simply thought community was being reconstructed in a different form.

Taking this thought forward and placing it in contemporary socio-historical context, it would seem that communities existing within this state of reflexive modernity now exist on an ethereal level, being chosen by the individual. If this is the case then the football casual community and field of football generally, surely represents such a site in society, allowing as it does for the individual to maintain a steady self-identity and comparatively reliable relations to others within the field. This being the case, then ideas forwarded within the work of Ellemers et al (1999) provides a highly illuminating insight into the mechanics of group commitment, and the contextual nature of group action. Following on from this idea there
must be the recognition that each specific football club represents a focal point for highly identified fans in the make up of their salient social identity.

Many of those involved within the casual scene have remained over a number of years with many showing signs of drifting (Matza 1967) in and out of the activity once an identity has been established and maintained for a suitable period to become known within the field thus being capable of being picked up as and when required. This is probably is best stated in the following quotes that appeared on Channel 4’s Football’s Fight Club Part 2:

People have got over the Ecstasy scene; the 40 plus are still into it now. And the 30-40 year olds who have settled down, who’s kids are growing up a bit, it is definitely coming back - Chris Henderson, Chelsea

I know friends of mine 40, 45, 46 still buying Stone Island jacket’s still buying Paul and Shark. Still going to the football, still having a ruck. It’s just a way of life that will never leave them- Barry Johnstone, Glasgow Rangers

The above quotes make it quite clear that the scene has proved highly durable on a socio-cultural level, The activity and the individuals place at the club can be seen as central to the individuals social identity, existing as part of the individuals ‘leisure life’ (Blackshaw 2003). Experiences within the group allow for a coherent narrative of the self (Giddens 1991) as all such group activities encourage the production of conjoined biographies, making members known to each of the immediate group aiding communitas (Finn 1994) and peak role performance.

Given the durability of the football casual scene, there has arisen a situation where there has also been the development of a distinct market, catering to such individuals and those with an interest in the area. The strength of the scene can be measured in that it has specialist sites acting as a forum for those with an interest, and also in the specific marketing of companies such as Grattan mail order company who’s catalogues circa 2006 feature separate sections for casual wear as opposed to fashion brands. Although some designer labels are highly resistant to the wearing of their clothing by football casuals as seen on B.B.C 2s Burberry Versus the Chavs (2005), sales to them provide many of these designer brands with a regular and dependable income. There are also a large number of biographies and accounts from within the field available both by mail order and shops such as HMV and Virgin Megastores. The popularity of such accounts cannot be underestimated and The Soul Crew (Jones and Rivers 2002) topped the British paperback books best-seller charts on its release.
Combined with the above, there has also been the production of feature films around the activity in recent years. The film *The Football Factory* (2004) concentrates on the lads of Chelsea and their ongoing feud with Millwall exacerbated by social events, and although it presents quite a reliable picture of the activity, it can like other productions around the field fall into the cockney centric pattern, the work is probably the closest yet in terms of accurate portrayal though slightly stylized in realization. The film however, stands head and shoulders above the film *Green Street* (2005) and its ridiculous portrayal of the subject with the Heroic (Hedetoft 1995) overemphasized and set to music in slow motion, ideas of vendetta are played out against a background of the murder of a child (son of Millwall’s top boy) on the terraces stamped to death by West Ham hooligans. The absurdity is relentless throughout with the central character dropping in from Harvard and going straight to the top of the activity, despite only being about five feet tall and weighing about eight stone, the whole thing is a laugh a minute and stands as a wholly unreliable indicator of the activity, but rather shows the interest of big business and the continued and wilful exploitation of a pre-existing market.

**The diffusion of a fashion**

As shown throughout the chapter, the casual look is hegemonic in attitude and has incorporated elements of previous sub-cultural styles in a manner of bricolage to produce a style that was acceptable to participants of the activity. When discussing the impact of the casual movement both within the field of football and wider society, there should be the acknowledgement that for the first time in societal terms the form of socio-cultural transmission was from the terraces outwards, rather than in the past where wider fashions had been imported on to the terraces. The casual look though born of necessity soon took hold and developed along lines that were acceptable to those who participated in football hooliganism. The influence of the casual look on the terraces around Britain cannot be underestimated, and such is the proliferation of the look that Thornton (2003) uses the term ‘Clone Island’ in recognition both that the label is often copied, but also ubiquitous on the terraces. The wide-spread diffusion of the casual look both at the football, and in wider society is indicative of the durability of both the style and the scene.

It has been shown quite easily that any understanding of the football casual style cannot be separated from the specific socio-cultural and socio-historical conditions that produced it. The look can easily be shown as being developed through both reflexive adaptation and
active differentiation on behalf of those who adopted it in the course of their football related activities. As shown, there was from the outset considerable hostility towards the football casual style with all original reporting occurring within the confines of the moral panic (Cohen 1972). As a result, there has been very little serious work undertaken to provide a sound analysis of the scene that has developed alongside the activity.

The majority of academic work undertaken around the area has tried to link the football casuals to previous sub-cultures on a mainly tenuous level, although in acknowledging the element of bricolage that went into the construction of the style, there are certain points of convergence. However, as shown any attempts to place the casual movement at a level of recurring working class youth sub-culture, are both simplistic and most probably unfounded. The look and attitude displayed by football casuals is probably most realistically described as highly hegemonic with very little, if any counter-cultural influence. The demonstration of the active marketing to this group is highly indicative of both the strength and durability of the activity and attendant scene, making its study essential concerning football cultures. Given these concerns it has been easily shown that previous work around the area has had little engagement with this type of fandom. With the exceptions of accounts from within the field (Jones and Rivers 2002, Pennant 2002, Thornton 2003), and studies by academics such as Armstrong (1998) and Robson (2000) the majority of research has barely scratched the surface in relation to the socio-cultural aspects of this sort of fandom preferring a reductionist account of both participants and the activity. Given the concerns highlighted throughout the chapter the work of Armstrong has proved highly illuminating as it suggests that football hooliganism provides those involved with things to be and do (1998: 306-310) thus indicating the social identity issues involved. This level of analysis should be adopted for all future research regarding the protagonists within the field, and also include the police in a reflexive manner in order to provide a more sophisticated account of both the field and those who operate regularly within it.
Methodology

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the methodology and ethics considered, required, and used in the study of Cardiff City fans’ and their involvement in football violence. The purpose throughout the chapter is to show how a case study approach has been utilised in order to provide a more conceptually sophisticated account of the behaviour observed within the field, and leading to changes in the way the activity is viewed by practitioners of the various social sciences. This method of examination is of vital importance as it differentiates the work from that already carried out which often offers a reductionist account of the activity. This research builds upon general developments within the social sciences over the last twenty years to improve understanding around the activity and the motivations of those who participate. Given the comments of Berger and Luckmann (1967) on the social distribution of knowledge, there should also be the recognition that whilst research may be interest led, it would also require a point of entry for access to be obtained in order to facilitate its successful completion.

Gaining Access

As a member of the club I am in a privileged position in terms of both data collection and access to those who participate in disorder and violence at the football. This is not to say that anyone wishing to carry out the research would have been just as well received, but having a known personal biography, and being one of the lads on a social level has led to acceptance that many other researchers would have found difficult if not impossible to achieve. As a member of the group and also as a known social science practitioner, I have collected a wealth of ethnographic material, and also had the ability to interact with the group in a way that would have been almost impossible for an outside agent. This combination of being a social science practitioner and also a natural (i.e. self-categorising) member of the group places the research at a similar level to that conducted by Armstrong (1998) at Sheffield United.

At this point it is worth noting that the term natural is used in the sense that if social identity is both self-selected and conferred by others; then being from Caerphilly (a town that adjoins Cardiff) places the researcher firmly within the geographically occurring group, and separate
from those simply achieving elective membership to the group. The ontology displayed by
the group is one that is also internalised in large part by myself, thus often offering a shared
outlook and understanding of the groups socio-cultural and socio-historic placement; so when
the group and myself sing: *I'm Cardiff till I Die, I'm Cardiff till I Die, I know I Am, I'm sure I
Am, I'm Cardiff till I Die*, this is exactly what this means and I would therefore suggest that
the football club represents an important and central role in my own salient social identity.
This means that authentication at the club has never been an issue, and also that the
relationship between knower and known is entwined and achieves a level of depth that maybe
only this level of ontological familiarity and socio-cultural and socio-historic understanding
could provide. From 2003 until the present I have attended the football with the same group
of lads from the Caerphilly area, this being helped in that I have a biography that many of the
participants are aware of on a social level, having known many of them over a long number
of years meaning that they were familiar with me, and comfortable in my presence in a
research capacity.

My own personal biography, that includes both military service and incarceration on more
than one occasion also provides a situation whereby the researcher achieved implicit trust in
relation to legal issues for the group (i.e. the lads trusted me not to be any sort of damaging
informer, or use delicate material against them in any way). Allied to the issue of trust, this
involvement in both the military and crime has I believe left me as a researcher well placed to
understand both the violence within the field and the various masculinities available at this
level of social reality; meaning I was well placed for any research into the sociology of crime
and deviance, and more specifically ‘laddism’. This point is probably best understood in
terms as outlined by Bourdieu (1990) who shows how those researchers entering socio-
cultural fields with no experience of the nuances and intricacies of these fields often have to
ask questions like small children and accept the given answers. Often, far greater levels of
depth can be achieved if the researcher tacitly understands what it is they are observing, and
attempting to codify in academic terms.

This is not to say that an adept researcher would be unable to achieve such depth and
*Verstehen*, only that this would be far more difficult and take far longer to achieve. In terms
of access it may have also proved to be impossible for an outsider to gain access to close knit
friendship groups or groups established over a long period simply due to active
differentiation and trust issues. An allied point to the above would also suggest a situation
where the researcher whilst being close to any group being researched must also take care not
to simply become the mouthpiece of the group in terms of their justification and excuse for events within the field. The aim of such research should be to match any available evidence to existing social theory, or be capable of producing new and dynamic concepts capable of describing available evidence in a way that is both acceptable and highly usable for practitioners of the various social sciences.

With this being the case, the essential study criteria was the use of theory and research in a manner that enabled the acceptable codification of the research for use within the social sciences, and that, this in turn seeks to produce a piece of work that enables anyone with an interest to better understand football violence as a recurring social phenomenon. In order to carry out the research a reflexive case study approach was decided as probably offering the most suitable method of study in order to both situate and contextualise Cardiff City fans involvement in football violence on a regular basis. With the research strategy decided upon a set of aims and objectives were decided upon in order to provide the best possible insight into what was happening at the specific club in question, and how this related to both the field in general and the wider society in which the field was situated.

Research Aims and Objectives

This research aims to provide an accurate and more conceptually advanced view of football violence as practiced by Cardiff City fans both past and present, than the available and often accepted academic view. The research attempts to provide a new model of football violence, constructed through the use of a variety of research methods to better understand football hooliganism as a socio-cultural phenomenon existing within the general field of football. A grounded bottom-up approach was favoured throughout the research as the existing literature did not in many cases my own observation within the field, or my understanding of the motivations of the participants involved regularly in football violence.

The research challenges the established academic discourse built around the area in terms of the active representation of reality, and the ability of certain groups to monopolise this process. Far greater voice has been given to those within the field, with this form of representation being highly influenced by ideas available at an ethno-methodological level concerning first and second order constructs. This form of representation, making extensive use of first order constructs allows for both greater levels of triangulation and understanding in terms of the motivation and meaning attached to the activity by those who participate. Those who are involved in the activity are allowed to impose their own meaning on the
activity rather than having their understanding changed and re-codified where possible. Rather than seeing the various popular books based on the subject, and produced by those who participate as ‘hooli-porn’ as Pearson and Stott (2005) would, the research would see these as providing valid sources in the location of club specific football violence after accounting for justification and excuse making in terms of their authorship. Within the research such sources are seen as essential triangulation tools especially when cross referencing incidents that have taken place both on contemporary and historic levels.

The research also re-examines the violent nature of British society and its persistently aggressive foreign policy, and the wish by certain socio-cultural commentaries/commentators to displace this inherent societal violence to the level of the lower working classes. The research seeks to provide a far greater level of cultural meaning to the activity and introduces the concept of the heroic as a cultural specific form fully into the discussion at this level of enquiry. Allied to the above there has been far greater emphasis on the role of the police both at a level of interaction and involvement within the field, and in terms of critical analysis concerning police interest and the socio-historic context of this involvement allied to active media representation of the activity. Within the remit of research into media construction issues, the use of narratives and ideas based around scape-goating, ideas based around outlawing, and exclusionary practice on a number of levels have also been essential to provide greater insight into the activity and the wider society in which the violence of the field occurs.

In order for these goals to be met three main research areas needed to be addressed. Firstly, why with the variety of identities on offer at the football did some fans choose to become involved in football hooliganism? And, how was this identity achieved and maintained? Secondly, who participated in violence within the field and how was this contextualized by those involved? What role did the police play in inter-group violence within the field, and what media discourses dominate the construction of field, and the relations contained therein. Thirdly, why was violence incorporated within the field? And how was this violence located within the wider society in which it occurred?
Research Questions

Hooliganism, football identities, and terrace careers:

Any understanding of those who participate in football violence at Cardiff City would have to recognise and take into account that; the group is loosely formed and heterogeneous, with members of the group drawn from a large and sprawling fan base that includes Cardiff and the South Wales valleys famous in past times for its coal fields, and other attendant heavy industries. Members of the group also include teenagers, and also those far older with the oldest included in the sample frame now approaching their sixties. The research seeks to show throughout; that rather than simply seeing the lower working classes involved in football fandom as being outwardly violent, field specific social learning would provide for far more realistic understanding of the process of both acquiring and maintaining a football hooligan identity. If differential association in relation to becoming a hooligan becomes accepted, then class background of the proponents of football hooliganism should no longer be an issue, rather the entry into the field of football, and the internalising of the dominant habitus would represent a major factor in becoming a football hooligan.

Now the question to be examined would seem be one of socialisation within the field. Given the fact that there are a range of possible identities on display at the football why would some individuals acknowledge and identify with the fans that fight in the name of the team? Throughout the research it will be proposed that through an act of identification, if the individual and any group that they attend the football with regularly perceive the hooligan as best representing their interests within the field, they will be open themselves or as part of a group to the possibility of becoming involved in football hooligan activities. With this in mind, if this is the case then many of those who do become football hooligans, see the interests of the club and their own as running parallel, with both looking to dominate the field and acquire as much power, prestige, honour, and status as possible in the name of the team thus bolstering both individual and group identity within the field.

The field, participants and field specific practice:

An exploration of the violent ritual and the utilisation of aggro by Cardiff City fans was to be carefully re-considered and built upon in order to provide a more accurate and expansive view of the violence within the field on a recurring basis than already available. The police, their role within the field, and the application of violence used by them was also to be re-
examined in order to provide more balance and understanding of the three different protagonists within the field rather than simply focusing on Cardiff City fans. This was to be done in order to provide the most complete understanding of the field rather than providing a skewed or limited view of the activity. Finally, home policing and away policing were to be compared and contrasted in order to show how differences in the two had a definite effect on the fan group in question, and the consequences of the different treatment encountered by various police forces in terms of hostility and violence within the field.

A cultural model of violence and the influence of the heroic:

The research seeks to understand why rough games and violent rituals are entered into regularly at and around football games, locating these on a socio-historical level, and focusing specifically Cardiff City football fans involvement in the ongoing violence within the field. Moving away from a simplistic viewpoint the research aims to forward a cultural model of violence as providing a more convincing level of explanation and conceptual framework in order to locate the violence at the football within the confines of wider society. Allied to the above approach it is seen that an understanding of the 'heroic' and its impact on the field is essential in making sense of what happens within the field and how Cardiff City fans utilise violence, and also both explain and justify it within a coherent conceptual framework. This understanding concerning the specific fan group's justification of field specific violence, and the active part that the specific group plays in it, is crucial in terms of understanding both the motivation and the continued involvement of both the group and the individuals that routinely take part.

A Case Study Approach

A case study approach utilising multiple methods was designed to enable suitable triangulation of data, and address verification issues, with the work of Yin proving influential when he states:

The role of theory development, prior to the conduct of any data collection, is one point of difference between case studies and related methods such as ethnography and 'grounded theory' (1994, p. 27).

Given the above points, a case study was decided upon in terms of a research design with multiple qualitative data gathering methods being pursued as a research strategy. The choice of qualitative research within the confines of a case study is probably best outlined in terms
of trustworthiness as shown in the work of Bryman (2001), and this is especially important in relation to the research and its differentiation from that of some other research which may be seen as being built on a negative construction process, and very often simply working at the level of assertion. Given the above concerns, the case study entered into allowed for the logic of comparison to be applied over a great number of points within the research, and for these to be checked throughout against the work of previous researches such as Marsh et al (1978), Dunning et al (1989), Armstrong (1998), and Robson (2000).

This research design has also allowed for a great deal of inductive logic to be applied to the available evidence as understood in terms similar to those of the philosopher Hillary Putnam who within his various works clearly shows the difference between fact and value judgement, and who would see there being; no simple truth but rather a sliding scale of value judgements in operation when providing knowledge, with most utterances considered at the level of truth simply being an assertion, or point of view. This use of inductive logic has simply been applied to the field, leaving the way open for the constant entwining of theory and evidence as proposed by Bourdieu (1990), rather than relying on any underlying dogma or set of generalised hypothesis to be followed or searched for within the research. This conceptualisation of the research project allowed for an expansive and dynamic approach concerning reliability, replication, and validity in terms of both the group under scrutiny and the wider application of findings across the social sciences. As usability has been one of the central concerns of the research, and without which the research would be of very limited value, the above points are capable of being checked against by anyone with an interest in order to gauge the usefulness of the research undertaken.

The research attempts to provide the move towards a new model of football violence, and this has been constructed through the use of a variety of research methods to better understand football hooliganism as a socio-cultural phenomenon existing within the general field of football. There has also been a great deal of theory testing in relation to the two models of football violence. Within the work of Blackshaw and Crabbe (2004) it is shown that the work of the ‘Leicester school’ stands in contrast to the work of Peter Marsh whose social psychological approach concluded that much of what is referred to as violent disorder is, in fact, highly ritualized orderly behaviour constrained by tacit social rules (Marsh et al: 1978), the ‘Leicester school’ identified the rise of ‘football hooliganism’ as being predominantly related to ‘uncivilized’ behaviour within the ‘rough’ working class (Dunning et al: 1988). It is suggested that this grouping has been less influenced by the civilizing process and been the
victims of a 'decivilising spurt' that produced wider social inequalities in the period since the 1960s.

Considering the disparity in these viewpoints, it would seem that a new sociological approach is now required. This, and a variety of other criticisms of the 'Leicester school' such as its perceived weakness at an ethnographic level, with no meaningful attempt to fit the theory to everyday reality (Giulianotti 1999), suggests that there is now requirement for the proposal of a new more complete and conceptually sophisticated framework. The research undertaken by myself has attempted to provide such a commentary, but also takes note that this is part of the democratization process in universities (Fuller 1997) where different modes and forms of expression will inevitably challenge available discourses, without attempting to provide a any final commentary on the activity. The above point is especially important, if understood in terms of the varying abilities of certain groups to actively represent reality, as shown on numerous occasions by Bourdieu (1990). As a member of the group under discussion I have witnessed the violence within the field on many occasions; and also understand the limits of Cardiff City fans involvement on a regular and recurring basis since the beginning of the research, and also prior to the research being undertaken.

Conditions within everyday reality are such that Cardiff City Football Club may be understood as a 'bounded system' as outlined by Adelman, Jenkins, and Kemmis (1984), with the section of the fan group that fights representing an embedded unit of analysis within the system. A case study was chosen as the basis for the research, as it allows the research to be located at a similar level to that carried out by Armstrong (1998) at Sheffield United, and Robson (2000) at Millwall. These studies both advocate a club specific view of football violence in order to locate each individual club on both a socio-historic and contemporary level. Within the slightly different approaches utilised by Armstrong (1998) and Robson (2000) each individual professional football club is seen as having its own specific interests and rivalries, and that these concerns can only be fully understood in these terms, as also shown by Boyle and Haynes (2000).

Given the concerns of the research outlined, a case study approach would seem to provide a sound basis for understanding Cardiff City fans involvement in the activity both on a socio-historic and contemporary level. Within this context the self-categorising fans who fight in the name of the team, and who are involved in crowd disorder at Cardiff City represent the case to be studied. Again, although ideas based around; reliability, replication, and validity
will always be an issue within case study research and research design; ideas of trustworthiness should achieve prominence as it has been stated and shown repeatedly that the concerns of Cardiff City fans are theirs alone. So where the research is highly reliable in terms of trustworthiness there has been no attempt to provide sweeping generalisations other than those concerning Cardiff City fans involvement within the field, their own masculinities, and their own relationship to culture in general terms. Where generalisations and inferred knowledge can be made and obtained they are, but the ability of the research to stand up to scrutiny in terms of trustworthiness at a variety of levels is seen as a far more important aspect of the research undertaken.

The research strategy that developed has allowed for emergent theory, and was also highly inductive allowing for a great deal of reflexivity within the study. The case study was seen as the ideal vehicle for the research because as shown by Jankowski and Wester:

As it turned out, researchers who set out to practice the precepts of grounded theory frequently went aground in uncharted analytical terrain (1991, p.68).

With this statement clearly showing the hazards of an un-channelled and haphazard research strategy and methodology, and the dangers of adopting such an approach, a reflexive but structured approach was seen as providing the most benefit when studying Cardiff City fans and their involvement in football violence. Therefore the idea of goalposts rather than fixed categorisations was adopted rather than any fixed and rigid understanding as this would allow for a situation in which theory and research could be entwined as shown again by Jankowski and Wester who suggest:

'Terms and concepts are meant to serve as guideposts for investigation and not, as in traditional social science, expressions based on theoretical constructions designed to be tested. Theoretical statements are to emerge – at least partially – from the area or object of inquiry itself' (1991, p.45).

So rather than relying on 'grounded theory' the case study was formulated loosely enough to have the capacity to match existing theoretical developments within the social sciences to both the participants and activity, but also providing enough structure to move the research on and forward. This constant entwining of research and theory is seen as essential by Bourdieu (1990) as he clearly suggests that research without theory is blind, but theory without research is useless.

So within the case study carried out, whilst ethnographic material features heavily within the study this is presented as part of a wider variety of sources rather than being solely reliant on
this as a form of analysis. These points are particularly important when related to the work of Armstrong (1998) and Robson (2000) who whilst they remain very strong examples of case study differ a great deal to the research undertaken by myself. The research undertaken aims to provide an accurate and more conceptually advanced view of football violence as practiced by Cardiff City fans both past and present, than the already accepted views. Football as a field of activity has been reconsidered, as has the fact that whilst being a field of socio-cultural activity, professional football also has developed and now exists as a distinct market. The practice of football violence has been discussed as has the emergence of the football casuals as a socio-cultural category. The media construction of football violence as an issue and the policing of football has also been reconsidered with a view to providing a more sophisticated understanding of the issues, and accounting for developments within the sociology of crime and critical criminology.

**Conducting fieldwork**

The field research was conducted continuously throughout the three year period, and also long before as the research is linked to my primary leisure pursuit as well as there being a dedicated one year period of field research to conform with a PhD programme. Given this understanding of the research project, any attempt to disentangle both leisure activity and research subject would have been both futile and unrealistic. Within this context all interactions within the fields were seen as being capable of being harnessed as part of the research, and utilised whenever seen as being ‘fit for purpose’ in illustrative terms. With this being the case the field research can be said to have been both parallel and sequential in its endeavour. This form of research was particularly difficult as it led to me having to constantly engage with the field on a critical level taking much of the fun out of my leisure, as it was now also my employment. This form of engagement with the field also required me to take a step back from a valid fan identity and constantly analyse my associates, their behaviour, and motivations within the field, making engagement with the field difficult at times.

Reliability and validity can also be claimed for the research and fieldwork as dealing with Cardiff City football hooligans gives the research a high degree of legitimacy when it is considered that the Cardiff City ‘Soul Crew’ or simply its hooligan following, can be considered one of the main players within the game over the last 10-15 years, having held a variable position within the field up until the 90s. As already shown within the research, this
situation has led Eddie Curtis Head of England Police Spotters 1998-2000 to state on British television that Cardiff City fans are among the most active in terms of football violence and that they also represent one of the largest groups within the arena. Within the contest of football hooliganism, the hooligan followers of Cardiff City occupy a position of power that far outweighs their achievements on the accredited field of play. They do however, have a great deal of kudos in relation to the activity of football violence, and their position is borne out time and again in documented evidence concerning both their historic relationship to the activity, as well as being performance related on a contemporary level as they still have large numbers of followers who are more than willing to fight if circumstances warrant this.

**A Qualitative Approach**

There are a wide variety of methods and techniques available to the sociologist or any other social-science practitioner in the pursuit of field research, and given this variety the main consideration should be that they are suitable for the task at hand. Given these concerns, a qualitative approach was seen as providing the only feasible choice, providing a wide range of cultural descriptive techniques and methods to be utilised when discussing participant involvement and motivation in relation to the activity. A wide variety of research techniques have been utilised within this case study approach for suitable triangulation of data and verification issues. The participant observation utilised within the case study was highly influenced by the work of Armstrong (1998), and Blackshaw (2003) who both actively engaged with the participants of their studies, and who would strongly advocate a position of mutual intimacy between knower and known, moving away from the position of Elias (1987) concerning the process of involvement and detachment with research subject.

A position of methodological relativism (Collins and Yearley 1992) has also been adopted extensively throughout the study, using whatever epistemological “natural attitude” most suitable for the research. Within this framework although no scientific discipline is seen as perfect or infallible, and each social-scientific discipline is seen as providing the most useful set of procedures and techniques to study phenomenon effectively within its own research remit. Simply put this means that different research strategies are used in a manner that is most productive for the task in hand. Social psychology and ideas based on developments in cultural understanding were used when examining participant motivation in relation to the activity, and social anthropology was utilised extensively when examining the ‘actual’ practice of football violence. Critical criminology, the sociology of crime and deviance,
social constructionism and a whole host of other methods and strategies were harnessed throughout the research, with the informing factor in their use simply being whether they were commensurable or compatible. All methods and strategies were simply to be used in creating a worthwhile piece that had a high level of coherence in creating an understandable view of the activity, and the motivation of its participants.

This utilisation of various elements and developments within the social sciences as a whole was seen as being most suitable for the task in hand on two levels. Firstly, it would allow for a wide degree of usability in terms of the research and its findings by practitioners of the various social sciences. Secondly, it would allow for a mutually informing piece of social science research to be used in a Kuhnian (1969) manner to improve and perhaps displace the dominant sociological model, by further challenging and changing the pre-existing paradigm. Specifically, within the research undertaken, the data collection has relied on a variety of techniques, most usually referred to as originating in the ‘micro’ sociological tradition, utilizing a full range of techniques including; observation, both participant and non-participant, ethnography, semiotics, conversation analysis, and the deconstruction of biographical accounts, documentary, and feature films of the activity.

At this level of generality, the research undertaken has been highly influenced by works such as Becker’s *Outsiders* (1963) and Matza’s *Becoming Deviant* (1969) due to the qualitative nature of the work to be undertaken, and the authors’ insistence of the importance of actual process. There has also been an attempt to get way past the phenomenological which can often be seen as existing at the level of reportage; therefore the application of a certain amount of social theory has been essential for analysis and codification purposes. The utilisation of an interdisciplinary qualitative approach is also seen as being essential in providing as complete a picture as possible regarding football culture, and more specifically the football violence carried out by Cardiff City fans. Given the concerns of the research project, any attempt to constrain the research strictly within the confines of any one discipline would have meant the under-utilisation of many essential component parts, and as such all material has been mediated between, and subjected to a broadly constructionist viewpoint. For this reason, the practice of observation and participant observation to collect ethnographic material, and the use of structured interview to explore attitudes at the club by those who participated in the activity were chosen in the data collection to better understand Cardiff City fans and their involvement in football violence.
With the research conducted at a level of cultural criminology and the sociology of crime and deviance, one of the central concerns has been the obtaining of ‘verstehen’ or deep meaning. Within this context Ferrell and Hamm suggest that for the researcher this means:

It implies a degree of subjective understanding between researcher and research subjects, an engaged methodological process such that researcher and research subjects come to share, at least in part, in the lived reality of deviance, crime and criminality (1998:13).

Given the concerns already noted, the utilization of a more usual research protocol and individual detachment can seriously impede the researcher in obtaining verstehen, and at this point it is also worth noting the view of Polsky who shows that:

"If one is effectively to study adult criminals in their natural settings, he must make the moral decision that in some ways he will break the law himself. He need not be a 'participant' observer and commit the criminal acts under study, yet he has to witness such acts or be taken into confidence about them and not blow the whistle. That is, the investigator has to decide that when necessary he will 'obstruct justice' or have 'guilty knowledge' or be an 'accessory' before or after the fact, in the full legal sense of those terms" (1967:139).

This wish to obtain deep meaning in relation to the activity and the participants required high levels of involvement and trust being built up by the researcher; therefore the decision was taken very early on in the research process to not report any criminal activities carried out by the group, if they fell into their normal range of social behaviour, and would not result in high levels of immediate harm. High levels of tacit social knowledge as well as reported information were also to be utilised within the study, with the researcher always careful to guard sources from possible recriminations in relation to the information imparted in the course of the research. Levels of immersion, interest and personal involvement within the field were very high throughout the research process and led to deep meaning being achieved across the board in terms of the groups practice, motivation and expectations within the field.

Throughout the research, there was also made use of a technique outlined by W.F. Whyte in Street Corner Society (1955), in that I would make extensive use of what Whyte would call a collaborator. This reliance on a method conceived fifty years ago was not borne of laziness on the part of the researcher, but emerged as the strongest position to take as this strategy cannot be beaten in terms of gaining access to those within the field not already known by the researcher. The strategy also works in terms of the time that can be saved in getting access to those who the researcher wishes to interview but who the researcher does not know on a personal level. The person chosen by myself as a collaborator was Big C, and this was due to
the fact that I had known him for a number of years on a social level, and my knowledge that he is a prominent participant in football violence of many years standing. Due to my social ties both with Big C and a number of other lads already present within the group I was accepted into the group as a member, and this led to the situation were I could freely enquire into the deeper motivations of the group, regarding football hooliganism as perpetrated specifically by Cardiff City fans.

With the continued use of a collaborator/gatekeeper within the field, any misgivings regarding a social science researcher and potential damaging spy were offset by the continued involvement of the gatekeeper. I utilized a gatekeeper who is well known to me on a personal level and who was aware throughout of his right to withdraw if he wished. The gatekeeper was fully aware of the risks involved in both the research, and his own involvement in the activity. The use of a gatekeeper in good standing within the field this helped reduce problems in getting the participants to give their own accounts of the activity. This was further helped by the goodwill of contacts made within the field, with information imparted to myself on a regular basis from within the field. All participants were made fully aware of my role as a social researcher, and the uses any knowledge imparted may be put towards, both now and in the future. The transparency used in relation to knowledge imparted and already held by myself as a researcher ensured the continuing goodwill of the participants and others who I came into contact with within the field on regular occasions.

The use of structured interview was chosen as it was decided by me, that any form of questionnaire would be unacceptable in the circumstances, and as such the best way to collect formal primary data in terms of process and involvement would be through the interview method. The structured interview was to be used in the collection of background information such as age, social class, age of attendance of football, and do you travel to away games regularly etc. This type of questioning was undertaken to show how length of attachment to the club, and length of disorderly conduct by fans was important in light of work done by the likes of Becker (1963) and Matza (1969) concerning both the process and maintenance of socially acquired identities. The second part of the interview was concerned with both, individual and group identity. This was further divided; to examine attitudes towards the football casual identity and individual commitment to this identity, Welsh national identity and effects on football hooliganism, and what football league club and national team do they dislike the most. These questions would be used to try to ascertain meanings, feelings and
beliefs regarding the above, and as such this would reflect the depth of the study and provide much of the formal qualitative material for the study.

Allied to the structured taped interviews there is the acknowledgement that all time spent in the company of respondents and conversations entered into whether caught on tape or not, also represents a form of interviewing. This understanding is essential as it should be acknowledged that as soon as you ask specific questions you both; intrude on a social interaction that was already occurring, and also limit any answers that are possible, making any form of interviewing highly limiting in what can be obtained in terms of information. Total immersion was seen as far more important with lived experience to take precedence in terms of data collection. This understanding of the importance of ontological similitude and the ontological security engendered means that the research was also highly influenced by Tony Blackshaw's *Leisure Life* (2003) which shows the validity of this type of immersion and involvement and the depth of understanding that can be obtained through such a research process.

**Sample Frame**

The interviewing took place on two levels to illustrate both leadership and the rank and file of those who participate in football violence at the club. Given this central concern, 16 in depth interviews were conducted with a variety of lads at the club with an age range between 59 at its oldest and 19 at the youngest. This range of ages was seen as highly important as it shows quite conclusively the reconstruction of masculinities at the club is constantly occurring, and also the influence of the lads that have emerged on the terraces at Cardiff City over the last 40 years, and the importance of this in the understanding of the specific football identities that have emerged. This range of respondents was essential as it provided the basis for understanding the pervasiveness in ideas across age groups among the group and the coherence of narrative that is developed at the club. Seminal figures at the club spent many hours in my company and talked candidly concerning their involvement in the activity, as well as being interviewed formally. The interviewing of those who drive the field in terms of participation over a number of years was essential as they often inform and influence opinion at a number of levels at the club as they are considered by those involved in the activity to be charismatic leaders both in terms of facilitation and know how, and active prowess in terms of the activity.
Allied to the above there was the extensive interviewing of the Caerphilly lads to show how friendship groups such as the one in question make up the numbers in terms of active participation in the activity. This form of separation, and inquiry into those who participate has led to a situation where a valid form of sample grouping was utilised to make sense of those who participate in football violence at the club. This split in sample frame was required in order to obtain data that described both the general and specific in terms of narratives developed at the club. This form of sample frame also allowed the understanding of how those involved at leadership level both influence and drive forward narrative development at the club through involvement over a long period; thus influencing the ideas of those entering and becoming socialised within the field, and how this takes place on a recurring basis allowing for the development of a highly centralised and stabilised form of narrative to be developed and maintained at the club.

Ethical considerations

In the course of the empirical research, the researcher always strived for best practice with respect to ethical matters. When considered within this research context, ethical considerations must take into account that although there must be a commitment to principles outlined in the University of Glamorgan's *Non-Specialist Ethical Guidelines for Research* (2002), and the E.R.S.C.’s *Research Ethics Framework* these have had to be pragmatically applied within a variety of social settings. The British Society of Criminology also supplies its own *Code of Ethics for Researchers in the Field of Criminology* (2006) and once again the researcher has tried to adhere as closely as possible to these guidelines. When ethical issues are examined in relation to the study of cultural criminology and sociological deviance, a ‘one size fits all’ approach is unsuitable for many types of field research so a reflexive position was adopted. Through carrying out such research, it was required to formulate a way of doing the research in the least intrusive manner to better facilitate mutual trust, and obtain relevant data in the least invasive way possible. Within this framework, ethical concerns needed to be reflexive enough to cope with the demands of the field, and at the same time aim for best practice. There must be the recognition that field research of this variety is a highly diverse endeavour and one that necessitated a reflexive system to cope with the various demands of the research process.

Given these concerns, the adherence to a strict set of ethical guidelines would have been impossible, and although the researcher should adhere to the law and ethical guidelines of
their academic establishment, their first duty should be to the respondents. Noting that the research has aimed at providing a cultural descriptive item concerning Cardiff City fans and their involvement in football violence, both confidentiality and anonymity are of the utmost importance. The collection and storage of data has fitted the requirements of the Data Protection Act 1998 and all participants were fully informed of their rights regarding both confidentiality and anonymity, with only the researcher and research supervisors allocated having any access to the materials collected. At no time during the research, will any full name or identifying feature concerning the individual be allowed to be included within the material, as this would be of obvious consequence to those concerned. A great amount of care was taken in steering participants away from the specific, towards providing a general picture of the activity in question. Given the legal implications concerning the research, high levels of trust were essential in the collection of data by the researcher, and as such personal integrity has played a central role.

The aim of the research was to give voice to the subjects without compromising their identity, as shown in research by Whyte (1955) and Miller (1986). At this level of enquiry, in identifying the motivation and practice of specific social activities, respondents needed to feel highly confident in the researcher both in terms of confidentiality and in regards to anonymity. The aim of giving voice to the participants without compromising them on any level required a great deal of trust on their part, in me as a social researcher. The transparency of the research process and openness of myself as a researcher and persistent member of the group created the necessary conditions for this to take place. Within the university, stringent ethical guidelines were explored and the solicitors Eversheds were extensively consulted in relation to the practicalities and legalities of the research undertaken, with their concerns and guidelines adhered to by the researcher, and active risk management being a primary concern throughout the research process.

Given that the respondents were all adults and were making voluntary statements that may have included the acknowledgement of criminal activities, no informed consent form was presented. This situation was not one borne of laziness and a lax attitude to research, but rather the recognition that the research to be undertaken would correspond at a certain level of generality to that outlined in *Ethnography at the Edge* (Ferrell and Hamm 1998). Within the work, Ferrell and Hamm continually show how usual research protocol can in fact hinder the research process especially with groups concerned with criminal activities, making Verstehen less likely at this level of research if barriers are visibly maintained. All
participants were made aware through extensive discussion, and elaboration of the research process, that the data collected, would be stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998. The participants were also made aware throughout, of both the short and long term utilization of data. Given these concerns, after addressing the above issues, it was assumed that the continued participation in taped interviews amounted to informed consent on behalf of the participants. Throughout the research process all respondents were also made fully aware of their right to withdraw at any time from the study.

The research aimed to explore an area that may be categorized as cultural criminology and therefore safety issues have been of high importance. Throughout the study the researcher has not engaged in any activity that compromises the safety of himself, or others. The nature of the research has however, occasionally placed the researcher outside the boundaries of normal social science research and in this case the wealth of tacit knowledge held by myself and a continually reflexive risk assessment strategy has been required. With this being the case then I would once again forward the work of Ferrell and Hamm (1998) as providing a framework for this as they clearly show throughout the work that the researcher will have to adopt his/her own personal safety strategy. These personal safety strategies are highly individuated and are born of practical experience within the field, but are essential at this level of research:

"Simply put, various forms of personal and professional danger exists for ethnographers of crime and deviance as a serious, yet potentially productive dimension of the research process". (1998:255)

Safety is of obvious importance, but must also be balanced against the acquisition of qualitative data that could only be realistically achieved through high levels of involvement and immersion within the field, but any threat to personal safety has resulted in the researcher retiring from the immediate situation. Given the lack of fieldwork carried out previously at Cardiff City at an ethnographic level, the researcher was cast in the role of ‘man on the ground’ and was required to collect primary data with the attendant risks that this posed.

With the above research being concerned with Cardiff City fans and football violence there needed to be thought given to issues surrounding the possible legal implications of the research. Within this context it can be understood clearly that there was required to be ongoing risk assessments on the ground, as it were, and also in the safe storage of data. Given the criminal aspects of the group in question, once again the matter becomes one of trust with the first consideration being that of the protection of respondents, and the
secondary consideration being self protection. The research aims to move the area forward considerably through high levels of involvement within the field, and once again it must be recognized that the football represents both a leisure pursuit and a serious area of study for me as a social researcher. The researcher remained within the boundaries of the law at all times concerning possible confrontations, and strived not to bring the good name of the university into disrepute. Given the above concerns, any attempt to apply an ethical framework to similar types of field research would require these to be highly reflexive in their application.

Conclusions

Motivated by the democratization process (Fuller 1997), rather than any form of risk taking (Ferrell and Hamm 1998), the research has aimed to give voice to the participants in the activity, matching the ethnographic data with developments within the social sciences. As I have sought to show, the work will have a high level of usability throughout the social sciences, and will enhance understanding of both the field and the activity. Research in the field, especially when considered in relation to activities such as those in this particular study (football hooliganism) that are criminal or labeled as deviant, has to make use of a highly reflexive form of ethical practice if any meaningful form of engagement is to be achieved. The ethical guidelines for the academic establishment offer a framework for everyday research and are perfectly adequate for the task, however when operating outside the remit of the everyday these guidelines may be unsuitable at certain points in the research process, and require a reflexive adaptation on the part of the researcher. Rather than being suggestive of a lax attitude to ethical considerations, a considered, reflexive approach has been followed throughout in order to both meet the demands of the field and aim for best practice. Simply put and in summing up throughout the research process I was fully aware of both the risks and possible consequences of immersion within the field; and free of any romantic or maverick tendencies I engaged with both the research and the research subjects in a way that provided the most useful data and depth of meaning in relation to the activity, and the meanings that those involved attached to their actions in relation to the activity.
Analysis chapter 1

Field specific social learning, and socialisation

Introduction
As continually stated in earlier chapters, the arguments of Dunning et al (1988) concerning the roots of football hooliganism, and their insistence that the lower working classes are outwardly violent may be seen as over-simplistic, and in need of serious revision on certain levels. That most fan bases are drawn along geographic lines as shown by Jones (1997), or formed by specific groups sharing a geographic space (Boyle and Haynes 2000, Armstrong 1998), much of the proposed argument is in need of reassessment on a variety of levels utilizing various developments occurring within the social sciences and cultural studies. A far more expansive understanding of the activity is proposed within the research and evidence of this has been witnessed time and again by myself in the course of both being a fan, and a social researcher. Any understanding of those who participate in football violence at Cardiff City would firstly have to recognise that; the group is loosely formed and heterogeneous, with members of the group being drawn from a fan base that includes Cardiff and the South Wales valleys. Patterns of employment range through all areas of the black economy, construction, manufacture and the service sector up to and including managerial and director level individuals, reflecting the post industrial economy of the area. Entry into the field and socialisation rather than class membership would seem to provide the basis for football violence, and anyone socialised within the field since the 1960s will have witnessed widespread violence. Whether fans become involved or not in football violence is dependent most usually on circumstance, peer group, commitment, levels of identification, and the wish to travel to away games on a regular basis, rather than relying on ideas based around class membership or psychological impairment.

Entry and socialisation into the field
Cardiff City fans involvement in football violence on an organised level when investigated can be said to have began by following a pattern of reflexive adaptation, and following many conversations with the likes of FG and Big S the league fixture between Charlton Athletic and Cardiff City at Ninian Park in 1967-68 seems to represent the starting point for the activity in terms of organised and sustained violence, however this in no means suggests that there was no sporadic violence at Cardiff City matches because there certainly was and this is shown in the quote given by FG who says when talking of matches in the 1960s:
FG: well I watched the fights from the background sort of thing, I wasn’t involved in anything I don’t think up until I was about nineteen, I, which I then really started to get involved in the actual violence part of the football, and that went on basically until, it hasn’t stopped.

The above quote places the development of recurring violence at Cardiff City at the tail end of the 1960s and it has been said that:

Big S: It was probably 1967-1968 I can’t remember the exact date but I think it was Charlton and I was frightened and excited at the same time I was only a kid 13 or 14 your thinking fuck me what’s that; and you want to get in but you are only a kid and there are some big blokes and you’re thinking, it gets the old adrenaline pumping and I just caught on to it you know.

The above timescale is well recognised within research on football violence and also backed by the assertions of Bristol Rovers fan and cultural commentator Smith (2002) who talks about battling the Grange (End) at around this time. The involvement of the group within the field and organised violence can be said to have followed a pattern of reflexive adaptation as they were not responsible for the development of the contest, however it is one that they willingly entered into, and after being involved for the last forty years or so those who follow Cardiff City have gone on to become one of the larger and more successful football firms.

Within this framework, the Cardiff City ‘Soul Crew’ or simply its hooligan following, can be considered one of the main players within the game over the last 10-15 years, having had a variable position in the field up until the 90s. An understanding of this rise to prominence may be best understood in terms of group commitment as presented in the work of Ellemers et al (1999). It must also be recognized that Cardiff City do play in the English league system, and as such have had the added dimension within the arena of nationalistic implications whenever they play English opposition.

With professional football being a self contained and a recurring social field then the work of Sutherland and Cressey (1978) concerning differential association and field specific social learning must be given credence. So within the field acquired identities are perhaps best understood in terms of differential association, as outlined by Sutherland’s *White Collar Criminality* (1940). The work showed that the perpetrators of white collar crime, rather than being defective on personal psychological level, or the victims of poverty they were in fact seemingly respectable business-men, and therefore their criminal activities had to be seen as being of a rational normal action. Further expansion by Sutherland and Cressey (1978) shows that behaviour is learned on a social level, and that this occurs in different settings, and if this
is the case then this social theory must be applied equally and reflexively across all social fields and settings rather than applied selectively. If this is the case then the followers of Cardiff City can be said to have learned the behaviour that they display within the field, and that they understand their actions as taking place within an existing set of specific social relations.

What can be said with some certainty is that the levels of violent confrontations between football fans have been increasingly facilitated by advances in public transport as noted by both Dunning et al (1988), and commentators within the field such as Pennant (2002) and Jones and Rivers (2002). The ability of large groups of fans to attend away games has always led to a situation where conflict whilst not an inevitability is always a possibility both at present and on a historic level. Modern football hooliganism has been highly influenced in the way that it is carried out due in large part to greater transport availability and the possibilities for independent travel that have resulted. All research conducted by myself points to a situation as shown by both Jones and Rivers (2002) and Pennant (2002), who leave the reader in no doubt that the most chance of a violent confrontation happens away from home and has done since the 1970s. With this being the case a pattern of involvement has emerged, that has been repeated across the last forty years and is continually reconstructed by successive generations of Cardiff City fans.

This pattern of involvement is probably best explained by Big G who shows how young fans become involved in football violence, when asked at what age did you become involved with disorder at the football he replied:

I don’t think it’s a case of that sort of, umm, step over really it’s such a gradual thing, you know, one minute you’re a kid and then you’re, you start going with rougher boys and you, you’re on the fringe, and then you start swearing and whatever, and some of them, in those days someone would chuck an object over and you would chuck it back and things like this, and it’s a gradual thing then, one minute you might get caught up in, in a fight or whatever like, and it was a case of you know, at that age you’d go to away matches and you’d be fighting for your life I think really, it would be dodgy and you know you’d be a gang of kids and you’d be chased up the road and hour later, you would be chasing someone else up the road.......but it’s such a gradual thing of getting into it really.

The above quote represents one aspect of introduction into the world of football violence and this is most usually the way that youths are socialised within the field but there is also a strand that are socialised or re-socialised into the field as adults who simply encounter existing field relations. The involvement and socialisation experiences of Big Jay and Gaz clearly follow
this pattern and as Big Jay is a company director and Gaz is an aeronautical engineer this put paid to any suggestion of lower working class sensibilities on the part of either respondent:

Jay: I can’t remember the first time to be honest with you, but it wasn’t as a kid do you know what I mean I’ve got no memories of it as a kid it was as a grown bloke like you know at about thirty years of age and just a buzz like, you know.

G: when I was a kid I saw fighting, and I suppose I was a bit frightened, but I forgot about it and when I went back in my early twenties I seen it and, it didn’t seem so bad like you know.

Social learning as outlined by the likes of Sutherland and Cressey (1978) concerning differential association, and the works of Bandura (1973, 1986) concerning observational and vicarious learning of both behaviours and attitudes through imitation and modelling is perhaps most useful at this level of analysis. Within the field there seems to be no tendency to psychopathic or sociopathic tendencies or anything like it, with sociability at a premium, and those who continually display questionable behaviour most usually shunned and avoided. This highly sociable behaviour has been witnessed again and again by me, and is demonstrable in the following ethnographic extract of an FA Cup game with Arsenal at their old Highbury Stadium;

The lads on the train are a mixture of ages and the youngest in our group is young G who at 18 stands at one end of the scale while some of the older lads are in their forties. Among the lads are some that I haven’t seen for a long time and I spend much of the journey catching up on old times and laughing and joking about the day ahead and what might happen in London. The charley has made its entrance and the drink is beginning to kick in, and the carriage has now taken on a slightly different feel; everyone is starting to get up for it....... Big C, DD and the rest of the lads are playing cards with the banter flowing thick and fast, everyone is laughing and joking and there is a buzz in the carriage and the rest of the train as we travel through the English countryside...... By the time we are approaching Paddington the party has been in full swing for the last couple of hours and everyone is now on top form. We all say amongst ourselves that we will stick together whatever happens, and we pull in to the station.

Developing a terrace career, length of attachment to club, and the activity

The levels of involvement and commitment to following Cardiff City and the carrying out of hooligan activities by those involved, are highly suggestive of a situation as described by Matza (1969) whereby the lad’s are the active architects of their own identity with constant
decisions made to remain within the game, though with drift occurring at various times. Within the group members ranged in age from eighteen up to the mid and late fifties with constant socio-cultural reproduction an ongoing feature, as the field has strong youth- adult bridging properties as already shown by Robson (2000). This level of commitment to the activity is probably best understood in terms as outline by KTY in describing his early involvement:

KTY: well I got arrested when I was 16 Cardiff City versus Wolves, that was my first arrest, so yeah at 15 or 16, I started to go away then and mix, mix with the older boys like, like the FG’s and what-have you like, you know I wasn’t sort of in their company but I was in awe of them like, you know what I mean. And, like I’d just be hanging on to their coat tails basically like, and trying to copy them, you know what I mean, and I loved it I’ve got to be honest, it was fantastic all my, imagine being 15, 16 I didn’t have a lot of money I just started work, my wages were £16 a week, 16 years old and £16 a week for my wages, and it all used to go on football, everything, you know what I mean. And, I was just hooked on it for, I’d say a good, well until I had the life ban which has come on later like.

If we consider that KTY is now 47 and the likes of FG and Big S still attend and are now in their fifties, this pattern of attachment and subscription to a harsh masculinity is seen continuously at the club and is continuously reconstructed within the field.

The participants of the research that I travelled with and who I still travel with regularly all showed a lengthy involvement within the game, with all becoming involved by their teenage years and half within their first season of attendance, confirming the assertions of Jones and Rivers (2002) and Pennant (2002) concerning the socialisation process involved within the field. The work of Sutherland and Cressey 1 (1978) concerning differential association in a variety of settings is once again useful, as all the lads seemed to describe a situation where rationalised choices are continually made to engage with the activity on a recurring basis. The levels of involvement and commitment to following Cardiff City and the carrying out of hooligan activities, are suggestive of the situation as described by Matza (1969) whereby the lad’s are the active architects of their own terrace identities with constant decisions made to remain within the game whatever the sanctions or recriminations are placed on them as individuals or as a group.

The idea of drift as outlined by Matza must also be given credence as when a football identity is established this can be picked up and put down at any stage depending on what is

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1 Ideas within the work are concerned with how people learn specific behaviour within specific fields and how this behaviour becomes highly normalised within the context in which it occurs, rather than being seen as an aberration or defective behaviour on the part of those who engage in it.
happening both within the individuals wider life and accounting for football related factors as this affects the ability to attend, both in terms of legitimacy, and time and money. This has been apparent throughout the research with NLY and the General both serving bans for football related disorder. On a different level MTH and M both showing drift from the activity due to external factors with MTH joining O in going back to playing Saturday league football, and M’s military commitments. Probably the strongest indicator of drift though was to myself and my own ability to attend on a personal level as I moved over to Northern Ireland to live with my partner. Even though I have attended this season this was severely curtailed considering my normal rates of attendance; although I did go to the Cup final and I do have a season ticket for next year, this is tempered with the reality that I will not be able to attend as much as I would have in the past. The variety of factors that can cause drift would include work and family commitments, and the example of FG will prove illuminating who when commenting on his continued attendance at away games stated:

FG: yeah quite regular and I’ve been to a couple this season so far, while we are trying to save a few pounds for the holidays, and of course the Valley Rams coaches have stopped going....

The above quote is representative of the group and just goes to show the variety of factors that may affect attendance, and these factors are encountered by all members of the group to varying degree making attendance of away games a commitment on a financial level, but also in terms of the individual’s time and effort.

Individual and group career; developing a terrace identity from the peripheral to a central position

This pattern of involvement moving from the peripheral towards a central position within the group is easily demonstrated across a range of ages and the involvement of the General who started attending Cardiff City matches at the age of 12 provides further understanding when he states that:

G: The first time was when I was thirteen played Bristol City away, and there was a hell of a lot of violence, cos it was in the papers with everything cos people were locked up and they were taken away on buses like, there were so many being locked up, and that was my first away game, and was the start for the next thirty odd years

JW: and what did you think of it all, did it make you excited or was you frightened, or what?

G: you get, you get a buzz, you get one hell of a buzz, yeah it did get me excited yeah.
Further levels of involvement by the General moved towards more active participation into the activity as shown when he states:

G: I'd say about fourteen, I started to throw stones and hang around the ground, and, and just try to muck in with the older boys and you do your bit and show willing and, you show you can do it like.

Given this understanding Big C, who first attended the football at Cardiff City at the age of ten would provide another lucid example of this pattern of involvement when he states that:

BC: Well, I, at a few of the home games would see the odd scuffle at the back of what was the End where everyone used to congregate, which then was the Grange End. And they'd fight among each other and I was sort of drawn towards that you know, wondering what it was all about. But my first actual experience of rival fans was when I went to Wembley, I was only 11 and went with my cousins and it was an home international between England and Wales, and after the game particularly it was just, well mass brawls really throughout the Wembley car parks, and to a kid that age it was just scary but also fascinating, something that I thought yeah when I'm a bit older I wouldn't mind being a part of all that, so I would say that was my first real experience of it.

He then goes on to show how he moved further from the periphery of the activity towards a more active involvement:

BC: I was throwing the odd stone here and there, and trying to stick the odd sneaky boot in at brawls when I was about thirteen, fourteen something like that you know, I was on the fringes of it because there were a lot of grown men in there, and I didn't want to get too close to it but you know if I wasn't involved in it I was a sort of a voyeuristic tendency to have a look at things you know, it was something that really did interest me, it was something that did get my senses tingling so to speak.

The above quotes all describe a situation where the individual moves from a peripheral to a more centralised position as age and ability in performative terms allow, and though in no way inevitable, the pattern described is most often the usual trajectory of an individuals career in football violence and terrace culture.

The development of centralised scripting, and the celebration of habitus
Within the research undertaken all evidence would suggest that the relationship between individual and club is one of affective identification, where the club plays a central role in salient social identity of each individual involved (Ellemers et al 1999, Wann et al 2001). Within the research; rather than seeing the fighting followers of Cardiff City as limited on any level, all evidence points to a commitment to a specific form of social identity based on a hard hegemonic masculinity, highly informed by the areas specific socio-historic and socio-cultural
identity. Participation in the activity and general involvement in the field certainly allows those involved to participate in what Blackshaw (2003), would consider the 'laddish' behaviour of friendship groups, perhaps being best understood as being motivated by the need for a 'solid' ontological security, as individuals now live in a state of liquid modernity (Bauman 2000); although this research would situate this as occurring within a form of highly reflexive modernity, and the shifting role expectations as proposed by Giddens (1991). If we accept the above points in any way we would need to think in terms of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft as proposed by Durkheim (1949). If this is the case, then the football hooligan community and field of football generally, represents such a site in society, allowing as it does for the individual to maintain a steady self-identity (Giddens 1991) and comparatively reliable relations to others within the field, through the regular production and reproduction of the conditions of the field.

As shown by the likes of Boyle and Haynes (2000) football is highly commodified in the same way as other sports given massive amounts of television coverage. This however, is just one side of football, and Boyle and Haynes (2000) show that for a great number of people each football club has always had its own socio-cultural concerns. The difference between self-selection and self-categorisation at a local and social level, and the elective membership toward successful Premier League clubs is perhaps best outlined in the following interview quotes. In response to which football clubs they disliked the most, and choosing clubs other than Swansea who were universally disliked and those who chose clubs due to personal grievances there was also the dislike for the following:

**MC:** Man United, Liverpool, Chelsea, Tottenham, all the big clubs really, because the thing that I hate more than Swansea, the thing I hate more is the fact that you get kids from, you know, from Wales wearing Man United shirts, and Chelsea shirts and Liverpool shirts I always say, if I see someone in a Man United shirt what, what part of Manchester are you from? Never fucking been there you know, it’s you know, and its they say they like supporting a big club, if they all got their arses down to Ninian Park we’d be a fucking big club? I’d rather someone, say my hatred for Swansea, I’d have more respect for somebody from Swansea wearing a Swansea shirt than wearing a Man United shirt, at least they are supporting their local club. I’ve got nothing but absolute contempt anybody who supports, you know, a club that isn’t their local club or that they have no connections to. You wouldn’t say I’m not a Welsh football supporter I support Angola, or the Czech Republic, you support your local team, but for some reason all these cocks think that it’s, you know, it’s OK to support Man United, and Liverpool, and Chelsea, hatred for them, complete contempt.

**G:** I suppose I don’t like the Manchester Uniteds and stuff like that because footballs all about money, and they can just buy who they want, and sort of win, buy the League in effect, that’s partly why I don’t like clubs like that, but obviously at a local level it’s
Swansea and the feelings quiet strong on how much you really detest them, I don't know why but you feel it in your heart and you feel aggressive sick about it, its quiet strong like.

This duality of existence, leads one to the conclusion that at this level of reality each football club can only be understood in terms of its own specific socio-historic development, and interests of the specific fan base that it represents. These ideas are consistent with those of the social psychologists and quite easily understood as described by MC who states:

MC: the reason that I have been involved in violence in a way was to fight for my football club you know, it wasn’t to fight for myself and be the ‘big un’ you’re fighting for your club, I’m passionate about my football and about my football club and the violence sort of came with that.

The field of football has from its inception provided a forum (arena) where in-group and out-group identities are polarized within a competitive environment (Ellemers et al 1999), making unfavourable comparison with the other groups who inhabit the arena commonplace. Each group within the field is provided with a site in which competitive and antagonistic displays are enacted, and where the influence of the carnival is particularly strong. Within this context relations are informed at a variety of levels most notably; field specific social relations, relations based on localised social relations, and national relations most usually occupying a super-ordinate task position. Football violence has occurred from the beginning whenever opposition fan groups have come into contact, and as the arena provides a forum where identities are up for grabs, these have been contested from the very start. Competitive encounters between fan groups within the field are acted out within a ritualised context utilising ideas based around the well understood concepts of masculinity, courage and fair play expressed through physical fighting.

Field specific social relations, and a hierarchy of meaning.

The approach most useful in understanding rivalries emanating from within the field, and those motivated by more complex social factors can be found in the work of social psychologists Ellemers et al in which it is stated:

It emphasizes that we need to understand social conflict as psychologically meaningful, as an expression of how people define themselves socially and of their understanding of the reality of their intergroup relationships. (1999:19)

Within this context relations are informed at a variety of levels most notably; field specific relations, relations based on localised social relations, and national relations occupying a
hierarchy of meaningfulness with national identity most usually as a super-ordinate task, though there is variation when the local enmity is to strong for those to share the arena even for the greater good. Some suitable British examples of locally occurring rivalries are Millwall-West Ham (Robson 2000) and Sheffield Wednesday-Sheffield United (Armstrong 1998), Cardiff City-Swansea City, Portsmouth-Southampton, and Celtic-Rangers. The research conducted at and around these football clubs, as well as the research conducted by myself, points to a situation where each group of fans understand its own club in terms of their social identity and define themselves in relation to the other groups that it shares geographic space or borders with, as well as other groups within the field. Each group in the above studies is provided with a site in which competitive and antagonistic displays are enacted. Within this context it is worth pointing out the way in which the group construct our nearest and dearest rivals Swansea City FC, as well as the fan groups’ relationship with the followers of Wrexham FC and Newport County FC.

Cardiff City FC and Swansea City FC

There is very little mixing of the groups due to the geography of the region (the cities are fifty miles apart) and Gwyn points to this being an informing factor in the relationship between the fan groups and this is backed by the likes of Big M who would contend that it is only since he has had business interests within Swansea is he ready to recognise them as individuals rather than the constructions that only meet under antagonistic circumstances. The group construct Swansea City and its fans in negative terms and we know them as ‘The Gypos’ and imagine that they live ‘In their Swansea slums’, any opposition seen as lacking are asked ‘Are you Swansea in disguise’. There is also a genuine resentment held by the inhabitants of Swansea concerning Cardiff’s capital city status (Jones and Rivers 2002). Within the field, Swansea City played in the old Division One led by John Toshack a Cardiff City old boy. The informing factors in the relationship between the fans of the two clubs may therefore be seen as representing civic rivalry, active differentiation and contested notions of authentic ‘Welshness’, as well as specific football related issues. The active differentiation and dislike is so strong it challenges the notion of national identity as holding a super-ordinate task position within the field because as Big C states:

Big C: It’s pure hatred it is, they, they are despised and they despise us there’s no doubt about it, the hatred, we can’t even get on at away games for Wales you know, if Cardiff and Swansea were to meet in say Italy, as happened in Milan they are into each other they’re not thinking about the Italians, and which is why when we go abroad with Wales
you'll always see Cardiff City fans looking for Swansea fans because the hatred is, it runs that deep, it does. Being that when other English clubs can come together under the collective thing of England, but Welsh clubs can't seem to do that, so I'd say yeah there's a particularly bad rivalry.

Differences between the fan groups (Cardiff City and Swansea City) may be understood in terms of the authentication issues similar to those shown in the work of Armstrong (1998) and Robson (2000), and is concerned with both primacy, and active differentiation among the social/fan groups. When Tony Rivers talks in the Soul Crew book of the group marching through Swansea shouting ‘Wales Number One, Wales, Wales Number One’ this clearly illustrates the aim of achieving primacy, as does the chanting of We are your Capital, We are your Capital. On the level of active differentiation Cardiff City fans sing ‘I'll be there, I'll be there, with my little pick and shovel I'll be there’ pointing towards the area’s industrial heritage, and their pride in this. The influence of the Coalfields and the Docks mean that there is very little Welsh speaking amongst Cardiff fans due to the influx of workers from both around Britain and mainland Europe, and the salient social identity (Ellemers et al 1999) is one based on a shared industrial heritage (coal mining, docking and steel working), and social history rather than ideas of distinct ethnic/racial identity and Welsh speaking.

Given the socio-cultural transmission that occurs at each specific football club the followers of Cardiff City who are yet to encounter the fans of Swansea City are well aware of this central narrative and frame their understanding of the issues as follows:

MTH: well, there's definitely pure hatred there aint it, you know from history, I've never really had the personal experience of playing a match against Swansea, I've never been down there but from what I've seen and what I've been told you know, you know they think, we think they're scum, they think we're scum basically I think it will always stay the same even though they are supposed to be our fucking fellow country-men, Welsh boys, but I don't know we just don't see them like that. We can't stand them really.

NLY: well to be honest I've never witnessed a derby so I can't, I couldn't really comment on, really get into it and say the Jacks this, the Jacks that I just, I've always, because it's a local derby I hate the Jacks, but I've never really, I've never really witnessed a derby so I couldn't really say to be honest. Swansea, because its our biggest rivals but like I've said I've never seen a, you know, I've never seen a derby like so, it is Swansea 'cos its our local derby it's just natural.

The negative construction of those from Swansea and especially those that follow the football team is widespread and this rivalry carries on outside of the arena and has been witnessed by myself in a variety of settings and even whilst doing military service and this point is easily demonstrated by M who states that:
M: Umm, I know there is a big, there is a big thing there, umm, I know some Swansea boys, umm I don't fucking particularly like them, I got a couple of army boys actually who are Swansea Jacks and they are full on into it as well but, where as with all the other football fans I know in the army we can chat and have a laugh with, with Swansea boys, even though a couple of them are my mates there's constant abuse and fucking taking the piss, and you cant help, you cant get on a level with the fuckers like. I've never actually been to a fucking Cardiff- Swansea game, I haven't had the fortune to go yet, but I can't fucking wait I really don't like the fuckers.

Of all those interviewed Kfy showed the least dislike for Swansea City fans as a group while the General was more indicative of the group when he suggests:

Well, from a personal point of view, and the way I have grown up I do hate them with a passion. Well one of the things is this Union Jack thing, and this is down to being welsh again, and you associate the Jacks with the Union Jack which I totally and utterly disagree with, but it doesn't seem to bother them, and that's what gets my goat I'll be honest with you.

This relative heterogeneity and homogeneity is an issue between the fan groups, and research conducted by myself confirms a situation as shown by Lowles (2001) who demonstrates that in recent times Cardiff City fans, and more specifically the black lads from the Docks have told those with racist views to keep these off the agenda. This refusal to accept overt racism has followed on from a situation outlined by Jones and Rivers (2002) in the clubs past where racist activists were told that there would be no all white crew at the club, as this was unwanted. In situations that can be regarded as back of house (Ellemers et al 1999) there certainly is overt racism but this can be seen as being linked to active media portrayal of immigration, fundamentalist Islam and certain peoples perceptions of these issues as seen within in the confines of the moral panic rather than there being any consensus among Cardiff City fans. The situation at Swansea City is seen by Cardiff City fans as being different. And this understanding of the group is backed by recent research which found that at Swansea City, the more homogenous all white group has perceived widespread racist involvement both at leadership and member level (Lowles 2001).

Cardiff and Wrexham

At the club there is active differentiation between those who follow Wrexham and those who follow Cardiff in terms of ‘Welshness’ but there is an accommodation of each other especially within the remit of following the national team. When the Welsh national team play as Big C suggests:

The Welsh, you think of the Welsh firm, the national firm and you just think of Cardiff, and a few Wrexham. You know them tramps down the road they, they don't even go,
you know the Swansea supporters they, they're not welcome so, and Newport basically the same

There is also the widespread feeling at the club that Wrexham are quite hard done by and that many at the club feel sorry for them as they are no longer seen as being competitive on the field of play; and there is genuine sorrow that they fell out of the league rather than the glee that would have followed the relegation of Swansea City from the football league as when this was a real possibility there were T-Shirts on sale around the streets outside Ninian Park celebrating and revelling in their difficulties.

Cardiff and Newport County

There is very little active differentiation between the followers of Newport County FC in terms of social identity issues and most active dislike is centred on football hooligan issues. This dislike is centred on the seeming willingness of NCFC fans to climb aboard other fan groups attempts to attack the Cardiff contingent and unsuccessful attempts by their hooligan following to attack and supplant the Cardiff contingent as the main force within the Welsh national football firm.

Cardiff City fan’s and England

Having discussed the relationship between Cardiff and the other Welsh clubs fan groups, there also needs an explanation of the relationship between Cardiff City fans and English clubs and the England national football team. All events witnessed, would suggest that Holt (1989) and Cronin and Mayall (1998) are correct in identifying sport as an essential component in the two-way cultural formation of national identity, with national identity within the field occupying a position of super-ordinate task (Ellemers et al 1999). This would seem to undermine the findings of B.B.C.2s Hooligans; Kicking Off, and the programmes’ Soul Crew investigation may be seen more in line with the work of Cohen (1972) concerning numbers of Cardiff hooligans actively following England. The individuals concerned may be better understood in light of the extensive networking that occurs between individuals who share common interests, rather than any general trend. Cardiff City fans have many English rivals but all games featuring English opponents involve nationalistic connotations as the group differentiate themselves from them.
In terms of active differentiation and in terms of feeling at the club there is widespread dislike of the England team and this is probably best understood in terms as outlined by the General who when we talked at length in the interview explained:

G: I hate England with a passion and I'll never deny that, outside football I'll talk to them but,

JW; so can I stop you by there so again, what you're differentiating there is between personal level which means you don't mind individual people but as a nation.

G; I hate England with a passion,

JW; its on that level is it, its on that level you're coming at, you don't mind English people to talk to if they are alright.

G; if they are alright yeah.

JW; but the nation you dislike the most is the English.

G; but I assume the English, the English and the Yanks are the most arrogant race on this planet as far as I am concerned.

JW; yeah,

G; the English think they are above everything like, and I totally hate them yeah

However as shown by Big S not everyone chose England, although he like others like Gaz blamed the English Press for harping on about the past glory of the English national team. This differentiation and understanding of the construction process involved is shown quite nicely in the following:

KTY: National team, England, England just because never mind what happens right, no matter what Wales do it will never get reported tidy in the press right, umm, we get England, we get 1966 we've had it slammed down our throats ever since 1966 so, it's 41 years ago like you know what I mean, yeah its just, they are so up themselves England aint they you know what I mean, and you know Wales went to Slovakia two weeks ago and come away with a 5-2 win and England are losing 5-1 at home but you know what I mean it didn't get a mention in all the press, it obviously did in the Echo but in the British press you get a little piece like that, so that's why I hate England so much, I also hate Scotland 'cos twice they have cheated us out of a world cup.

Big S saved his main enmity centred on Scotland for purely football reasons as they are widely seen as having cheated Wales out of a place in two World Cups. Big S also had an active dislike of Germany, France and Italy and was highly competitive against all others much the same as Big C.
When Wales played England at home in the last World Cup qualifiers Cardiff City fans numbered in their high hundreds were all visible in close proximity to the stadium, and the group of eighty led by Big C, that included myself, joined with hundreds more at the Gatekeeper Pub opposite the Millennium Stadium to oppose any threat from the English. Cardiff City fans have many English rivals but all games featuring English opponents involve nationalistic connotations as the group differentiate themselves from them. This level of interaction is probably best understood in terms of the following conversation at last years home game with Wolves:

JW: They are going mental in there fella (Both sets of opposing fans in the Grange End)

TC: it's always the fucking same Sid (the author), you know why?

JW: whys that fella?

TC: Well whenever Cardiff play, and Wrexham, and even the fucking Jacks, they're doin it for Wales, it's always the same, fucking England flags n fucking chariots, fuck em.

This nationalistic rivalry however points to an extremely sophisticated level of interaction between various fan groups within the arena, and just simply to blame the violence that occurs whenever Cardiff City meets English opposition down to simple prejudice would be both mistaken and reductionist. The following views probably represent the situation more accurately:

M: I think it certainly spices things up for us, it would go off anyway 'cos its not just Welsh clubs against the English clubs, there's a lot, its massive football violence throughout England, so it probably wouldn't be so much of an issue but its always, it's always a little factor there, always and it definitely does make things a bit better for our point of view 'cos it's Wales-England every week for us, I mean not a lot of teams have got that, I think it's a good thing to have.

Big G: well, if you ask Welsh people that, then most will say England, but it's partly the rivalry thing again, its Wales and England isn't it and we know that it's a media thing its like Welsh, a lot of Welsh football fans hate Welsh rugby, it's not they hate Welsh rugby it's they hate the bias treatment that the press give welsh rugby, and we hate the bias treatment that English football gets you know... And, when England win its England, and when England lose its British failure, it's, it's that sort of thing we dislike so I will, we will say England but, you know when they play teams like Germany, if they play Germany in the world cup final I'd want England to win...and its not hatred its too strong a word, it's the rivalry thinking we set ourselves up for it, but its great then when we beat England, or we can play and beat them, for such a small country it's a good feeling we can
compete and call ourselves rivals at times ... so we hate them only in as much as we hate them because they are big brother and we have got to accept that.

As seen in the above accounts regarding the two groups; those involved while expressing opinions in slightly different terms, all show an understanding of the issues in a relatively sophisticated manner with both the socio-historical and socio-cultural factors involved being outlined and explored.

Masculinities and football cultures

The recognition of Cardiff City as a split club on many levels is essential, and there must also be the understanding that the group is loosely formed and heterogeneous, with members of the group drawn from a fan base that includes both Cardiff itself and the South Wales valleys. Patterns of employment within the group range through all areas of the black economy, construction, manufacture and the service sector reflecting the post industrial economy of the area. Membership of the hooligan fraternity is split at the club with those of a football casual orientation more involved in field specific socio-cultural activities as shown in the following quote:

BC: Yes, more, more so at home, um I did have a bit of a thing with a Russian who was one of the ones that battered us in Moscow, which is quite ironic when you look at it but um, I haven’t heard from him in a while now, so maybe he’s in some Gulag somewhere, or something I wouldn’t know, but it’s quite possible over there. But over here yes, I’ve got um, friends at quite a few different clubs, I’ve got um, quite a lot of mates in the London area; Charlton, Millwall, West Ham, Chelsea, umm up north, Leeds I’m particularly close with up north which is quite ironic considering the history between Cardiff and Leeds. Umm, Birmingham, Aston Villa, yeah I’ve got quite a few acquaintances at, umm, some better than others, but I’ve, I’ve been invited to umm, quite a few different occasions with these people, and I have taken them up on a few times and I’ve been treated really, really well when I have been at these places, so yes I’ve got quite a few acquaintances now throughout the clubs.

In terms of those who display the casual persuasion, the look to be achieved is hegemonic in attitude and has incorporated elements of previous sub-cultural styles in a manner of ‘bricolage’ to produce a style that is acceptable to participants of the activity. When discussing the impact of the casual movement both within the field of football and wider society, there should be the acknowledgement that for the first time the form of socio-cultural transmission was from the terraces outwards, rather than in the past where wider fashions had been imported on to the terraces. The casual look though born of nessecity soon took hold and developed along lines that were acceptable to those who participated in football hooliganism. The influence of the casual look on the terraces around Britain cannot be underestimated, and
such is the proliferation of the look that Thornton (2003) uses the term ‘Clone Island’ in recognition both that the label is often copied, but also ubiquitous on the terraces. The widespread diffusion of the casual look both at the football, and in wider society is indicative of the durability of both the style and the scene.

The central concerns of standing ones ground, and the substance of a person at individual level are seen as far more important in the specific group context than the ability to display casual competence. An understanding of Tolsons’ The Limits of Masculinity (1977) is essential at this level of generality as it points to the situation in which the working class adolescent engages in the collective ‘performance’ of masculinity where each individual tries to affect and maintain a suitable bodily orientation. This bodily orientation should send out the correct signals, namely that the individual in question is capable of looking after themselves should the need arise and any understanding of the casuals as a socio-cultural category must be aware of these connotations as simply to be smart in the extreme would simply be fey rather than giving off the right signals as intended.

All research conducted by myself witnessed a situation where the individuals and group adopted an attitude which left the other group (whether opposing fans or Police force) in no doubt that the fan group were not to be fucked with in any way, shape or form and that any infraction on the group or individual would result in immediate retaliation. As the field encourages hegemonic masculinities, then the football casual look requires interpretation in this manner. Taking the understated look as the ideal, all research conducted by myself within the field backs the work of Robson who proposes that the look to be adopted was to be:

unambiguously masculine, overwhelmingly normatively guided, formally and stylistically uncluttered, attentive to detail and sharp. The style is conspicuous for its lack of sub-cultural spectacle, expressing an orientation to implicitly structured canons of taste and self-presentation (2000: 80).

The above concerns can clearly be shown to be shaped by highly hegemonic attitudes and acting as a signifier in terms of active and willing involvement in hooligan encounters as shown in the following quote:

M: yeah I always turn up in something, in something good like, but it’s mainly not to look like a fucking Gypo innit. Fucking I don’t really see the, see the need for designer wear at the football personally it’s just something that goes on and something that I do, that I am a part of as well it’s like a uniform really I do think like, I mean everyone, everyone knows who you are is the main thing, I suppose it might be easier for the police to spot you, but the main thinking behind it that I can see is, that other firms can see who you
are, and they know you're putting out a show and then they know where to fucking find you

When examining the casual influence at Cardiff City, the following statement would perhaps be most useful in relation to attitudes within the group as Big C has been involved in the casual scene from inception to present:

I do wear the clothes but; the most important thing to me is that someone stands there, I don’t care if they are wearing a fruit of the loom T shirt or a C.P Company Parka. It makes no difference to me, its more about the substance of the person, clothes don’t make the man, its secondary to me, but others might disagree.

The central concerns of standing ones ground, and the substance of a person at individual level as understood in terms of stoicism are seen as far more important in the specific group context than the ability to display casual competence. Membership of the hooligan fraternity is split at the club with those of a football casual orientation more involved in field specific socio-cultural activities than the self-styled ‘Barmy Army’ and ‘Valley Commandoes’ at the club. These fans are highly militant and could just as easily be wearing football tops as designer wear. Localised *habitus* as displayed by this part of the fan group is informed by specific socio-historical development, and on a proletarian basis, with industrial relations forming the basis of anti-authoritarianism, and open disdain for police. Within this part of the fan group there is often open disdain for those of a casual persuasion as shown in the following:

RC: and then the ‘Soul Crew’ come along then, who the fuck are they like? I bother with them and never been into them, but I know for a fact we’ve done worse things than they ever done, you know what I mean? Respect to them like and no offence right, but they never done half the things that we done before them, we grew up with that, they just come along know what I mean.

**Terrace legends and socio-cultural transmission.**

The importance of the Lads who have built a reputation at the club over the years cannot be understated in terms of the influence that they still have, and continue to have as the senior members of the group. An understanding of socio-cultural transmission and the ability of certain members of groups in terms of seniority and kudos within any group to shape narratives is essential. The likes of FG, Big S, KTY, Big G, MC, Big C and the rest show a development of a specific form of masculinity informed by Solidarity, Stoicism (staunchness) and fair play. The commitment to these ideals is seen at all games featuring Cardiff City and is reflected in all the groups interactions within the field with other fan groups, the police and
even (especially) amongst each other. The commitment to fair play or Chwarca Teg is outlined by Big G who in response to whether he thought the fan group was militant stated:

G: Well, if militant is fair minded then we are militant, because I think we are who we, we like fair play, and treat us properly and we'll respond properly, treat us badly you know, they wont bully us out of it, we've been put on all our lives, we see ourselves as put on, fighters and whatever, and a lot of politicians have come from this area, a lot of union people have come from this area because of the fair minded nature of you work hard, you succeed and whatever, and if that's militant then we are militant I suppose, but we don't accept unfairness and we don't accept bullying, backhanders or you know or keep quiet and we'll give you this and whatever, play the game, yeah we'll play the game but treat us properly, and you know it's respect among your friends is more important to us down here than social standing or whatever in some respects, or even achievement sometimes, its, its being able to look your fellow mate in your eye, and have a clear conscience that's important to us.

This commitment to fair play overarches the narrative developed amongst the lads and is highly informing in all individual and group interactions and influences ideas based on both solidarity and stoicism among the group. These ideas should provide the basis for further research rather than demonstrating that those involved are members of the lower working class. The work of Marsh et al (1978) should serve as a start point as within his research it was clearly suggested that those involved in football violence were utilising the code of Aggro as signified by masculinity, courage and fair play. An understanding of these continuing features is that it enables those who participate to frame their experience in terms of the heroic.

Throughout the research it was apparent that the group are militant in much the same way as clubs such as Millwall (Robson 2000) with all attempts at control within the field resisted, and not just by those labelled the hooligan element. Speaking to Big Gwyn, our club rep at a recent home game, we talked about his role at a recent police conference that he had attended on behalf of the group. Gwyn suggested, that the heavy handed approach the police had pursued over a number of years was now being accompanied with recognition that the more Cardiff City fans are pushed the more they resist. This understanding by the police of a self defeating policy may provide a sound basis for future relations within the field. In the 2006-2007 season, having slipped a cordon at Rotherham (the game was with Sheffield United although Sheffield as a City are often unwilling to entertain Cardiff City fans) with a few of the lads, the group was faced with members of the South Yorkshire police alongside our regular police spotters and there must be recognition that there was a cordial atmosphere as the lads were told to return to the cordon. This was renegotiated as food had been ordered, and
this softly, softly approach is definitely one worth pursuing, as the lads were amenable in the face of a reasonable request rather than the orders they won’t take.

Conclusions

Throughout the chapter there has emerged an argument that shows the socialisation of individuals within the field and existing social relations that they encounter. This clearly differentiates the work on many levels form that of Dunning et al (1989) and any simplistic or reductionist attitude towards football violence and terrace cultures. All observations and interactions within the field point to a situation where individuals are schooled informally, and in terms of actual practice concerning the followers of Cardiff City F.C. and their specific interactions with others within the field, both on contemporary and socio-historic levels. This pattern of socialisation and repeated interactions with the field leads to a specific set of relations to other groups sharing the space/arena and an understanding of these groups in shared terms.

Having developed an argument through research in terms of socialisation and shared meaning within this chapter, the following chapter will examine the violence employed within these interactions between Cardiff City fans and the other groups within the arena, including both other fan groups and the police employed to keep order within the field. The violent ritual, a cultural model of violence and the impact of the ‘heroic’ will be related to all groups within the field and related to wider society to better understand football violence as a recurring socio-cultural phenomenon and Cardiff City fans specific position in relation to these concerns.
Analysis Chapter 2

Fan violence, and the field reconsidered.

Introduction

As shown in the previous chapter, within the field of football the terrace career the individual is able to pursue at each football club allows for the individual to maintain a seemingly steady self identity, and comparatively reliable relations to others within the field. Within this context relationships are built on trust and reliability, and the contextualised masculinity developed is a highly informing component part of what Giddens (1991) terms a coherent narrative of the self. This continued socialisation, and the shared meaning that is developed, keeps individuals and friendship groups anchored within the confines of an overarching narrative continually reconstructed with each passing season. Within this context, the work of Armstrong (1998) in presenting participants as coming from a variety of social backgrounds is perhaps rather more helpful than the reductionist view of Dunning et al (1989). The revised view can be seen as both supporting the research undertaken on Cardiff City fans, and would also be seen as reflecting accounts from within the field (Jones and Rivers 2002, Pennant 2003) who would see the identity as being open to anyone with an interest.

Any understanding of the violence at and around football matches should take into account; differences between organised competitive violent encounters between football fans, tipping point incidents, and also violence between football fans and the various police forces that they encounter. The violence displayed can be of an orchestrated nature, conforming to a confrontational pattern (King 1995), or simply follow a flashpoint as outlined by Waddington et al (1987), and all types can be seen to constitute a public order threat. This chapter aims to outline the types of violence routinely encountered within the field and show how those that look for violent encounters can be understood as coexisting with those who are simply more than willing to fight if the opportunity arises within the arena. The role of the police will also be examined in relation to the violence that occurs within the field.
Just another violent ritual, and the utilisation of Aggro

The violence displayed at the football concerning Cardiff City fans, and members of other fan groups has been a constantly recurring feature since the 1960s. The violence witnessed at first hand by myself or reported to me can probably best be described in Blok's (2001) terms as being instrumental as it often settles a competitive violent encounter, yet with definite performative\(^2\) and symbolic aspects. As Blok shows:

"Both aspects are important and closely connected. It may be useful to see this relationship in terms of a continuum: some actions are more instrumental, other actions are more expressive" (2001: 107-108).

Seeing the violence displayed at the football in such a manner has obvious benefits and therefore seeking to understand if the violence is instrumental or expressive, no longer becomes an issue; and the researcher can move on to understanding why the use of violence occurs rather than dwelling on the differences between performative or symbolic aspects of its application.

The use of violence within the field allows for the imposition of will on another group, with the result the same as in football i.e. the ability to win lose or draw with your opponent. Within the field of football, as within any other social field (Bourdieu1990), dominance is of vital importance. Many Cardiff City fans as well as supporters of different clubs have over the years, by a small leap of imagination applied the same sporting/competitive analogy as observed on the field of play to themselves and their group (Jones & Rivers2002 and Pennant 2002), thereby allowing themselves become more interactive with the contest. Within this context the fans with the most proficiency in aggro, gain the greatest amount of power, prestige, status and honour within the activity, Cardiff City fans standing within this remit, is both performance related and informed by their historical standing in relation to the activity. The influence of carnival\(^3\) within the field is also clearly evident, and provides a situation where normal hierachizing principles are negated and often subverted. The behaviours displayed within the field as witnessed by myself varied in range from harmless outpourings at group level on one hand, and organized violence on the other, being indicative of the range

\(^2\) Ideas based around performativity must always note that these actions are meant to be carried out in the face of an intended audience in order to gain as much kudos and recognition as possible, through correct or even spectacular demonstration.

\(^3\) As a leisure site, football has always been influenced by the carnival, as noted by the likes of (Pearson 1983, Giulianotti 1994, 2001) and applying this idea to the events surrounding football Giulianotti shows the influence of carnival within the field, suggesting a situation where identities are up for grabs. As a site of leisure influenced by the carnival, the field is open to a range of behaviour and any account of the carnival should also note the 'grotesque' and other negative aspects as shown by Robson (2000).
of possibilities available at individual and group level, within this competitive arena. Within the arena there was a clear reliance on the mobilisation of fans, and also on the performative aspects of fandom.

Cardiff City fans within the term of the research continually supplied a large presence at both home and away games of those willing to embrace these various aspects of fandom. Within this framework, the Cardiff City ‘Soul Crew’ or simply its hooligan following, can be considered one of the main players within the game over the last 10-15 years, having had a variable position in the field up until the 90s. This situation has led Eddie Curtis Head of England Police Spotters 1998-2000 to state categorically on British television that:

"Since Euro 2000 some of the worst hooligan activities on mainland Britain, and the largest number of hooligans that can be turned out are by Cardiff City." (Hooligans; Kicking Off 2002)

Within the game/contest of football hooliganism, the hooligan followers of Cardiff City certainly do now occupy a position of power that far outweighs their achievements on the accredited field of play (Bowen et al 2002), and their position is reflected both in their historic relation to the activity, as well as being performance related on a contemporary level.

Rather than seeing Cardiff City followers in a position of super-hooligan group within the arena, my constant interactions with them would suggest a situation where although Cardiff City do have quite large numbers of Category C hooligans within the fan group they probably have one of the highest, if not the highest number of potential Category B type fans in Britain. This understanding of the group is essential in terms of policing as rather than dealing with a highly organised criminal group, the police forces of England and Wales are dealing with large numbers of football fans who display a harsh form of masculinity and who are more than willing to fight if challenged in any way with both other fan groups and the police. This masculinity is observable across age groups from those who are in their fifties at one end and those in their teens at the other, and being continually reconstructed at the club. This form of masculinity and also many of the groups involvement in football violence is probably best understood in the following responses when asked if they attended the football solely to fight with rival fans:

Big G: no, I’ve never done that, but saying that you get a buzz, especially early on when Man United were coming up, and Chelsea, you wanted the possibility of that confrontation, you wanted the adrenaline rush, seeing thousands of away fans there, testing yourself you know, I’ve never gone anywhere, you know fifty of us against you in the pub for a fight, my attitude is if I’m that in need of a fight I can get on a bus now and
go up to Aberdare town centre on a Friday night and pick my fight, I don’t have to travel to London just to have a fight. It can be part of the day that you might get caught up in it but I’ve never gone anywhere specifically, just to have a fight or whatever, you go to some places knowing that there’s more likely-hood at certain away matches, but then that increases the excitement of sticking together and testing yourself, as you could say.

MC: No, I can honestly say hand on my heart, no, I’m a massive, massive football fan, umm, always have been, football has always been first, I went through a stage, several years where the violence was, quite an important part but you know, I’m not one of these people who leave the ground at half time to go and try to ambush people, I went predominantly for the football, football has always been the number one.

Big J: No, there’s never been solely or pre-arranged, but if it has happened it’s happened like. That’s the way I go about it.

This is not to say that Cardiff City do not have large numbers willing to fight with some more willing to make this a primary reason for their attendance. Many of those fans engaged with within the field, and also those interviewed; when asked if they went to the football simply to fight on certain occasions admitted that they did, as the following show:

Big C: I suppose that I would have to say yes to this as well, I have done, yes I have done, we’ve gone to places like Newport where it has been just invite only, where you know a certain group of us have met up in a pub, we’ve travelled in cars to avoid detection, and arraigned with Newport to meet them, and have it out with them, with about eighty of us and about a hundred or more of them, but the best laid plans went to waste again, because just as we were getting towards were we were supposed to have been the police spotted us, I suppose a group of eighty people walking through the streets of Newport is hardly inconspicuous, and there’s been plenty of times again when we’ve gone to Newport again to have it with Everton and Millwall when our game was called off with Millwall, there’s been Swansea plenty of times, Bristol yes there’s been countless times really I suppose where we have gone just for a punch up yeah. Sometimes we haven’t even bothered with the games, so yes.

G: Well, we have done yeah, quite a few times to be honest with you, but yeah more years ago, Millwall was, the fighting was more, more important probably than the football itself like. They, they thought they were top boys, and used to treat us like shit and that’s when, we Cardiff started getting together when we played sides like that. And we’d stick together and we’d show them who’s, who’s boss virtually. That’s what it was all about, that and defending your crew, and in our case our country like.

The above show clearly that those who do attend certain matches solely to fight attach a high degree of meaning to their actions, and that the violence that does occur occupies a hierarchy of meaning within the specific context in which it occurs. The juxtaposition of game and hooligan activity can change in relation of importance as suggested by Jones & Rivers (2002) and Thornton (2003) according to a variety of factors such as strength of the rival group to be
encountered, perceived grievances with said group etc, etc. In other words, it will depend on how determined each group is to meet the other, even if that means missing the football in pursuit of a hooligan encounter, and as this is the central element of their game they will go to great lengths to facilitate this. In fact all these descriptions point to levels of interest and involvement required to engineer a situation where engagement with the opponent is possible, providing they are wearing the right symbolic identifiers as it is seen as bad form to attack the ‘pop and crisp crew’. Also, there is recognition of the situation whereby football fans relations within are informed from within the field but also influenced by the wider society on which it is dependent (Armstrong 1998, Robson 2000). This is not to say that ordinary citizens or football fans who have no interest in violence do not get caught up in football violence or attacked, but that this is not the primary aim of organised football violence. Within the research undertaken at Cardiff City F.C. those willing to engage in violence with those opposing fans not perceived as being legitimate targets were routinely presented as being unworthy, gaining little or no kudos for their actions, but rather being seen as bringing disrepute and ridicule on those willing to engage in what was seen as right and proper combative encounters.

In the participation of football violence, the group studied showed a great deal of reflexivity (Bourdieu 1990) through the ability to innovate in the face of constraints. Seeing their activities performed in relation to a game/contest entered into by ‘the lads’ of each separate club, all of the group were willing to suffer beatings, arrest, and surmount their own fears in their engagement with the activity. Allied to this the group were willing to travel large distances, paying large sums of money on regular occasions in their participation. Members of the group were able to fully utilise all available technological resources in order to engineer the unsupervised meeting of opposing groups, and for the self reporting of hooligan activities. In terms accessible to all, the individuals showed a commitment to the group and the group was committed to the arena as regular followers of the football club both home and away. Whether dedicated to the perusal of football violence or simply a regular follower of Cardiff City the possibility of violence or trouble seems to many, almost an inevitability:

Big S: Yeah, yeah like everybody else who has followed Cardiff you can’t avoid it to be honest. Don’t matter how old you are I think, even my missus now has been involved in

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4 Robson (2000) uses the term commitment as forwarded by Stromberg (1986), however this research prefers to utilise an understanding of the term in a social psychological manner as presented by Ellemers et al (1999) as this is seen as perhaps being more usable in general terms by practitioners of the various social sciences.
a set-to and she is as quiet as a lamb. Following our club I think it tends to follow you around whether there is ten of you there, or ten thousand, there is always something likely to happen, especially at away games.

G: I've always gone to football just to watch the football really, because I do enjoy it, but if there's a fight involved sometimes, it's all a, it's all a bit of a bonus if the time was right like, you know. So I wouldn't say just for football but there's definitely an element that's why I do it for, why I do attend the football. It is part of it like, part of the day out like.

As the above makes clear what can be said with some certainty is that the levels of violent confrontations between Cardiff City fans and other groups within the arena have been increasingly facilitated by advances in public transport as noted by both Dunning et al (1988), and commentators within the field such as Pennant (2002) and Jones and Rivers (2002). The ability of large groups of fans to attend away games has led to a situation where conflict whilst not an inevitability is always a possibility. The research undertaken backs the assertions of both academic commentators and those within the field who show, that greater transport availability and the possibilities for independent travel (Jones and Rivers 2002, and Pennant 2002) suggest that the most fun to be had as a football hooligan happens away from home. The emergence of the Scottish brake clubs\(^5\) as shown by Guillianotti (1999) and later English involvement\(^6\) would suggest that football violence at away games has occurred throughout the 20\(^{th}\) century up until the present day in one form or another.

The specific research undertaken at Cardiff City F.C. by myself, and all my other observations and interactions within the field, have led me to agree with the findings of the work of Marsh, Rosser and Harre *The Rules of Disorder* (1978) which proposed that the participants attached a high degree of meaning to football violence. Also, as shown in Marsh’s *Aggro – The Illusion of Violence* (1978) football violence as perpetrated by Cardiff City fans can be said to be framed by a conceptual framework based around the traditional values of masculinity, courage, and fair play played out through physical fighting which are clearly visible and central concerns of those who participated in football violence at the club. Given this conceptual framework it can be said with some certainty that Cardiff City fans regularly enter into aggro as a means of conflict resolution. Escalations of violence above this level are not required within the game/contest (Jones & Rivers 2002) as the aim is to have

\(^5\) Groups of raucous fans supporting the Scottish ‘Old Firm’clubs both home and away (Murray 1984), often engaged in violent confrontations prior to first world war (Tranter 1995).

\(^6\) Groups of fans especially those from merseyside (Liverpool-Everton) throughout the 1950s and 1960s (Dunning et al 1989).
another meeting at the next fixture, rather than inflict serious injury, or maim the opposition although this may occur frequently.

This is not to say individuals do not receive serious physical assaults in the playing of the game but rather, the recognition that serious injury is not the intent. As witnessed by myself most violence was fists and feet being used against the person, but serious injury is always a possibility, as is the use of weapons, and when asked specifically about such incidents the following accounts provide good examples of incidents involving often serious injury:

Big S: Yes, a few times funny enough yeah Bristol City, got battered in Cardiff years ago 1971, Chelsea up there, got fucking hammered in Chelsea, Lincoln City, we've had a few pastings like, know what I mean, Leeds that's another one 74 the long walk back to the station, well, Pompey was a battle there's been some good 'uns like, Villa outside Villa Park in the early 70s, we've come unstuck a few times but that's part of learning innit. You, you know you can't beat every fucker, it's like, people say they've never been turned over it's a load of bollocks, we've been turned over a few times I think. We've run back in the ground a few times, Sheffield Wednesday in the mid seventies night game, Lincoln City the whole fucking town was waiting for us......sometimes it was fucking naughty.

MC: Yes, I have yes, yes I have been, I got quiet a bad scar down my stomach, I got attacked in the late eighties, and hit, hit in the ribs with a breezeblock which ruptured my spleen, quite, quite a bad injury.

There have also been considerable changes in the specific activities that constitute what is recognised as organised football hooliganism, from the 'taking of ends' and large scale riots to the 'taking of pubs' the activity is highly reflexive allowing for participation patterns ranging from two a side, up to hundreds a side, in a contested form of violence as the following quotes show the differences in activities that constitute football violence:

MTH: fighting with other fans have only ever happened once and that was when Cardiff played QPR in the play-off finals and it was only me and my mate D there, and we were about 19 at the time like, on our own, and the away fans were going home on the coaches, and we give a bit of banter 'yeah you are going down, fuck off like, all that, you're all wankers' whatever, and they go through the lights but one of the coaches hits a red, so they lets the boys off don't they, so a couple of them come off, we had a little scuffle like but we had to get out of there in the end like, 'cos about fifteen of them piled off the bus to us, like.

NBY: yeah, it's like its definitely been on top especially Sheffield United away, we entered their home Pub and as we left we got attacked by Sheffield United fans but we went there looking for it you know, so, what happened that's when I had a bottle thrown at me. I threw a bottle back and it was, we were outnumbered and I would probably personally say we were, may have been getting beaten because numbers wise but, we were, we had a good go.
The above excerpts clearly show the variety of possible violent interactions with other fan groups in both numerical terms and a variety of situations, and seen as contrasting with the large scale disturbances such as the one at West Ham in 2004. Large scale football violence and disorder at this level of generality is probably best shown in the following ethnographic excerpt collected at the game at Upton Park,

As we get outside the Police have lost control of the situation. The Cardiff City coaches are parked along the length of the Barking Road and as there are about 40 of them, the area is proving to be impossible to control by the Police. As they are stopping one group, another group are going for it and this is the pattern for the next hour or so. West Ham come across the road Cardiff stand there is a bit of a fighting and the West Ham lads either take a bit of a punching or retire to form up again. As this is going on there is skirmish after skirmish but very little property seems to be damaged. In fact during the middle of the skirmishing, an Off-License has remained open, and I amongst many others take the opportunity to stock up with a bit of liquid refreshment. The Cardiff fans are now completely at ease within the situation, as they seem to have had the better of the fighting and are happy in their performance. As we are waiting to depart, Big C phones one of their lad’s and asks him what he thinks of the events, and even at this stage, the result is given to Cardiff.

This attached meaning in relation to who had won, lost or drawn a specific encounter was negotiated among the group, with the other group involved via telephone and later by internet, and even set in type retrospectively within various popular books concerned with football violence.

Rather than an escalation towards violence as an inevitability, accounts from within the field (Jones and Rivers 2002, Pennant 2002) and researchers (Marsh et al 1978, Armstrong 1998) point to a situation where any engagement is conducted within the confines of a violent ritual, complete with its own code of conduct. If both sides feel that there is the chance of a mutual contest then there is the possibility of a ‘straightener’. Within the contest, physical violence and everyday objects picked up within the environment (Armstrong 1998) were seen by myself to be utilized in order to displace the opponents from the arena or beat them into submission. If numbers were mismatched the opposition were most usually the participants in a shaming ceremony rather than the victims of outright hostility and violence and this shaming was framed in chants such ‘Millwall, Millwall run, Millwall run from Cardiff’ suggesting their displacement from the arena and signifying their shame at this displacement,
or 'you came down on a skateboard, down on a skateboard' signifying their unwillingness to bring any lads to the game through fear of displacement and humiliation.

This understanding of this code of conduct is apparent in the following ethnographic account of the 2006 F.A Cup tie against Arsenal F.C. which clearly shows that violent encounter is not the only possible outcome when rival fans are encountered,

A couple of Chelsea get on the train and contrary to popular misconception they are not summarily set upon as they are beer monsters with football tops on, rather a couple of the lads chat to them as they take in the view of a train full of Cardiff, heading for London and a showdown with the famous Gooners. The next day I talk to Big C, and him and the lads spent the duration of the game talking to one of Everton's main faces and trying to get something sorted, nothing came of it so they had a laugh and a joke with the lad, and he went on his way with not a cross word spoken.

The research undertaken at Cardiff City F.C. also backs the work of Armstrong (1998) concerning Sheffield United's Blades Business Crew (B.B.C.) who found that the violence displayed by Sheffield United's football hooligan following was highly contingent upon temporal and contextual concerns rather than being any universal attribute amongst specific sections of working class men, especially when it is understood that there are many at the club who pursue aggro as a means of conflict resolution, but there are just as many if not more of the same class background who do not. It should be understood that while poor performance on the field is not the cause of football hooliganism, it may be a significant factor in making the activity an attractive proposition for the fans of many clubs such as Cardiff City who have attained very little glory on the accredited field of play. At this point however, it is essential not to simplify the activity as all teams have hooligans regardless of success or failure on the pitch. As all fan groups occupy the same environment and interact with other groups on a continual basis; many groups have had to learn to defend themselves, or remain the unwilling object of continual shaming ceremonies, that they as a group are not willing to endure.

**Police, their role, and the application of violence**

The various police forces around the country are not uniform in their treatment of Cardiff City fans, and at this level of analysis particular notice must be given to the ethnomethodologists who clearly show in their approach that each individual social
interaction is its own accomplishment and that no two are exactly the same. Whilst not in any way promoting or justifying football hooliganism as a social activity, within the culture of violence that has developed in the field of football the police are just as culpable as any of the other participants when it comes to utilisation of aggro. If this is the case as was often witnessed by myself as both a researcher and a fan, a more balanced approach would be of more use on a variety of levels, with a situational approach providing the best model available. The proper policing of the spatial corridors between the main transport links and the football stadium, and also surrounding the pubs used by recognised lads should be the order of the day as it already is in many cities within Britain. This method of policing is however not foolproof and it has been shown that usually the best that can be hoped to be achieved is the displacement of confrontations with rival hooligan groups from around the vicinity of the ground, often to highly peripheral locations away from stadiums and the large crowds within the vicinity.

If this style and level of policing was the model followed, it would immediately clear the way for a more enjoyable day for the followers of Cardiff City, who are often the subject of arbitrary and harsh treatment simply for supporting a team with a perceived super-hooligan following. This highly deterministic form of policing has led to assault being common place by police when both deserved and undeserved, as those when interviewed were asked if they had been assaulted by the police show:

Big C: Ha, yes, yes I have been assaulted quite badly once or twice as well some of it very unnecessary and some of it necessary I suppose, you know I mean I suppose if you put yourself on offer in these situations you’ve got to take the lumps that come with them, but yes the police can be a little to over zealous in dishing out their on the spot retribution so to speak.

NLY: yeah a few times, just, they are the worst, they are the worst really, they are worse than the rival fans.

M: Aye, probably more times than I should have considering I haven’t been actually doing it all that long. Umm, I’ve been hit with their bats on a number of occasions. The majority in all fairness to the police have been on the legs and all that, so they’ve just been clouting your legs, I suppose it’s crowd control innit. I don’t agree with it all the time, but its part and parcel of playing up, you can’t fucking go moaning and whinging about it. I mean I have been hit in the head by them as well and had my nose split open at the Tottenham home game, and probably deserved that fucker as well, so I’m not complaining like.

KTY: yeah, numerous occasions but the main one was Huddersfield away, the infamous one where, you know, we’d all gone to Manchester for a drink, we got off the train and, to be confronted, its all I can say, it was an army but horses and dogs, unbelievable we,
it was incredible there was only, I would say there was about 150 of us, three coaches there was about 150 of us, Manchester police, like, we’d had a laugh with them at the station and we were warned watch yourself in Huddersfield they are waiting for you right, by their, by, you know, by the police like so, but we, none of us expected what happened next then, we got, we got outside the station and you know, the, the only way I can describe it was like a war zone the only thing they didn’t have was tanks, they had every thing else and they started marching us towards the ground now and, like they were so aggressive it was unbelievable right, it was just, you know there was none of this, you normally have banter with the police and you can say how’s it going and that, and have a laugh, but this lot was just out for one thing right, and they were whacking you ......The Huddersfield fan’s started smashing windows in their Pub to get out, the police then just went absolutely berserk.

A greater level of incident specific policing, free of the connotations of the moral panic and negative socio-cultural transmission would certainly suit the supporters of Cardiff City and many other clubs, and would make a huge difference in the fans perception of the police who are often seen as very heavy handed. Police behaviour witnessed by myself time and again included; pushing fathers round in front of their kids, hitting teenagers about for pushing and shoving, the random application of violence etc, the list goes on and the effect is the same, namely the alienation of the fans from the police force that are supposed to best represent their interests within the field. If this is the case, then a more balanced approach would be of more use on a variety of levels.

Given the above concerns there must also be the recognition that policing is also an activity that has changed over the years and also that attitudes to those who are required to police football has changed over the years, and this is reflected by the following quotes concerning both the policing in the seventies and the changes that have occurred:

RC: that would be about ’71, ’72 mellowed out about 72, about ’73 I was thirteen, FA Cup again I think it was Cardiff and Sheffield United, but it might be Sheffield Wednesday but I’m not sure which one, and the old Grange End then, and they used to be stuck in the, they used to put them in the enclosures and they thought they was same as um, and they kicked right off and I was involved with that and I got arrested then, the first time I ever got arrested, well I didn’t actually get arrested I got chucked in the back of police van, took half way across fucking Cardiff and kicked out to find your own way home ,bit of a slap off the coppers, fucking few slaps off the coppers for being a naughty boy, fucking thirteen then.

Big S: yeah, a few times, yeah, been beat up by them in a fucking van and all by them, they was the early days they didn’t give a fuck then I accepted that then like, better that than getting nicked, fucking locked up overnight or something, but with a few, the Met used to be the best, the Met would rather give you a fucking clip than nick you I think like, I honestly believe that, they’d rather fucking give you a few belts and now fuck off home taff. Which suits us to be honest with you, when you was younger you’d fight
them back but now, as you’ve got older you know the rules like, the coppers, the coppers these days a different from the coppers 20 years ago, it’s like that show ‘Life on Mars’ I don’t know if you’ve ever seen that, that was the bollocks, that’s what the Police used to be. Fucking beat you up, now fuck off, and something, you’d rather that ‘cos the pettiness of the police these days it pisses you off like its sad really, but there you go.

The above show that while there has always been the application of violence on the part of the police within the field, there was also a deal of discretion involved in arresting individuals for minor infringements and rowdy behaviour. As the above point recognises the changes in police involvement within the field on a socio-historic level, there also needs to be some recognition of the differences in the policing of Cardiff City fans both home and away.

**Home Policing**

The home policing of Cardiff City fans as witnessed by myself was conducted most usually in a professional and highly organised manner being concerned as it is with the successful control of key spatial areas such as the train station and the appropriate spatial corridors to the ground. The relationship between the police and home fans approximates that shown in the work of Armstrong (1998), in that there is no sense of otherness, and the home support are not treated as a super-hooligan group (Murphy et al 1990) but taken on their own merits. Behaviour warranting punishment will be summarily punished, and the lad’s relationship with the police would concur with that outlined by Armstrong (1998) seeing them as a force to circumnavigate in the playing of the game, and a handful if wishing to get at rival fans (Jones and Rivers 2002) and as shown in the following account:

G: yeah, I've, I can't remember the match but I remember it went off outside Ninian Park and the police came running up to us with shields, the barger shields and they hit us about with them, the odd truncheon over the top and that, they drawed blood on the back of the head, but yeah definitely and at that point it was the police who wanted to provoke it not us like, you know. You know, that's the opinion people have but definitely it was the police who wanted it like, they were like egging the situation on like.

Though trouble at home games is summarily dealt with, there is very little sense of otherness towards the Cardiff City fans and the atmosphere is one in which the policing is carried out in an efficient and effective manner. The professionalism developed by the local police force in dealing with football fans has been acquired over a long period of time and it can be seen as being developed in the face of fans who wish to circumvent them in order to facilitate or participate in violent encounters. This understanding of the local police force and the conditions in which policing takes place is probably best illustrated in the following:
MC: To be fair to South Wales Police, they’re, probably because they’ve had one of the, you know, one of the largest, sort of, most active firms to deal with, but they’ve had lots of practice, they’ve pretty much got things sewn up. The violence at home games is minimal, and when the spotters follow us away they’re pretty switched on, they seem to be able to find us wherever and whenever we are, and to be fair to them our spotters on the whole, are decent people you know they are still police, and not to be trusted but, better the devil you know, you know. If you accept the fact that you are gonna be tailed by your local spotters I’d prefer some of ours to what the alternatives might be.

This is not to say that this has always been the case and the changes in home policing are probably best outlined by Big G:

Big G: yeah, over the last few years its got massively improved at home games and partly that was down to fans initiative, we had flashpoints at Cardiff at home games where there was absolutely ridiculous, they were getting ordinary fans and families were getting caught up in trouble outside the ground through simple things, so we started having meetings with the police once we’d formed our supporters association The Rams, got on board and started chatting, and in all fairness it did start to listen, and changing things and that was a major inroad into things. And the policing levels at Cardiff now, it saves them a fortune and they’ve learned in Cardiff how to police home and away fans and people are coming from all around the country to look at how Cardiff police games at Cardiff City and the Millennium Stadium because they take things on board. They take things on board and we work together to clean up our act, but away matches it’s still very much a lottery, very much

Away Policing

The policing of Cardiff City fans who decide to travel by independent means to away games starts the moment you arrive at the train station if you are travelling by train. Cardiff City fans are policed extensively throughout match days and this starts with local police spotters, and this form of policing can be explained in terms of the work of Foucault (1977), its methods of identifying and categorizing potential hooligans, keeping the group located in time and space, and the subjects of constant surveillance.

As I arrive on the platform, there are already Police with clipboards and lists of names that are being ticked off as they become identified. As the train arrives three police officers join us on the journey to keep an eye on events and relay our position to other forces on our route.

This is not to say that Cardiff City fans do not require policing at away games as they have a large contingent willing to fight at the football. With the field subject to a high degree of surveillance one could go so far as to say that the principles involved conform to ideas of Panopticism as shown in the work of Foucault (1977). Also, whilst there is the recognition that all attempts are made to control the individual within the field, there is always the availability of the banning order making exclusion from within the field a real possibility.
The possibility of a banning order was in evidence within the confines of the research as two of the respondents received them within the three years of the study.

As already stated the away policing of Cardiff City fans is very much a lottery and the fans at the club are aware of the variable nature of this policing as compared to that received at home and shown in the following:

NLY: Yeah in Cardiff it is always on top but it just, everything runs smoothly sort of thing. But away they just basically pinpoint us out as if, well as if we are cunts basically, because they just want to beat us up as soon as they see us and just, I think they treat us different ‘cos of the name Cardiff got from years ago like, but they do just like, just try to bully us

MTH: yeah, I think there is a big difference really, I think home is, we’ve come to accept the way it is, they are the best in the business in my eyes really like they are untouchable, so we just get on with it down there. But you go away, you know, we are not welcome there, they don’t want us there, simple as. We are treated as if we are terrorists out to invade their country for the day, we’ve had you know, I’ve been there and we have had a police escort all the way home like, police escort, so we can’t get a beer. And the way we are treated when we go to the games, well yeah, they can’t stand us away. But we do get the games I’ve got to say, some coppers, some games you go to the coppers are great like. They will treat you with a bit of respect as long as you don’t, as long as you show them a bit of respect they are all right. Colchester, we came out of the ground after, talking to the coppers they even showed us where the Offy was like, to get cans, we couldn’t believe it like. You like that, its sound.

MC: It varies, it varies from club to club, it varies from club to club but it can even vary from season to season, at different clubs, umm, we’ve obviously got a reputation and some places you go the police are either terrified of us or are busting for, you know, for a punch up themselves, umm, some places, they, they adopt a softly-softly approach and you know, it might be, Sheffield United is an example, a few years ago we had a, a big tear up with the police, the following g season they were softly-softly and there was no trouble at all. It varies and I think a lot depends on, you know, the match commander or chief inspector or whatever, who is in charge of things that day and what mood he is in ‘cos that, the different standards of policing, like I say they can vary so much. Overall I think the attitude towards us, Cardiff fans is, or it can be completely over the top, we have more restrictions than anyone and prevention of movement than probably any other club in the country.

The worst policing witnessed as a researcher was encountered at West Ham during the 2003-2004 season when an incident at the bar and food service area under the away fans stand. The trip was organized within the club as a ‘bubble trip’ meaning that no independent travel would be allowed, all attending the match were either members of the club or season ticket holders travelling on approved coaches. The work of Cliff Stott and Geoff Pearson (2007) is essential at this level of enquiry being concerned as it is with tipping points in crowd identification when perceived unjust police behaviour changes orderly members of the crowd
towards identification with those who are more militant and provokes widespread disorder among groups of fans. This identification at group level has a definite and major impact on the field and is clearly shown in the following account of one of the major factors in the West Ham-Cardiff City altercation in 2004.

Whilst standing in the line for a burger there is a commotion towards the front and someone starts shouting that the Police are smacking kids about. This news sends the crowd waiting for food surging towards the Police, and they retaliate by lashing out with their batons hitting anyone within reach.... To tell the truth, the situation is one that is quite funny until a young boy maybe 12-13 years old is propelled towards us and we are confronted with a situation where we have got to try to keep him upright as he has been hit with a baton.

It is at this time that I begin to fear for my safety because I am now standing on my own except for this kid, and there are around 50 Police Officers who have just been batoning anything that moves. A Policewoman asks what has happened to the boy and I tell her that one of her colleagues has decided in his wisdom to hit him with a baton. In response to this I am told that, ‘‘these things happen’’ I argue with her saying that it is out of order to hit young kids whatever the pressure the Officers are under. Luckily for me she escorts myself and the boy back to the terracing telling her colleagues not to attack us as I hadn’t done anything untoward. The mood on the terraces is now getting really dark as we once again are targeted for more abuse and one bright spark decides to throw a Cadbury’s Cream Egg, that hits a father with a child of no more than 5 or 6 years of age. The whole of Cardiff’s away following is now fuming, no one is happy with the situation.

The incident at half time, and what followed, was one of the major contributory factors in a large scale disturbance outside the ground that saw Cardiff City and West Ham fans fighting up and down the Barking Road. The above account provides a clear example of how the harsh and arbitrary behaviour of the police can actively encourage open hostility, the incident was further compounded by the officers’ inability to keep order outside the ground, hindered as it was by West Ham having no car parking facilities.

Other incidents witnessed by myself showed the widespread hostility shown by many police forces towards the supporters of Cardiff City F.C. (Jones and Rivers 2002) with the first concerning an away trip to West Brom, with the group having travelled up on the train, and on leaving the pub they had been allocated.
At the front where I was a Police Sergeant decided to throw one of the lad's on the floor and I questioned him as to his behaviour. At this point the Sergeant grabbed me by the throat and head-butted my forehead with his helmet and said, "I am the fucking Sergeant, and I'll decide what happens here you cheeky Welsh Cunt." At this point I was pulled away by some of the lad's and told not to get involved, because all I would get was nicked.

This behaviour on the part of the police was continued throughout the journey to the football ground.

At one stage I decided to ask one of the Police Officer's why the heavy approach and he replied, "We know all about you Cardiff City bastards, and we are taking no fucking chances with any of you." To which I replied, 'fucking hell mate we're Welsh, not Al Qaeda, we’re just football fans.' The indiscriminate pushing and shoving by the Police continued right up towards the ground until we were inside.

On the day as many others, the policing was extremely heavy handed as the only crime committed was independent rail travel on the part of the group. Within the field, rather than a situational approach to the policing of Cardiff City fans being followed there was widespread hostility to the group, and this points to a situation where Cardiff City fans are negatively labelled (Cohen 1972) within the field. So even recognising that the group can receive good policing there is also always the recognition concerning the stereotypical way that Cardiff City fans can be perceived by various police forces around the country even though the group may also encounter neutral or good policing on their travels as shown in the following:

G: definitely, definitely, I went to London once and I lost my ticket, and in all honesty the coppers up there were pretty good and they've let us out and that, to have a look for the ticket, and in the end a woman copper found it and let us in. But I think 'cos Cardiff's reputation is so bad the copper's have got in their heads to stereotype the fans and that, and yeah they talk to Cardiff fans like shit really and they really got the attitude like, you know, they want to, to egg it, they really want it like, their attitude is; this is Cardiff City, the Soul Crew blah blah blah and they want to deal with you tough like, and yeah they treat Cardiff fan's like shit I think like, a lot of police forces.

Even more worryingly the group have now been portrayed at the level of outlaw (Young 1996) as the recent exclusion from the game at Wolverhampton Wanderers (20-01-07) highlights. This development is of particular concern as it allows the outright exclusion of certain groups rather than the correct management of them within the arena.
An example of the correct management and incident specific policing that fans of Cardiff city should receive from the police forces charged with representing their interest within the field, is provided in the following account,

The Cardiff fans are facing the ‘thin blue line’ of the local Police Force and trying to entice and reach the Derby County fans who are walking away chanting ‘England, England’ content and relieved not to have lost at home. There is some pushing and shoving, then a Cardiff fan receives a blow to the head from a baton and is knocked unconscious.

The above situation was handled efficiently by the police who kept the two sides apart forcibly, spatial factors and fans encroachment within these were enough to warrant a blow from a baton, with the reasoning being, that if you were there and putting yourself in the situation then you deserved it.

The participants in football violence understand that the effective management of the field by the police is essential, and the group understood that they were involved in a complex relationship as a third force within the arena as shown by Armstrong (1998). The form and content of policing is however a major concern in light of successive legislation culminating in the range of discretionary powers awarded to the police in relation to football by the amendments made to The Football Spectators Act 1989 in the form of the Football (Disorder) Act 2000. Within the field the police hold discretionary powers in relation to all aspects of behaviour, and with policing conducted on a level of categorisation, and with the group negatively labelled within the field there are definite consequences, resulting in a negative level of interaction for all members of the fan group.

The continued justification for this form of policing can be seen in the Financial Times article published on the 9th of December 2006. Within the Comment and Analysis section, there appeared an article by Christopher Caldwell a senior writer at The Weekly Standard. Placing hooliganism at the level of constitutional threat alongside international terrorism, and the problem working class (those requiring ASBOs) once again showed the continued influence of the ‘spectrum of violence’ as an idea. Within the article, there is justification for the furtherance of discretionary police powers, with civil liberties presented as a secondary consideration. When related to the ideas of Dunning et al (1989), considering the lower working class and its lack of incorporation, the ‘dangerous classes’ thesis is very much evident in this form of commentary and construction of issue.
Conclusions

Within the chapter it has been clearly shown that violence exists at a variety of levels within the field of football. Within the field the fans of Cardiff City have willingly entered into violent confrontations with both other fan groups and the police, who are seen as a third force within the arena and with their own agenda to fulfil. There is an obvious need for Cardiff City fans to be policed effectively in order to prevent violence within the field and the public order issues that are raised. However this needs to be done in a manner that is acceptable with any violence directed at the fan group deserved rather than being random in its application as widespread alienation is the consequence of such policing.

As shown the relationship between Cardiff City fans and the police is seen to be quite sophisticated with a range of various interactions possible. Even given the range of these interactional exchanges there is also the recognition that police violence is always a possibility within the field and one that is quite routinized in its frequency and it becomes just another part of the football experience for many fans of Cardiff City. The above points simply backs my own experience within the research where even asking when a friend would be released following the alleged theft of a beef-burger at Coventry City’s Ricoh stadium in 2006 was enough to warrant myself being told to ‘get back on the fucking bus’ by the local constabulary, and then being physically hit repeatedly with riot shields back on to the aforementioned bus even though no physical threat was posed by myself. Simply being perceived as a Cardiff City fan was enough to warrant such treatment, as witnessed by myself again and again throughout the research.
Chapter 3

A Cultural Model of Violence and the Heroic

Introduction

As shown in the last chapter, there is violence within the field of football and there has been for a number of years. Even allowing for different commentaries around the subject, anyone socialised within the arena within the last 40 years would have witnessed this on a regular basis. Within the field, the fans of Cardiff City have willingly entered into violent confrontations with both other fan groups and the police, who are seen as a third force within the arena, and as having their own agenda to fulfil both within the field and wider society. The previous chapter outlined the different types of violence routinely encountered within the field, and showed how those that look for violent encounters can be understood as coexisting with those who are simply more than willing to fight if the opportunity arises within the arena. The role of the police was also examined in relation to the violence that occurs within the field. It was shown that any understanding of violence at and around football matches should take into account differences between competitive violent encounters between football fans as well as violence between football fans and the various police forces they encounter. The relationship between Cardiff City fans and the police is shown to be quite complex, with a range of various interactions possible. Even given the range of these interactional exchanges, police violence is always a possibility within the field and one that is quite routinized in its frequency for members of the group and especially if you travel away regularly with the fan group.

This chapter aims to explore both the meaning and the context of the violence as well as the wider society in which this occurs. A cultural model of violence will be explored, as will the development of ‘the hooligan’ as a socio-historic construct. The propensity and enjoyment of rough games and violent rituals will also be examined and explored within the context of Britain’s world placement on both contemporary and historic levels. The concept of the
‘heroic’ militarism and its impact on the field will be analysed in terms of both theory and in relation to actual practice in terms of active and idealised masculinities. Finally, forums for the development of these masculinities and narratives will be examined to enquire into their persistent attractiveness as lifestyle choices.

A cultural model of violence

With the pattern of reporting on football hooliganism being seen within this research as allowing for the creation of a moral panic (Cohen 1972), rather than simply acting to amplify the conditions of the field to anyone with an interest (Dunning et al. 1989), the media coverage of events within the field can be seen to have been continually tailored to suit the idea of a ‘spectrum of violence’ within British society (Scraton 1987). According to Hall (1978), during the 1960s football hooliganism became a newsworthy socio-cultural phenomenon and the reporting around the field has followed a similar pattern throughout, with the activity being presented as being a threat to ‘civilised’ Britain. The 1980s saw an escalation in this construction process with those who participated in football violence placed squarely at the level of being a danger to society, rather than simply representing a recurring public order danger. While the work of Dunning et al. (1989) offers the examples of football hooliganism, industrial dispute, and the conflict in Northern Ireland as examples of a ‘decivilising spurt’, there is another more critical view available. It is shown by Scraton (1987), that by the mid 1980s images of football hooliganism were being presented as part of Thatcher’s ‘spectrum of violence’ that threatened society, and needed sorting out on the behalf of the upright moral majority, by means of the ‘authoritarian state’.

This particular construction process and public discourse continues today. Thus, Caldwell (Financial Times, 9th December 2006), a senior writer at The Weekly Standard, at the time of writing placed hooliganism at the level of constitutional threat alongside international terrorism, and the problem working class (those requiring ASBOs) once again clearly showed the influence of the ‘spectrum of violence’ as an idea. Caldwell justifies the furtherance of discretionary police powers, with civil liberties presented as a secondary consideration, with due process in terms of the law not deserved by those grouped at this level of society negated.

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7 The heroic presented within the work of Hedetoft (1995) finds its favored expression within the parameters of war, being closely linked to affective civic and national identity, deeply engrained within British culture, and exemplified in such military actions as the defense of Rourkes Drift etc.
Any examination of the hooligan on a socio-historic level leaves the researcher with the distinct impression that one of the central concerns of the true hooligan was and always has been the criminal enterprise, especially at street level. Some knowledge of hooliganism as a socio-historic construct is required at this level of enquiry, and as such Clarence Rook’s *The Hooligan Nights* (1899) seems to provide the start point for the genre. Within the text, Patrick Hooligan is presented as being a notorious criminal of Irish extraction, legendary within the London criminal underworld for being beyond control, and within this context the likes of ‘Young Alf’ and his peers are seen as being the self-styled inheritors of his legacy. The story of Alf is one of a young man at an intermediate stage of a criminal career spanning back to when he was a small child, and continuing through adolescence. Throughout, there is a strong case for economic rationale in the carrying out of various criminal activities in order to live in a manner beyond the means of legitimate income.

Those who follow Cardiff City football club regularly away tend to have high levels of disposable income, most usually gained through legitimate employment. Being ‘skint’ or without disposable income was, and is to be avoided wherever possible. This was in evidence throughout the study on my part, as I often found it hard to keep up with the lads on a financial level. An away visit to Derby County in 2004 clearly shows the costs of participation:

*It's 5-45 in the morning and I'm up, and getting ready for my first away game with the group. To get the coach I have an eight mile Taxi journey to meet the lads at the boarding point. I am totally knackered, and the first thing I recognise is the sheer dedication required as a fan simply to travel away from home regularly. By the time I have got on the coach the day has already cost £20 for a ticket for the game, £12 for the taxi, and £13 for the coach - a total of £45 before we've even started. This represents a challenge for me financially, but is essential if I am to gather any usable data for the study.*

These high levels of disposable income were evident to me from my time as an undergraduate and were always a factor during the ongoing study. As I was often the person with the least amount of money/spending power on the train or bus depending on the mode of transport, and coupled with this the cost of clothing, money for drinks and other entertainments the high level of expenditure was always noticeable to me.
This constant funding necessary for away days left one with the distinct impression that in order to follow a football team regularly one required high levels of dedication and disposable income, this making the activity an unattractive one for those wishing to participate in casual violence. A night out in town and a fight, if one wanted it, was much cheaper and almost certainly guaranteed. Nothing in the way of violence was ever guaranteed at the football where violence always remained as a distinct possibility rather than a certainty. Away trips showed that expense was always high in terms of time and effort and financial expenditure as shown by the away trip to the Arsenal F.A. Cup tie at Highbury:

‘Before I have left the house the day has cost more or less a oner (£100), and I hope it will be worth it, and at twenty past five I leave the house’.

The disposable income accrued by the lads is most usually one that comes from gainful employment of one sort or another throughout the week, and then spent on their principal leisure pursuit - following Cardiff City. The levels of income required to follow Cardiff City both home and away is highly important and the financial drain that this represents has changed little over time, as shown by Kty, now 48, who said when asked about his involvement in the activity:

KTY: Well I got arrested when I was 16, Cardiff City versus Wolves, that was my first arrest, so yeah at 15 or 16, I started to go away then and mix, mix with the older boys like, like the FG’s and what-have you like, you know I wasn’t sort of in their company but I was in awe of them like, you know what I mean. And, like I’d just be hanging on to their coat tails basically like, and trying to copy them, you know what I mean, and I loved it I’ve got to be honest, it was fantastic all my, imagine being 15, 16 I didn’t have a lot of money I just started work, my wages were £16 a week, 16 years old and £16 a week for my wages, and it all used to go on football, everything, you know what I mean. And, I was just hooked on it for, I’d say a good, well until I had the life ban which has come on later like.

Of the group of lads which numbered up to eighty with whom I continually travelled from the Caerphilly area almost all worked, with the exception of Big C who is a professional card player. The levels of dedication that are shown are such that attendance at away games is a major drain on resources. Regular income is essential just to fund these days out. In terms of attendance and the expenditure required, the following interview excerpts represents a snap shot of the participants in terms of regularity of attendance, and is representative of participation on a broader level within the group under investigation:
NBY: yes, I attend as many as I can, I can say I probably average, about between, probably 70% of away games. I’ve been quiet this season, but last season I must have attended at least 70%.

MC: Every game

KTY: yeah, I’ve missed one in five years

If we take £100 plus as representing a base rate for away travel to football, given that a train ticket to London costs about £50 return from Caerphilly and an average Championship football ticket approximately £30, then these figures represent a sizeable start pointing before funds for additional leisure pursuits (cigarettes, drink, recreational drugs and gambling) and food is even factored in. Those with whom I came into contact with both as fan and researcher tended to work in order to follow the football, rather than commit crime to fund participation. The criminality of those involved tended to occur on match days and be football related. All those group members who attend the football regularly and participate in football violence were keen to distance themselves from other forms of crime that are seen as unacceptable. As Big S says, his friends at other clubs who participate in football violence are:

Big S: All good boys, family men who like their football, and what happens, happens and that’s it, no rapists or fucking muggers or what-have-you, just lads like, not bastard terrorists. Just lads, men, British blokes that’s all they are.

In contemporary terms, the inheritors of the British hooligan tradition rather than those who follow the football regularly both home and away can be shown to be those youths featured on *A Very British Gangster* (2007) concerning the Noonan family and their criminal associates in modern day Manchester, or those youths in London who are the subject of Operation Trident the well known police operation focusing on gun crime in the London area, and more specifically black on black crime as depicted in the feature film *Rolling with the Nines* (2007) a brutal depiction of street crime in South London. So, while Robson can correctly point to the influence of the Kray family in East London and the Richardson family in South London as providing exemplars of masculinity in terms of performativity and influencing habitus these influences in terms of criminal identity hold no sway in the Cardiff and the South Wales Valleys.
Chwarae Teg

As shown by Robson (2000), localised *habitus* is informed by specific socio-historical developments, and when considering the fans of Cardiff City this has developed on a proletarian basis, with industrial relations forming the basis of anti-authoritarianism, and open disdain for police. Within the remit of the research and in terms of simply being part of the wider collective what does hold sway are ideas based on; shared experience stoicism, solidarity, fair play (Chwarae Teg), and a version of masculinity borne out of industrial relations, and even though the industry is gone the masculinities displayed regularly are shown to be informed at this level. Within this context, the single most important single factor in both Cardiff and the South Wales valleys are ideas based around ‘chwarae teg’ or fair play. These feelings permeate every level of South Wales life and are not confined to the working classes of the area, but are particularly strong at this social level because of the legacy of trade unionism described by Big G. These ideas are regularly played out in the local media and permeate every level of life informing general ideals as well as featuring in the political rhetoric of Plaid Cymru. These ideas are constantly played out in the area with myself being affected as much as anyone else. Where things like advancement to another’s detriment and not being part of the group collective, such as being a strike breaker (scab) are remembered for life at the very least. Actions such these simply bring scorn and ostracism to those with such an association to their name. As Big G explains:

Big G: a lot of union people have come from this area because of the fair minded nature of, you work hard, you succeed and whatever, and if that’s militant then we are militant I suppose, but we don’t accept unfairness and we don’t accept bullying, backhanders or you know or keep quiet and we’ll give you this and whatever, play the game, yeah we’ll play the game but treat us properly, and you know it’s respect among your friends is more important to us down here than social standing or whatever in some respects, or even achievement sometimes, its, its being able to look your fellow mate in your eye, and have a clear conscience that’s important to us.

The above points are essential in understanding the misapplication of the term hooligan when used in conjunction with the practitioners of football violence and Cardiff City fans involvement in the activity. Ideas based around sticking together in the face of adversity, stoicism, proud defiance, community and togetherness all have more resonance and hold more meaning in the fan group in terms of violent confrontation at and around the football as seen by myself on occasions too numerous to mention.

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8 Ideas based around fair play are essential in understanding tipping point incidents at the football as described by Stott and Pearson 2007
Within this context it is no longer seemingly an abhorrent psychological trait in the case of those who participate in football violence in comparison with those who participate in any other violent ritual. And, in fact the levels of violence displayed fall far short of those expected in the line of duty as a serving soldier in the name of the state and are often far less than the police, those employed to keep order within the field. When seeking to understand the involvement of Cardiff City fans in football violence on a general, rather than on an organised level it may be of use to take heed of the following as related to myself by Big G who says:

Big G: you know people don't get up in the morning with a set plan to be a football hooligan and cause something, they get up to have a good day out at the football, very few people get up and think lets go and be that bad, if they were that bad a person they'd stay home and rob basically and whatever, they want to go away and have a good day out, very few get up planning social disorder, it happens often because of circumstances which are put on us and when you see people being treated badly, you get involved and I get involved its, its hard not to when you see people getting treated badly.

The above is clearly demonstrative of the ideas and understanding of Cliff Stott and Geoff Pearson (2007) concerning tipping points in crowd dynamics and behaviour, being concerned as it is with the perceived legitimacy in behaviour towards the group and what the individual and group see as being fair in response to perceived threat and the occasioning of violence against the group. The position forwarded within the research is one where alongside those fans of Cardiff City who participate in organised football violence, there are very high numbers within the fan group that will get involved in violent incidents if they perceive a need for direct intervention.

On a conceptual level this misapplication is of vital importance especially when we consider the work of Wittgenstein (1953) who shows how conceptualization is linked to language. At this level of analysis the labelling of the practitioners of football violence as hooligans has had, and continues to have a high degree of influence on the study of the area as it locates the practitioners within British society as being street level criminals. The research undertaken by myself and supported by other research by the likes of Armstrong (1998) shows that this is obviously not the case, as the vast majority of those who participate in football violence at Cardiff City work, and are aspirational in hegemonic terms as witnessed by myself time after time, rather than displaying any sort of counter-cultural tendencies. Given this re-conceptualisation of the participants involved in football violence away from ideas of the hooligan necessitates a completely different approach towards research into the area, and this
requires a contextual approach to the activity. An understanding of the hooligan as a socio-historic construct is essential within the work, and of high importance when linked in terms of informing habitus by Robson (2000), who shows how contemporary Millwall fan’s personal and social identity is linked to the areas specific socio-cultural heritage. With this being the case then the wider cultural implications surrounding group behaviour in relation to various masculinities available at a meta-level within contemporary British society also needs to be considered.

When examining the research of Dunning et al (1989) it is important to understand and contextualise the specific period within British social history when it was conducted, and noting the high levels of unemployment within the ‘suicide squad’ of Leicester City supporters is important because when Dunning, Williams, and Murphy (1988) carried out their research concentrating as they did on a Leicester housing estate and its local lower working class residents, they were labouring under the assumption that they were looking for hooligans and that’s what they found to a certain degree. A contemporary spin on the research would suggest that what Dunning et al were in fact noting was the emergence of a ‘council estate culture’ and the effects of a continued economic recession, and that by concentrating on this specific group they were missing the bigger picture. Concentrating as they did on this group, an ecological model as proposed by Suttles (1968) would seem perfectly adequate, but would only tell part of the story.

Within this context an ecological model would have been far more usefully applied to the group’s everyday activities, rather than scaled up naively and utilized as a model for explaining football hooliganism as in fact football clubs often transcend these concerns and those who participate are normally formed by friendship groups who maintain both loyalties to their local community and the football club making the work of Ellemers et al (1999) far more useful at this level of enquiry. Those who participate in violence whether organised or spontaneous in the name of Cardiff City can easily be presented as being employed in the main, and employed at a variety of levels in the social scale. Within my sample frame, two of those interviewed were retired and in their fifties, and another was ‘creatively unemployed’ (known by myself to be a professional poker player). The other participants worked regularly, and were employed in a wide range of occupations comprising of; two Soldiers, Pipe Fitter, Scrap Merchant, Bricklayer, Security Consultant, Medical Supervisor, Manager, Medical Technician, Fabricator/Welder, Aircraft Engineer, Painter and Decorator, and a Company Director. Given the range of occupations shown, any ideas surrounding a lower working class
masculinity has to be abandoned in favour of a broader based understanding of masculinities within present day British society. If this is the case then it must be asked what motivates those involved to fight in the name of the group and their football team. And if this requires exploration, then so too does the distribution of violence within British society.

The British hooligan is properly understood in constructionist terms and as those who participate in football violence do not approximate to ‘gangsterism’ but rather represent working people by and large, the words of Big G may be seen as highly illuminating concerning violence and fighting at the football who when questioned about his involvement in actual fist fights at the football replied:

Big G: yeah, lots and as many with Cardiff fans as with away fans, and, you know were they involved in football hooliganism or whatever they call it, now, ‘cos my concept of hooliganism see, is different from other people’s, an hooligan to me is someone who just wilfully damages things and orchestrates things. Being a football fan, who’s passionate about things and getting caught up in things to me isn’t a hooligan, its part of the territory. Someone to me is a hooligan is one’s who go looting places, causing trouble, damaging for the sake of it, getting mashed, that’s what I see as a hooliganism, the other part is, now my whole concept of not fighting being born and bred in the Valleys is, it’s a man’s thing innit, to look after yourself, and you got principles and whatever, win a fight lose a fight whatever, but I hate bullies whether it’s in football or out of football.

After explaining his understanding of the term hooligan Big G went on to explain what this sense of fair play entailed to him at both the football and in wider society:

Big G: And if I, and you’ll see a lot of boys in Cardiff are the same, would never let people around me bully other people, and even if that meant me having a slap off older people, I hate seeing bullies you know, if you have a fight then it’s a fight but when you get the upper hand then I’m not one to stand around and watch people having a real kicking just for the sake of it you know, yeah, you fight to win a fight and survive but once you’re past that then that’s the end of it. I’ve always had that sort of principle.

The cultural implications surrounding group behaviour in relation to various masculinities available at a meta-level within contemporary British society also needs to be considered. Rather than perpetuate the aforementioned simplistic ideas of a rough lower working class and its propensity to violence, the ideas of Messerschmidt (1993) if extended into the adult leisure sphere this would provide a sound analysis; as the activity known as football hooliganism allows for the exploration of both militarism and the ‘heroic’ on an organised level, and bound with issues of fair play and right and just treatment by other fan groups and the police. In examining the media treatment of football violence, it should be apparent that this has not been a neutral endeavour, but has been shaped by political discourse, being continually bound with other issues and presented as a threat to constitutional order. A highly
cultural approach is seen as necessary within this context as it allows for a move away from the simplistic and allows for a more expansive view of the activity on a variety of levels and it also allows for the further development of a cultural model of violence.

Rough Games and Violent Rituals

Given the changes in conceptualisation of both the activity and its participants proposed within the research; it must be asked, why would such behaviour and the adopting of such outwardly violent masculinities be attractive to large numbers of men in contemporary British society? Any attempt to understand this would require an understanding of British state development and knowledge of Britain at both a socio-historical and socio-cultural level.

The changes in both formulation and rules of the game known as football during the nineteenth century led to the split between forms that were to become association football and rugby football as shown by Dunning (1999), and with this being the case why the English public schools chose to adopt rugby football as its game when this was clearly the rougher of the two can only be understood in terms outlined in John Beynon's *Masculinities and Culture* (2002) who shows that the choice of rugby as a game, was in fact seen as instrumental in providing young men fit to serve the Empire, forming both the character and muscularity necessary for the domination of others, especially in the quest of empire building. That this foreign expansion was violent in nature and required those both committed and able to achieve these ends would seem to be confirmed by the assertions of Tilly (2003) who sees rugby as developing violent specialists.

This understanding of violence being cultivated at all class levels is essential in relating the fascination with violent forms displayed in modern British society. Varsity vests/colours are still awarded for Boxing and Rugby Union at our most prestigious universities (Cambridge and Oxford) and seen as providing legitimate masculinities as are karate, judo, aikido, rugby league and a host of other violent contact sports that can all be placed squarely under the banner of violent rituals, and football violence in an organised form as participated in by Cardiff City fans can be placed along side these other activities. These contests aim to provide a test of strength and aggression but fall way short of death and destruction as favoured outcomes or natural end point, but do tax the individual or group in a rigorous and violent manner where serious injury or death may be a very real possibility and consequence of the violent ritual. The highly identified followers of Cardiff City who participate in football violence on an organised level, have by a leap of imagination, included themselves in
a game/contest that runs parallel to the official sporting contest carried out on the accredited field of play, even sharing its same basic outcomes.

This contest allows for the situation as suggested by Bowen et al (2002), whereby reflected failure on the field may be offset by reflected glory in other areas, acting as a mechanism for positive self-concept⁹. Within this framework, each football club has its own specific interests within the field, and identification with the club would certainly seem to occupy a central position in the individual’s whole personality formation as suggested by Wann et al (2001). Rather than seeing the activity as escalating towards death those who participate in organised football violence at Cardiff City frame their experience within the confines of the violent ritual and a very rough game with the chance to prove their masculinity and represent the group to be relished and enjoyed, even if this meant being the recipient of interpersonal violence as shown in the following:

M: the first proper bit of violence I seen was when I was sixteen it was a year later, umm, and that was up in West Ham, and before it I didn’t really, it was like a different atmosphere on the bus which was buzzing and awesome, but I didn’t really know why there was such an atmosphere, but I soon found out, and it was awesome like, a good laugh.

Big C: again yes, yes, that’s part and parcel of it you give and you receive, its mm, definitely not a one way street, you know people are out with you know, and even though its all in the name of sport and a bit of fun and all that, people do actually get hurt so yes, I have been on quite a few occasions, couple of times worse than others both home and abroad yes, yeah.

This enjoyment of aggression though most usually in a limited form, is an essential component in the understanding of the violent ritual, and one that was witnessed by myself on many numerous occasions within the field especially at away games. After numerous altercations with members of other fan groups the elation and sense of well being was evident and this was no more apparent that at West Ham away among the group travelled with, and this event entailed a violent clash comprising anything up to a thousand participants. The activity that has evolved, as understood by myself following a great deal of research and direct observation allows its practitioners to explore the heroic, through a war-like contest that

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⁹ Ideas relating to highly identified fans inability to CORF (Cut Off Reflected Failure), and ability to BIRG (Bask In Reflected Glory) through successful endeavours off the field.
tests their masculinity in a relatively non-injurious manner, and allows for peak flow experiences\(^\text{10}\) (Finn 1994).

In the participation of hooligan activities the group at Cardiff City showed that the ability to innovate in the face of constraint has been a constant and essential feature. Rather than seeing their activity as any form of resistance, those who participated saw it as an assertion by the group that they would continue to play the game despite continual restrictions. Commentators such as Jones and Rivers (2002) saw their activities performed in relation to a game played by ‘the lads’ of each separate club. Given the work of Berger and Luckmann (1967) concerning adult play, and the commutation from the world of everyday reality, this would be of central importance.

In acknowledging that organised football violence is a rough game or violent ritual, its participants’ deviance and criminality as shown at Cardiff City FC on an organised level may be understood in terms of positive deviance, as outlined in Blackshaw and Crabbe’s *New Perspectives on Sport and ‘Deviance’* (2004). If we accept that the participants believe that on some level they represent the club, then their actions may be understood in relation to the enabling of a successful outcome to the activity. Blackshaw and Crabbe show that, “The belief systems which are seen to constitute this sports ethic (Coakley, 1998:152-3), which it is suggested has become part of the mindset and culture of athletes, states that competitors:

- Make sacrifices for the game
- Strive for distinction
- Accept risks and play through pain
- Accept no limits in the pursuit of possibilities (2004:26)

All accounts from within the field (Jones and Rivers 2002, Pennant 2002) and all observations made by myself would suggest that football firms are competitive, and aim at an idealised level to aspire to this ethos, reflecting the concerns of the field. Accordingly, there has been the development of a game/contest that utilizes violence and aggression in order to achieve victory over another group of football fans. This allows for participants to excel, even if the team on the accredited field of play are not performing in a manner acceptable to themselves as supporters. Participants frame their experience within a well understood set of informal rules (Marsh *et al* 1978), however this should be augmented with an understanding that any

\(^{10}\) Peak flow experiences according to Finn result in *communitas* where the individual experiences an especially strong and rewarding sense of closeness with those others present.
violence employed within the context of the violent ritual is not decorous but real in its consequences (Tilly 2003) and that serious injuries can and do occur, even occasional deaths, but that this is not the intention on a general level. This contest certainly also allows for the situation as suggested by Bowen et al (2002), whereby reflected failure on the field was capable of being offset by reflected glory in other areas, acting as a mechanism for positive self-concept.

The heroic’ and its impact on the field

Rather than perpetuate the simplistic ideas of a rough lower working class and its propensity to violence, the ideas of Messerschmidt (1993) concerning the constructions of hegemonic masculinities is perhaps far more informative at this level of enquiry, as within the work it is suggested that each unique form of masculinity represents the attempt to achieve the cultural ideals of masculinity that are denied to young people through existing social structures, if extended into the adult leisure sphere this would provide a sound analysis as the activity allows for the exploration of both militarism and the ‘heroic’ as these are among the highest cultural ideals within British society and have been such for a great deal of time. So while recognising the geographic and nationalistic implications of football violence there requires a rejection of ideas surrounding simple ordered segmentation and ecological models scaled up and misapplied. The ideals informing the activity rather than simply being drawn from lower working class culture with its supposed attendant lack of incorporation and backwardness can easily seen as belonging to British masculine culture and attendant militarism, and the lack of space to play out these masculinities in the world of everyday work and social relations.

These ideas of trial by combat and sticking together are shown easily in the accounts of travelling away to intimidating arenas as related by those with many years experience such as Big S and Big G and also those entering into the activity on a contemporary level:

Big S: it was intimidating yeah, but you were with, you know, you stay tight with your lads, your mates, you’d be good mates so you’re alright like, but you often thought this is a fucking tough one today but you wasn’t actually you know fucking crapping yourself

Big G: It sounds corny but its that thing of getting on the train with your mates and going up to London and thinking oh my god, and sticking together and testing yourself and it’s, and yeah I’ve been in situations in the last couple of years where I’ve been scared, well, not so much scared for myself but scared for people ‘round me and feeling responsible more about other people getting hurt or arrested so its, it’s still there, you know the fear is still there.
**MTH:** But when you've been there it is intimidating some of the grounds like you go to, when you travel to London but knowing you've got the boys around you, and it's a good group of boys like who you go up with does help matters like, so it's more adrenaline pumping really.

It is also worth noting at this point that Hedetoft (1997) insistence of national identity as a two way process is vital as this leads to very different conclusions than the work of the Leicester school and its understanding of what constitutes a civilized society. The heroic presented within the work of Hedetoft (1995) finds its favoured expression within the parameters of war, being linked to affective civic and national identity, and is deeply engrained within British culture. These concepts when related to the work of Marsh (1979) who emphasises courage, masculinity and fair play (chwarae teg) can easily be bounded within the same conceptual framework of the participants and finds its favoured understated expression when the likes of KTY rescued a young fan at Tottenham Hotspur a few seasons ago. When a group of Cardiff City fans had been ambushed by Spurs supporters armed with baseball bats and metal bars in a vicious attack that left the young lad with part of his ear missing, KTY waded in at great personal risk to himself. Whilst sustaining blow after blow with the bars and bats, KTY pulled the lad from the melee rescuing him from further punishment. When the lad thanked KTY at a later date, he was told that it was just expected that he himself would also do the same thing if he were witness to such an event. Throughout the research as understood and demonstrated on numerous occasion the aim was not only to be proficient in aggro, but display the ability to withstand its application, making the content one that advocates 'staunchness' or stoicism.\(^\text{11}\)

All observations within the field over a sustained period pointed to the ‘heroic’ (Hedetoft 1995) as a highly informing interpretive element within the narratives constructed, as full blown hooligan encounters were combative in both form and content. This willingness to ‘stand up and be counted’ is central to any understanding of the heroic and is easily demonstrated in the following ethnographic account:

Wales are playing England at home in the World Cup qualifiers and Cardiff City fans numbered in their high hundreds are all visible in close proximity to the stadium, and the group of eighty that includes myself, joins with hundreds more at the Gatekeeper Pub opposite the Millenium Stadium to oppose any perceived threat from the English and their

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\(^{11}\) Especially important in relation the heroic as it emphasizes sacrifice and a willingness to hold ones ground exemplified in accounts of ‘Rourkes Drift’ and other similar military actions.
world renowned hooligan following who have been in touch with the lads to say they are coming, and who might care to take a liberty on Welsh soil.

All encounters were combative even though conducted within the confines of the violent ritual. The aim was not only to be proficient in aggro, but display the ability to withstand its application, making the content one that advocates 'staunchness' or stoicism. These ideas were firmly augmented by a strong commitment to fair play and solidarity with ones friends and other members of the group.

Both the train and the bus provide forums for the construction of these elements into a coherent pattern, making them accessible to all the members of the group. The travel on the buses is in much the same vein as the train, but with each coach its own unit of production there is much more fun to be had with ontological security (Giddens 1991) safe-guarded in the closely entwined relationship between knower and known among those present (Blackshaw 2003).

Derby away 07-02-2004

_The atmosphere on the coach is one that could be compared to a stag outing, international rugby away game, or simply a BEANO (boys night out). This is leisure life, and as such all the lads are fully enjoying themselves and there is a fair amount of banter flying about._

A lot of this socializing is definitely useful in achieving a coherent narrative of the self (Giddens 1991) as an inclusive narrative is built around all group encounters, and further sustained through the re-telling of stories that are inclusive and often flattering in their nature.

West Ham away 28-02-2004

_The journey home from London is one that can be best described as euphoric, the lad's have met the I.C.F. and come away with a result. The coach acts as a forum for the recounting of events. Everyone has a story to tell and they entwine with each other to produce a coherent and repeatable version of events that day._

Throughout the research I witnessed time and time again, how these narratives were developed and maintained through retelling with its attendant turn taking, inclusion, and refinement so as to develop a stable meaning from which all those involved could gain the most in terms of positive self concept.
Rough or Respectable?

As already shown there is the notion of a ‘decivilising spurt’, to be perceived in Northern Ireland, industrial relations, and football hooliganism. Utilizing the above approach, it is quite easy to suggest a situation where rather than Britain being in a de-civilising spurt, the British nation through its involvement in modern slavery, and its empire corresponds to a violent society. So rather than simply perpetuate assertions concerning the lower working classes and violence, a cultural model of violence (Sipes 1996) is perhaps more suitable situated within pre-existing social structures seen by Scraton as being informed by:

‘relations of class, race and gender, therefore are derived in the historical and material development of systems of power: capitalism; slavery and colonization; patriarchy’. (1987:181)

A cultural model is perhaps also of more use given Britain’s socio-historic placement as a military-industrial complex, and its current role in global affairs.

This, more critical view once again augmented with the work of Scraton (1987) concerning the bounding together of issues requires further examination. It is shown within the work, that by the 1980s that images of football hooliganism were clearly being mobilised in a specific manner, with images of picket lines, football hooligans, and ‘Greenham’ women used at the level of montage. With this being the case then reporting around the subject has been no neutral matter and any wish to displace these feelings to the level of the British lower working class will be doomed to failure, and three of the biggest all time faces on the terraces of Ninian Park would describe themselves as variously:

MC: Born working class

Big G: Working class, I got a foot in a couple of camps mind, and more faces than a town hall clock.

KTY: Middle, I would say

The above indicators show a spread of class membership and perceived class also reflecting the post-industrial landscape of South Wales in general terms fairly accurately showing the activity to be one that is open to anyone with an interest. This is of vital importance if we take one of the central tenets of the work of Dunning et al (1988) is the assertion that:

it is important to stress that it is not our contention that youths and young men from the lower working class are the only football hooligans. Nor is it our contention that all adolescent and young adult males from the lower working class use football as a context for fighting. Some fight elsewhere and others hardly fight at all. Our point is, rather, that
youths and young men from the ‘rougher’ sections of the working class seem on present evidence to be the most central and persistent offenders in the more serious forms of football hooliganism.” (1988: 213)

This wish to divide the working class into separate sections of ‘rough’ and ‘respectable’ is fraught with difficulty, and is one that is based on a scale of value judgements rather than any sort of mechanical facts concerning who is ‘rough’ and who is ‘respectable’. With this being the case then the division between rough and respectable seems arbitrary and wholly subjective in its application, and one that is unsuitable for explaining football hooliganism as an ongoing social activity.

The idea of field specific behaviour at both Cardiff City F.C. and other clubs in England and Wales is probably more fruitful in understanding participation in football violence and this form of analysis is further reinforced by available evidence presented within the work of Dunning et al (1988). Utilising figures gained through the research of Ian Stuttart an ITV journalist, they show that employment carried out by the members of West Ham’s I.C.F. was a diverse activity including tradesmen, army personnel, solicitors’ clerks, publicans’ and a retail manager (1988:188). This diversity of occupation is also apparent at Cardiff City, and mirrors the situation at Sheffield United shown in the work of Armstrong who, when talking about those at the club who participate in violence, states:

Many held positions as supervisor and foreman. Quite a few were self-employed in their various trades of plumbing, carpentry, or building. Others were shop managers, gym instructors, or self-employed drivers, and thus a cut above any idea of the hooligan as belonging to a wage-labour proletariat. Core blades were generally ‘doing well’ in local occupational hierarchies, or were subject to boom and bust entrepreneurial activity. (1996:151)

The wide range of employment and the variety of social interactions these would entail seems to preclude any notion of undeveloped personality within the individual, and rather pointing towards a contextual approach to football violence.

**Britain as a violent society**

Britain’s placement at world level as a powerful military industrial complex has emerged throughout the period classed as the modern. Throughout this period, Britain has existed within an arena of increasingly competitive nationalism, competing with various European states in the pursuit of empire. As Chomsky shows:

European powers conquered much of the world, not very politely. With rare and limited exceptions, they were not under attack by their foreign victims. The Congo did not
Of the European powers Britain can easily be shown to be the most successful at this level of expansion, and emerged from the period with a land empire bought about by conquest and domination, and even now empire has been replaced by Commonwealth, Britain may still be seen as the most active and successful at this level of engagement. Within this framework, Britain has been a major power at this level for hundreds of years and any ideas based around a civilizing factor would require serious reassessment. Britain’s extensive land empire would rather, place the nation at the level of opportunists (Tilly 2003) with regard to the violence perpetrated at a socio-historic level in its pursuit.

Advantages in technological development (Fuller 1997), were utilized in tandem with boundaries based on difference being activated in a manner that saw the domination and subjugation of those involved as being right and proper (Beynon 2002). On a socio-historic level, it should have been shown quite clearly that as a nation Britain is heavily implicated in the utilization of violence in the promotion of its own interests. This promotion and glorification of Britain’s past empire is present in many cultural forms, and it was no accident that when I visited Big G at his home to interview him, that pride of place in his living room went to a large oil painting of the South Wales Borderers at ‘Rourkes Drift’ as this is the high point of Welsh militarism and heroism on an modern historic level.

On a contemporary level, Britain alongside the U.S.A. has played a key role in middle-eastern politics and is implicated for participating in a form of ostracising imperialism (Mann 2001). The fundamentalist Islamic inhabitants of the region frame their understanding of the situation as being a fight between good and evil, with the U.S.A. and Britain representing evil. The latest invasion of Iraq is seen as furthering the imperial agenda of the U.S.A. (Ali 2003), and given our role as principle partner in these continued enterprises the same charge applies to Britain on a national level. Given that the death toll within Iraq now runs to many thousands any attempt to justify this action or imbue it with moral authority would be seen as falling firmly into a state of denial (Cohen 2000). With these concerns outlined then Sipes (1996) cultural pattern model of violence is essential given Britain’s specific role in world affairs.
Conclusions

If the above is accepted then one must take the view that the position forwarded by the Leicester school simply does not match the available evidence in relation to football violence at Cardiff City and the motivations of its practitioners. Moreover, if this is the case, then there must be a continuation of the club specific research advanced by both Armstrong (1998) and Robson (2000). It should now be emerging that any true understanding of football violence must move away from the one-size fits all explanation as forwarded by the Leicester school, towards a view based on specific club development and relations both within the field and informed by wider society. Within this new research context, there must also be an attempt to chart the development of football hooliganism as a socio-cultural production and attempt to locate each specific club within the activity both on a historic and contemporary level. When looking at the field, recourse to the work of Cohen (1972) concerning the mods and rockers becomes vital showing as it does how the intricacies of a socio-cultural movement can be completely overlooked in favour of a reductionist viewpoint. The wish to place the participants of football violence at Cardiff City at the level of hooligan or as being members of the lower working class is not borne out by sustained field research and these a far more easily described as highly identified fans schooled within a specific set of field relations.
CONCLUSION

Introduction

Cardiff City F.C. are now sitting high in the N-Power Championship table and presently have a squad of players that they, and we as fans could only have dreamed about when the research began. The club now occupy a new state of the art stadium, have a new chairman, coincidentally the third since the research started, and have a very realistic chance of reaching the Premier league this year after missing out in the play-off final last year. On the downside they have been put before the courts on numerous occasions in the last year due to unpaid bills of one sort or another, this highlighting the precarious nature of the club as an ongoing business, with the financial pressures that this entails. So, it must be clearly understood that the club really has moved on since the start of the research. The club has moved on in terms of both aspiration and in reality considering the new facilities, and the greater influx of fans that has happened on the back of recent success, with this bringing greater revenue hopefully for the club to spend wisely in order to maintain or improve on their current situation. However nothing can be taken for granted in football at this time and the situation at Portsmouth F.C. our recent opponents in an F.A. Cup final provides testament to the fragility of any success within the field.

The research set out to address concerns expressed by numerous social-science commentators based on their understanding of the limitations of the sociological model proposed by Dunning et al (1988) in the first instance, and now firmly adopted as the predominant model in the academic understanding of football violence as a recurring feature of modern British society. Seeking to utilise Steve Fullers ideas concerning the ‘democratisation’ of the university, which clearly shows that with the more divergent populous of the university comes more divergence in points of view, and also understanding of social phenomenon. The above point being noted, and taking up various concerns expressed about the established

12 The work of Dunning et al (1989) is argued against extensively throughout the research, being seen as too restrictive and unreliable as an indicator of the activity, with extensive problems as noted by the likes of Armstrong (1998) and Blackshaw & Crabbe (2004).
viewpoint and its limitations, the research takes an in-depth look at football violence at Cardiff City F.C. in order to supplement and advance knowledge in the area.

Giving voice to those who actually participate in the activity without compromising their identity, as shown in research by Whyte (1955) and Miller (1986) was a central concern throughout the research. Having a known history, and incorporating many instances of conjoined biography with many of the lads facilitated the study, as did using a gatekeeper known as Big C a well known hooligan in good standing within the group, and a long time personal friend. Attending the football as a regular season ticket holder placed me within the fan group, and this also led to widespread acceptance. The understanding of the importance of ontological similitude and the ontological security that this engendered, means that the research was highly influenced by Tony Blackshaw's *Leisure Life* (2003). This work clearly shows the validity of high levels of immersion and involvement within the research process. The work also shows throughout that; any understanding of social activities must recognise the importance that those involved attach to their actions in terms of meaning, belief and thoughts in relation to such activities, and how they contextualise these into a wider understanding of the world in which they live.

The research has aimed for a very high level of usability throughout the social sciences and as such a position of methodological relativism (Collins and Yearley 1992) has been utilised throughout the study. Simply put this has involved using whatever epistemological "natural attitude" most suitable for the research. Within this framework although no scientific discipline is seen as being perfect or infallible, each scientific discipline (whether natural or social) is seen as providing the most useful set of procedures and techniques to study phenomenon effectively within its own research remit. This just means that different research strategies have been used in a manner that was most productive for the task in hand in order to obtain the most sophisticated view of football violence as entered into by fans of Cardiff City F.C. on a recurring basis. This wide range of research techniques, my own involvement at the club as a fan, and the ability to entwine both actual research and social theory components as advised by Bordieu (1990), has I believe enabled a highly informed and usable research study to have taken place that advances understanding in relation to the activity. The research aims to provide a more sophisticated model of football violence, constructed through the use of a variety of research methods to better understand football hooliganism as a socio-cultural phenomenon existing within the general field of football.
A summary of research findings

The research undertaken has aimed to provide a more conceptually advanced view of football violence as practiced by Cardiff City fans both past and present, than the accepted views especially those advocated by Dunning and colleagues (1988,1990,1999). The work of this group of researchers is widely recognised as providing the basis of understanding of the field so much so that this has led Robson (2000), to suggest that it now provides part of the paradigm that is used to describe the phenomenon, affecting both understanding and perception of the related issues. The research undertaken focuses specifically on three interconnected concerns: the motivation and continued involvement of those who participate in football violence; the violence encountered within the field and its construction process, noting police involvement as a discernable force within the arena; the construction of football violence as a social and academic issue, and its placement within wider British society. In simple terms these interconnected concerns seek to illuminate who participates in football violence, what is happening within the field, and why should this have any attraction for participants especially in the face of a negative construction process. Chapters Five, Six and Seven address these issues specifically, and the following discussion will draw together the main arguments contained within all the chapters to provide an over-view of the research undertaken.

Who becomes a football hooligan?

There is no simple answer to the above question, and the only sensible one seems to be that football fans become football hooligans, and this can be the only generalisation made at this level of enquiry. Rather than descend into the simplistic, the research has shown that entry into the field is the only pre-requisite in adopting a hooligan identity. Within the research it became more expedient to concentrate on the acquisition process of what can be called a hooligan identity and its maintenance within the field. All respondents showed a move from the peripheral towards the central in relation to hooligan identities, and their standing both within their specific group and the wider group at the club. What did become clear both within the research and in my own experience; was that those who do acquire a hooligan identity do so through a process of socialisation and learning that takes place within a distinct
and bounded field. Behaviour was learnt at the club in a manner that can be safely said to involve field specific social learning conforming to a pattern of choices and rationalisations instantly recognisable as differential association (Sutherland and Cressey 1979). Utilised in conjunction with the work of Bandura (1973, 1986) concerning vicarious leaning through modelling and approximation in understanding why certain fans would find this form of identity appealing, provides a conceptual framework equipped to understand the field specific learning that takes place. Rather than displaying any sort of psychopathic or sociopathic tendencies those involved in the activity at the club have chosen for one reason or another to fight in the name of their perceived group and club.

Those who became involved at the club with such activities can be said to have embarked on a terrace career that has followed a specific trajectory, but with this career path having no pre-ordained or definite outcome other than that enabled through the choices that each individual made. Those who have adopted the identity at Cardiff City F.C. chose throughout their time on the terraces whether to persist within the field, to go to away games regularly, to travel independently, and to put themselves in the temporal-spatial situation where hooligan encounters were possible. The identity was such that it could be taken up, but also left within the field as necessary to account for times when; work commitments necessitated, or the individual was banned from within the arena, or money was in short supply, or specific family situations all meant that the football had to take a back seat in the individual’s life for the immediate time at least. With this being the case the ideas of Matza concerning ‘drift’ have proved indispensible at this level of analysis as they outline how an already acquired identity can be picked up as and when required, with those individuals involved being both already known and socialised within the specific field. These ideas of drift were shown to have a firm basis in reality throughout the research period, as many individuals within the specific group that I travelled with on a regular basis, often had to miss trips through outside pressures but were always welcomed back as both valued and valid members of the group upon their return to the arena.

Cardiff City fans involvement in football violence on an organised level can only be said to have began by following a pattern of reflexive adaptation, as they can in no way be blamed for the introduction of the activity at and around football matches. It is perhaps more useful to understand those at the clubs first involvement as being a coping strategies in the face of hostile fan groups occupying the home teams stadium during the 1960s and onwards. Those socialised within the field at this time would have entered a field in which a culture of open
ritualised violence was already in effect, and one in which they would need to adapt, or become victims within the field. Within the time period stated anyone who has supported any football league club has had the potential to enter into activities labelled as hooligan whether this was on a pro-active or reflexive level. Entry and continued involvement within the field should be seen as being far more indicative of adopting a hooligan identity; rather than fixed notions based around class membership, psychologically flawed personality type, or inherent violence among the lower working class.

Those individuals that I travelled with throughout the study period, as well as others well known at the club all showed a lengthy involvement with the activity, with all becoming involved by their teenage years, and half of those interviewed becoming involved within their first season of attendance, confirming the observations of commentators from within the field such as Jones and Rivers (2002) and Pennant (2002). Within the group members ranged in age from eighteen up to the mid and late fifties with constant reproduction attained, as the field can be seen as having strong youth-adult bridging properties confirming the assertions of Robson (2000). These bridging properties proved vital in the socialisation process whereby those new to the field were socialised into the group, and were taught what was acceptable in terms of behaviour within the arena. Those with the greatest input in this process, even if on an indirect level were those that other members of the group looked up to, and who operated as charismatic leaders whenever the group met. Those that entered the field and especially those who wished to travel away were quickly taught by others already within the group that there was always the possibility of violence at and around the football. Having been taught about the potential for violence within the field those entering it were also schooled into what was expected in the face of such threats. At this level of generality they were taught to stand up for, themselves, their friends, and the club and as such they should be willing to fight physically as and when this was perceived as being necessary.

Those who did not wish to participate in the form of masculinities developed within this arena, and who could not cope with this threat of violence could withdraw from the field at any stage. However, those who wished to remain as part of the group were socialised both on a verbal level and also took their cues in terms of modelling and approximation as was seen by myself time and again. It was never enough for someone to simply act but it was important for those to be seen to act, with approval sought from the likes of Big C thus reinforcing their behaviour, and his perceived role at a leadership level. As these violent encounters were combative the aim was not only to be proficient in aggro, but also to display the ability to
withstand its application, making the content one that definitely advocates 'staunchness' or stoicism\(^\text{13}\). Both the bus and the train provided forums for the construction of these elements into a coherent pattern making them accessible to all the members of the group in a form that was inclusive, understandable and acceptable to those present.

Those who have stayed with the group over a period of time have assumed more central positions as time has gone on. This constant presence within the field has certainly allowed the individuals concerned to both construct and maintain a steady self-identity (Giddens 1991) and comparatively reliable relations to others within the field, through both the regular production and reproduction of the conditions of the field. This reliability in terms of both identity and in terms of the ontological security that this engendered, provides those involved with a place within the community that is engineered through constant production and reproduction within the field. With this being the case those involved hold the club as being part of themselves and their salient social identity, and self categorise at this level, considering themselves to be part of the club. As such it was always pointed out to myself during the research that they; the fans were there before chairmen, managers and players, and that they (the fans) would still be there after they departed. This level of understanding in terms of the club and what it meant to them was apparent throughout the study, and this was a feeling shared by myself in terms of my own involvement at the club, as it would also play a central role in my own understanding of myself, and my own salient social identity.

With the above argument providing the basis for the adoption of this form of masculinity within the field, those who participated in ongoing violence in the name of their group and their club; identification with the club would occupy a central position in the individual’s whole personality formation as suggested by the social psychologists, who suggest that those fans involved would be very highly identified\(^\text{14}\). To this end most of those involved in what is known as football violence would frame their understanding in terms of representing the club as shown in the earlier research of Finn (1994) who clearly showed within his work; that those involved in football violence saw themselves not as the proponents of mindless violence but the representatives of the club that they followed on a regular basis.

\(^{13}\) Ideas based around staunchness and stoicism are especially important in relation the heroic as it emphasizes sacrifice and a willingness to hold ones ground exemplified in accounts of ‘Rourke’s Drift’ and other similar military actions.

\(^{14}\) The relationship between individual and club is one of affective identification, where the club plays a central role in salient social identity (Ellemers et al 1999, Wann et al 2001).
Field specific violence

The research has shown throughout that there needs to be the un-entanglement of the violence that takes place within the field on a regular basis. There must be the recognition at this point, that the contested fan group violence that is encountered within the field is different from and separate to tipping-point violent encounters as outlined in the work of Pearson and Stott (2005). These tipping-point encounters happen when any group under consideration feel that their interests are not being represented fairly within the field, or that they are being victimised to an unacceptable level within the field. These tipping point incidents can be the precursor to, or separate from any organised violence that may take place between fan groups. The fans of Cardiff City F.C. have been involved in many tipping point incidents within the field during the research period with just as many involving the various police forces around the country as other fan groups. With the fans of Cardiff City F.C. being a very militant group within the field, this most usually resulted in terms of my own observations in violent altercations in the face of what was seen as very unfair and indiscriminate treatment. The fans of Cardiff City F.C. cared little if the police or another fan group were involved, and responded with high levels of aggression and violence if confronted with this type of behaviour, often in very high numbers as the group were very highly committed to their friends and the group in general.

With this being the case the followers of Cardiff City F.C. were often involved in confrontations within the field and especially so during away games. This regular involvement in altercations has led the fans of Cardiff City F.C. to be labelled at a negative level within the field and this has had the effect of leading to negative policing on numerous occasions as witnessed by myself. This is not to say that the followers of Cardiff City F.C. do not require a police presence at games but that they should be policed in an efficient and even-handed manner because when they are not, the potential and actual incidence of violence and aggression is increased, thus creating a self fulfilling prophecy. Given the concerns surrounding the policing of Cardiff City fans it should be noted at this stage that Cardiff City F.C. do have large numbers of fans who are willing to fight in the name of the team and group. Those who enter into such activities believe that they are involved in a form of organised violence that is highly competitive with outcomes that run parallel to the official contest taking part on the field but do not rely on commercial considerations other than the ability to turn up and represent your team.
All of the group that I travelled with on a regular basis and who participated in such violent encounters were willing to suffer beatings, arrest, and face their own fears in order to engineer the successful outcome of the game. Allied to this, the group were willing to travel large distances, paying large sums of money on regular occasions in their participation, and showed the ability to fully utilise all available technological resources. Perhaps the deviance and criminality displayed by those involved at this level, and the meaning that they attach to their own actions may be most usefully understood in terms of positive deviance, as outlined in Blackshaw and Crabbe's *New Perspectives on Sport and 'Deviance'* (2004). If we accept that the participants believe that on some level they represent the club, then their actions may be understood in relation to the enabling of a successful outcome to the activity. Blackshaw and Crabbe show that, in the work of Coakley (1998) there are definitive belief systems which are seen to constitute this sports ethic, which it is suggested has become part of the mindset and culture of athletes. This system of ethics states that competitors should be willing to: make sacrifices for the game, strive for distinction, accept risks and play through pain, and accept no limits in the pursuit of possibilities.

The high identifiers at Cardiff City F.C. as well as those of other football clubs participating in football hooliganism as a social activity, and as indicated by commentators from within the field such as Pennant (2002), Jones and Rivers (2002), and Thornton (2003) all placed their behaviour within this conceptual framework. With this being the case the fans of Cardiff City who fight on an organised level believe that they are taking part in a game that utilizes violence and aggression in order to achieve victory over another group of football fans. This contest allows for the participants to excel, even if the team on the accredited field of play are not performing in a manner acceptable to this group of supporters. Participants at the club frame their experiences within a well understood set of informal rules as outlined by Marsh *et al* (1978). However, any understanding of the violence involved within this contest should be augmented with the understanding that any violence employed within the context of the violent ritual is not decorous but real in its consequences (Tilly 2003), as those involved often suffer beatings and sometimes severe co-incidental injuries in the pursuit of this contest.

Within this context, the activity that has evolved, allows its practitioners to explore ideas surrounding the heroic, through a war-like contest that tests their masculinity in a relatively
non-injurious manner, and allows for peak flow experiences (Finn 1994)\textsuperscript{15}. Participation in the activity at Cardiff City F.C. has also allowed for the situation as suggested by Wann \textit{et al} (2001)\textsuperscript{16}, whereby reflected failure on the field may be offset by reflected glory in other areas acting as a mechanism for positive self-concept, and considering the often shambolic state that the followers of Cardiff City F.C. found their club in over the last forty years this was often the only glory that they did in fact achieve.

**Policing**

There have been considerable changes in the specific activities that constitute organised football hooliganism, from the taking of ends to the taking of pubs (D and E Brimson 1996), and any attempt at policing has had to account for these variations. Whilst the various police forces have had to be increasingly reflexive in the policing of football there also requires the recognition that they operate within the arena, very often with their own agenda to fulfil in relation to their immediate duties and any extra powers that they wish to obtain. There is also the recognition that certain games have always had a higher degree of potential for trouble than others on an historic level due to proximity, and antagonistic social relations at group level. This is crucial as it amounts to the recognition that the field, has from its inception provided a forum (arena) where in-group and out-group identities are polarized within a competitive environment (Ellemers \textit{et al} 1999), making unfavourable comparison commonplace and that if conditions are as such then the potential for violence is greatly increased, Cardiff City versus Swansea City would provide a good example of the increased risk of violence due to antagonistic social relations.

The participants in football violence at Cardiff City F.C. understand that the effective management of the field by the police is essential, and the group are involved in a complex relationship as a third force within the arena, confirming the assertions of Armstrong (1998) in his study on Sheffield United fans, who would see the police as being the third group of muscular males within the arena. The form and content of policing is however a major concern in light of successive legislation culminating in the range of discretionary powers awarded to the police in relation to football by the amendments made to \textit{The Football

\textsuperscript{15} Peak flow experiences according to Finn result in \textit{communitas} where the individual experiences an especially strong and rewarding sense of closeness with those others present.

\textsuperscript{16} Ideas relating to highly identified fans inability to \textit{CORF} (Cut Off Reflected Failure), and ability to \textit{BIRG} (Bask In Reflected Glory) through successful endeavours off the field.
Spectators Act 1989 in the form of the Football (Disorder) Act 2000. Within the field the police hold discretionary powers in relation to all aspects of behaviour, and with policing conducted on a level of categorisation, and with the group labelled within the field there are definite consequences, resulting in a negative level of interaction for all members of the fan group at many games involving the club.

As clearly shown throughout the research there is a definite need for policing within the field, however the form that this policing takes is of the utmost importance in shaping how each specific match day turns out. More importantly even than this is the way in which certain fan groups are firstly perceived by specific police forces, and are then subsequently treated, based upon the set of ideas that are engendered by this perception. This is not to say that policing does not need to be strong when football teams with a perceived hooligan followings meet, but rather that the policing of such games needs to be carried out in a highly organised and even handed manner in order to prevent a totally counter-productive outcome. Specific spatial corridors need to be effectively cordoned and maintained by an appropriate force in both the run up and following any game to prevent rival fan groups engaging in behaviour that is deemed inappropriate. Strong intelligence should be gathered and utilised in a manner that prevents social disorder whether on a small or large scale between rival fan groups.

 Allied to the above points, good models of policing should be promoted and also provide the basis for the control techniques used by the various police forces in order to police football fans. The policing of Cardiff City F.C. fans and any away fans visiting the city would I believe provide a sound basis for such a model for a number of reasons. Firstly, considering that Cardiff City fans a supposedly amongst the most unruly and disruptive in the football league system in England and Wales there is relatively little trouble at home games. Secondly, the home fans are not treated with any sense of otherness but taken entirely upon their merits, with any bad behaviour punished at a level that is warranted. Thirdly, temporal-spatial corridors are monitored and policed in a manner that means that there is very little possible interaction between rival fan groups minimising possible the risks of violence. Finally, the police and Cardiff City F.C. have tried to encourage fan involvement in the planning stage of policing football games involving them leading to greater co-operation and a lessening of bad feeling between the various groups within the arena. These measures have produced a situation where both Cardiff City fans, away fans, and those policing them can enjoy the best possible relations with a reduced risk of violence and disorder occurring on a
match day; including both the time preceding the game, and the time afterwards following its playing until the away fans have departed for home.

This neutral and incident-specific form of policing has been seen, by both myself and other fans as providing the best possible result in terms of the expected interactions on a match day. However, this was only half the story and continually throughout the research process during away games the sort of policing encountered could often at best be described as harsh and arbitrary and at worst hostile and often racist in its execution. On many away-days, the policing was extremely heavy handed as the only crime committed was independent rail travel on the part of the group. Within the field, rather than a situational approach to the policing of Cardiff City fans being followed there was widespread hostility to the group, and this points to a situation where Cardiff City fans are labelled and scape-goated within the field. Even more worryingly the group can now be said to be portrayed at the level of outlaw (Young 1996) as the recent exclusion from the game at Wolverhampton Wanderers (20-01-07) highlights.

Heavy handed tactics and the random application of violence by the police should be minimised and actively discouraged as these measures often provided the basis for tipping point incidents, and encouraged violence within the field rather than reduced its risk of occurrence. Cordial relations between the various police forces and specific fan groups should be encouraged in order to facilitate smooth operations on a match day and to provide the basis for further co-operation.

Why would the lads bother?

Considering the negative media construction of football violence and more specifically Cardiff City fans, the research has sought to address; why would those involved even bother to both go to the football and become involved in the activity at all, and furthermore why would they freely adopt and maintain a hooligan identity. As shown extensively throughout the research media coverage of events within the field have certainly been shown to be tailored to suit the idea of a 'spectrum of violence' within British society (Scraton 1987). It is clearly shown that by the 1980s and continuing onwards into the present day, images of football hooliganism were being, and are still being mobilised in a specific manner, often being used at the level of montage, being portrayed as a 'threat to democracy' necessitating extended police powers and helping the construction process required for the facilitation of the 'authoritarian state' and further justifying its existence.
Throughout the research, there was abundant evidence at both the club and within the group of fans that I travelled with extensively to support the ideas of Blackshaw (2003) concerning community. With participation in the activity and general involvement in the field also allowing for what Blackshaw would consider the ‘laddish’ behaviour of friendship groups, motivated by the need for a ‘solid’ ontological security, the lads at Cardiff City F.C. are more than happy to adopt this form of identity even in the face of censure. With this being the case then the football hooligan community at Cardiff City F.C. and the wider field of football generally, represents a relatively stable site in society, allowing as it does for the individuals involved to maintain a steady self-identity (Giddens 1991) and comparatively reliable relations to others within the field due to its constant reproduction every season. This allows those at the club to remain anchored in what is often a very changeable wider society, and provides those involved with the means to develop narratives providing them with a sense of meaning and security. As individuals now live in a state of liquid modernity (Bauman 2000), or within a form of highly reflexive modernity, and shifting role expectations as proposed by Giddens (1991) this would be of great importance in understanding the attraction of both football as a site and the communities that have emerged within the site. If we accept this point it would be useful to think in terms of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft as proposed by Durkheim (1949) as the fans of Cardiff City F.C. and other clubs look to obtain or supplement a form of closeness and comradeship lacking in other areas of their lives.

The group’s commitment to their friends, the group, and the football club mean that they have become a large presence within the field and highly successful in their endeavours within the arena, thus providing a study group that can be said to be highly valid in terms of its viability in understanding football violence as a social phenomenon. The scene that has built up around the casual movement and among football fans in general means that rather than having a narrow view of locality and narrow understanding of their place in the world, those involved at Cardiff City F.C. have a clear understanding of ‘the other’ in terms of those who inhabit the field. The basic presupposition among the lads is that there are other lads at all the other football clubs in Britain and that many of them share the same interests allowing for extensive networking and the sharing of ideas concerning both the field and wider society. With this being the case; a large community of football fans has emerged with similar interests, and is so big that they are marketed to as a specific group within British society, with many of their interests in terms of fashion and leisure choices filtering back into the wider society from which they are drawn.
A new stadium, and new horizons?

As shown within the research most fan bases are drawn along geographic lines (Jones 1997) or formed by specific groups sharing a geographic space (Armstrong 1998, Boyle and Haynes 2000), and with this being the case then localised habitus is always going to be an issue whether at Cardiff City or any other club as shown in the work of Robson (2000). At Cardiff City localised habitus is informed by the areas specific socio-historical development, and on a proletarian basis, with industrial relations forming the basis of anti-authoritarianism. Cardiff City fans sing ‘I’ll be there, I’ll be there, with my little pick and shovel I’ll be there’ pointing towards the area’s industrial heritage, and their pride in this. Due to the influence of the Coalfields and the Docks there is very little Welsh speaking amongst Cardiff City fans and the salient social identity (Ellemers et al 1999) is one based on a shared social history, rather than any ideas of a distinct ethnic/racial identity and Welsh speaking.

Any fan socialised into the football club is aware that there is the potential for violence within the field and that this can be increased by a variety of factors most usually occupying a hierarchy of meaningfulness; field specific relations, relations based on localised social relations, and national relations most usually occupying the position of a super-ordinate task. With the above being understood the fans of Cardiff City understand that they are rivals with the likes of Leeds, West Ham, and Millwall; the UDM ‘scabbed’ the miners and came from Nottingham; the police force drafted in for the pickets waved ten pound notes at striking miners; and that all these issues affect interactions with the groups concerned. However, Cardiff City F.C. fans save their most vitriolic loathing for the fans of Swansea City showing that even this hierarchy can be bypassed if there is too much history for the groups to work together even if for the common good of both. These ideas are shared by large numbers of people at the club rather than just those who fight in the name of the team and these feelings are apparent on match-days.

As stated earlier the club has now moved on in both what has happened off the field and what is expected on it, so where do the lads fit in to this new situation at the club? It would be short-sighted and even foolish to think that even if you got rid of everyone who has taken part in violence in the name of Cardiff City F.C. that football violence would not be an ongoing concern at the club. As stated within the research, the fans of Cardiff City F.C. are drawn from both the city itself and the surrounding valleys and with this being the case then removing one group of these fans from within the arena would simply leave room for another
group to take its place. Unless you could stop cultural and social transmission within the local area the same issues would remain, and unless you could stop all other fan groups displays of hostility and aggression the issues will remain. Cardiff City F.C. inhabit an arena where unfavourable comparison is commonplace and simply wishing to travel to away games will often bring the fans into conflict situations if not properly policed, and with the high levels of commitment shown by the fans at the club this will always be the case.

Allied to the above points and on a purely pragmatic level, many of the new fans attending games are attracted by both the success and entertainment that have now taken hold at the club. However, this has not only been the case and at time when the entertainment and success was not at the club; the lads made up the majority of the crowd both at Ninian Park and they also managed to spend a large part of their disposable income in following Cardiff City to such exotic locations such as Darlington, Lincoln, Huddersfield and Luton. During this time the violence associated with Cardiff City fans was at its highest, as the lads at the club aimed to maintain a presence in the field; even in the face of ridicule for the on field activities of the so called professionals representing the club, and in the face of hopeless financial mismanagement.

Without placing the research at the level of excuse or justification in terms of describing those who take part in football violence at the club, there needs to be the recognition that those involved have been vastly over-constructed in negative terms. Rather than being a threat to the established order of society, the lads at Cardiff City F.C. most usually go to work from a Monday to a Friday, and then follow their club on the weekend. With this being the case, and in the recognition that those who follow the club, and are involved in violence are probably best understood as being loyal and highly identified fans, then there should be the recognition of them and their place within the fan group, even if this means that they need to modify their behaviour to be accommodated at the club. With this being the case then the ‘Dutch Model’ of inclusion is certainly a route to consider and is in fact something that was tried with a great deal of success by Sam Hamman before his demise as chairman at the club.

Areas for further research

The possibility of future research is endless unless the game changes at some fundamental level as there will always be lads who follow the football. While the general move in football is towards even greater commercialism and the further sanitation of stadiums and the quietening of raucous fans there will always be those fans who internalise the club to high
levels and who are willing to place themselves in dangerous situations in order to represent their perceived interests within the field. The least that the research undertaken should provide is a sounding board for other ideas, within the research no effort has been made to provide a final commentary, and no claims to such end have been made. A relativistic stance has been taken throughout, and this research has been driven by developments in the social sciences as a whole. Within this context progress is seen as being continual and as such all theories need continuous testing against new developments within the social sciences, and more specifically each particular field of study. The aim of the research undertaken was to show how developments in all areas of the social sciences necessitated a new conceptually more advanced view of football violence than presently available. The research has mediated between available viewpoints and taken advances within the various social sciences in order to provide a complex model regarding the activity, and can now be utilised in a similar manner if wished to provide an even more complex model. In terms of the here and now it should be understood that the main aim was to provide a more broad-based and usable model in order to both improve understanding and facilitate research around the subject.

Comparative analysis could provide a rich vain of research, and for a truly comprehensive picture to emerge all British clubs with either perceived or not hooligan following should be studied in order to understand their interests, and placement within the field. With this idea being taken to its natural conclusion then; comparative analysis provides a very strong basis for further research and analysis across both countries and continents in order to find points of convergence and divergence in terms of both practice and theory. Research could also take many different forms as this research straddles and utilises many different aspects of the social sciences as it has strived for a high degree of usability. With this being the case, specialists within any of the disciplines may take up any of the main ideas outlined within the research and provide a more expansive analysis than allowed for within the format of this research. Throughout the study a meditational approach has been taken, and the best ideas from within the research of others into football violence have been utilised in order to improve understanding around the issues involved. With this being the case then the research may be used in a meditational process to continue to advance understanding at a number of levels because as shown by Bourdieu (1990) the best research involves the integration of both theory and practice, and I believe the study undertaken does this in a way that helps in the continual movement towards complexity in the understanding of social phenomenon.
APPENDIX A:  

INTERVIEW CHECKLIST

Personal Background
1. Age
2. Occupation
3. Social class (subjective/objective)

Terrace careers and intergroup violence
4. At what age did you start attending football matches?
5. When did you first witness fighting at the football and what did it mean to you?
6. At what age did you become involved with disorder at the football?
7. Have you ever been involved in actual physical fights at the football?
8. Have you ever been beaten up/assaulted by rival fans at the football?
9. Have you felt physically frightened at the football (if so where and why)?
10. Do you ever attend the football, solely to fight with rival fans?
11. Do you attend away games regularly?

Policing
12. Have you ever been assaulted by the Police at the football?
13. Have you ever been arrested at the football?
14. What do you think of the policing of Cardiff City fans, both home and away?
Football Casuals and Social Networking

15. Would you consider yourself a football casual?

16. Do you have friends/acquaintances at other league clubs?

17. Do you wear designer clothing to the football regularly?

18. How important do you think the right designer wear is, in relation to the football?

Social Identity Issues

19. Is being Welsh, an important part of your identity, if so why?

20. Do you think being a Welsh club in the English League is important, in relation to hooligan activities?

21. What do you think of the rivalry between Cardiff City F.C and Swansea City F.C?

22. What football league club do you dislike the most and why?

23. What national team do you dislike the most and why?
APPENDIX B:

Gwynn Police Conference Interview

JW: can you tell me your name please?

G: Gwynn Davies and I’m the spokesman for the Cardiff and Valley Rams

JW: I’d like to talk to you now Gwynn about your role as a liaison with the police, and specifically about the conference you attended for us as our spokesman, and developments you may think have happened since you came back, and how you think things have progressed with the relationship between Cardiff City fans and the various police forces around Britain.

G: it’s, it’s a bit of destiny you know, a bit of fate, I was umm, before I heavily got involved, I think the RAMS were up and started really, and we started off as a travel organisation really and to look after each other. Then I could see some of the unjust treatment we were having and whatever, and you want to do things about it, you don’t know how best to go about it but I remember listening to the radio when I was off to work in Newport Hospital and there was a chap on the radio called Cliff Stott, he’s a Doctor of Psychology in Liverpool, but he had done some studies with the English football league, going to Germany and whatever about the Robocop mentality, and it was like seeing a light at the end of the tunnel, because here was a chap who was singing from the same hymn sheet, and he was saying about aggressive policing breeds aggressive response. And, you know, and they’ve adopted this for a lot of the England matches now and it’s working, and he was saying that they should interact and all this, and they’ve taken this on in a lot of countries abroad and it’s got a lot better, and I was so impressed by this chap I tried to phone him when I got into work and have a chat with him, I couldn’t get through, and then it just went by the by. Then a couple of years later we were playing Leeds away, and we were doing our bubble match, one of our first bubble matches, and someone introduced me.

JW: could you explain the concept of a bubble match?

G: yeah, well, a bubble match is the sort of extreme measure to stop any sort of interaction between fans, if they think the risk is so high because of the history between Leeds and, playing at Cardiff, that FA Cup match we sort of put the nail in the coffin for them so to speak. It was felt, as much for our fans protection and to help policing sort of thing, and to
stop any sort of major disorder that we would travel in a bubble. And what a bubble means is, you have to get to Cardiff, leave your cars and get on buses you’re allocated to, you don’t have a ticket to the game until you get to a rendezvous point near the ground, so you’ve got to travel in a bubble convoy, you can’t get out of this bubble and you get taken in, in a group, kept in a group and come out and it’s a necessary evil, but it has been used to often in the last few years in matches we don’t feel there, some of them I’ve said look boys we need this to prevent any disorder, and prevent the bad image but its become to easy sometimes for them to drop it on us and whatever, and its not the way forward that football should go.

But Leeds was one of the first ones we went to and I bumped into Cliff there, I was sorting out tickets in the car-park and someone introduced me to him then, and I clicked who he was and he’d been employed by the Home Office to oversee things at, looking at the European Cup and World Cup sort of thing, he was employed to oversee things and Cardiff was one of the clubs he going around, and we had a rapport going and he came down to study and whatever, and I found an ally there because, he was, he was backing up everything I said and I was backing up everything he said you know, his was academic and mine was through proof you know, university of life really (JW: yeah) and it went from there. And, and we’d had instances where we’d been set upon by Huddersfield by the police, police in Huddersfield and that got to a real bad legal stage where people were assaulted and police were reprimanded, and we took them on and we’ve heard since that we are not allowed to take them on and win. And they were out to get us like, and we were playing Bradford in a few weeks time and these special groups who were brought into Huddersfield to police things there wanted to come over and get a bit of revenge, because we had taken people on and taken policemen to court but there was a very brave inspector in Bradford who intercepted it, and said no, we can do it ourselves and whatever. (JW: yeah)

But they were scared, they were scared of Cardiff’s reputation, and scared of whatever so they contacted the club and they came down and met, and met with him. It was the best meeting I ever had in any of the negotiations I’ve had and instead of saying what could we do for him, the first thing he said what can we do for you, which was great. It was what do you need off us, and we sat down and discussed like that and it was so successful, and even then other forces were putting spanners in the works, and we said look we’ll police the buses, the boys like to have a pint if you can find us somewhere to stop to have a drink and whatever, we’ll stick together, we’ll self-police and whatever, there will be no damage to the pub we’ll do this, at the right time we’ll leave together and we agreed to go to Chappletown which is in
Sheffield area where we'd been on several occasions without any problems at all, but when the Sheffield police heard we were going there the night before, they put a spanner in the works saying they are not coming here even though they'd had no trouble, and this caused the Bradford area major concern but at the last minute they found another town 8 miles away from Bradford, so they dropped us on the area and it could have been disastrous but it was fantastic and I think we had about twenty coaches up there.

And what was great was, we all went there and had a social drink. And it was fun, whatever, and they must find us, three or four pub landlords phoned me and wrote to me since thanking me for taking them there and how good it was and everything was great they took us into Bradford all in a group, everybody was happy, the police were in short sleeves walking round the pubs chatting to people instead of dressed up for a battle, and it really worked you know and we got there, we were in the ground. And, actually the stewarding at Bradford was poor rather than the policing and what was refreshing to see was, one chap was leaning over the front wall to take photos of the upper deck and he fell onto the pitch, fell on the pitch and, didn't invade the pitch stewards were heavy handed and tried to reprimand him, and pull him off the pitch, and Cardiff fans pulling him back, but the police came down and actually escorted the steward out rather than the fan 'cos they seen what happened and the steward could have caused a problem I know, 'cos if the fan had gone on the pitch and invaded then people would say he done wrong and got to go but, but it wasn’t fair so the police could see that and again that was another bonus point for the police, and what was funny after the match, something I hadn’t clicked on, when we came out after the match, everyone came out there were three policemen there and they had policemen on duty but we didn’t see them they were around the corner in buses hidden, in buses locked up, so they were there if needed which was great, they don’t have to be in your face they are there if there’s a problem and they are needed like (JW: yeah). I want to see them there so if there’s a problem, I want to see them, and if the boys get out of order they can be sorted out.

But we seen three bobbies, you know, an inspector, a sergeant, and another Bobby in short sleeves, and we come out of the ground and everyone is on the bus and we are ready to go in two minutes, and I'm sitting there amazed and someone said you don't know what's happened do you, and I said no I don't, and he said you cant work out why everyone is on the bus and I said no, because on normal procedures, you come out and mill around the buses, because there's a threat not from away fans mind, but from the police you wouldn't get on the bus and leave your mate outside if the police were heavy handed and pushing because you
would be seen as a coward, you would stay there with your mate ‘cos there’s a threat, but you came out of Bradford and there’s no threat, no heavy policing so we are sat on the bus and happy to go. Now, this Bobby the chief inspector, when we did this talk in Liverpool, was invited to Liverpool and he did his talk on the communication and how well it worked, and they were grateful and whatever, and he said the highlight of it for them, he said his sergeant said, his sergeant was there after the match and we all came out now and there were 1500 of us up there, and he said, they all started walking towards me the sergeant said, he said I thought oh my god I’m on my own here, and he said to a man everyone of them walked past and shook my hand and thanked me for the day out. He said I couldn’t believe it these were the Cardiff hooligans he said, they were gentlemen he said they come out, and got on the bus and went, and they all made their way across to shake my hand he said and thanked us for the day out it was a real lesson.

And, then I got up and did my speech and said the same you know, I said if you treat us like that, it don’t work all the time I said, and people will be a nuisance and whatever but what you’ll find is if you treat us fairly and people get out of hand we will sort them out ourselves, we wont let people, there’s self policing among Cardiff fans a pecking order, and we don’t want kids smashing things, whereas years ago they would smash up pubs on the way home and whatever just, we, we sort them things out ourselves and give them a cuff because we want to be able to go back to the pub. And, that’s a sign of how far we’ve come because in the past with Cardiff City on the road services would be locked, pubs would be stopped, roads would be blocked. Now if we go away I have landlords phoning us up asking if we can call in on the way home so they can get extra staff on ‘cos we give them such good business and no trouble, that’s a sign of how far we’ve come (JW: yeah) the boys recognise that and that by behaving we get these extra bonuses. It don’t work all the time and we, we’ve got to keep on top of it, and its been great you know but there’s a drink culture, a big drink culture in South Wales, but that doesn’t mean that people are hooligans, you know. We can’t see how rugby fans can drink, during the match and on the way to the game and everything, and there’s a biasness with football fans, drink and you’re a hooligan you know, but in rugby your one of the boys if you drink and that’s something that sticks in the gut a little bit.

But what’s happened now is we’ve helped with the methods that we’ve put on ourselves and the methods we travel under but we stick together, they find us pubs whatever and it worked for a while but then they moved the goalposts and all of a sudden now they are saying right, they no longer fight they’re not so much of a threat, they all stick together lets stop them
drinking now, let's get them twelve o'clock in the ground and stop them drinking and it, it moved the goalposts so

JW: so how do you think that's impacted on us as Valley Rams now?

G: Well I have walked away from it because at the end of the day I feel we are stitching everybody up because I've played the game, the boys have played the game, and the boys have played the game more than anything with the respect they've got for us and said look you know we have a pint which is what we want to do, we want to go to football and with your mates, drink get drunk, some get drunk but if you are to drunk to go in then don't put up with it, you don't have to arrest them we will take them and put them back on the bus, if they are too drunk we will sort them out ourselves, we'll tell people look you're not going to get in, get away from here, we'll sort them ourselves. People like to drink or have a bag of chips, bet on the horses, have a sing-song, find a pub, go to the game, sing their head off, make a fool of themselves, let their hair down, and come home, it don't mean that they're hooligans, that they want to fight. That was great and it worked and with big camaraderie, but they've stopped that now and their gonna lose it now what people are gonna do is travel independently and the risk of disorder is gonna be huge again. And, then perhaps they will appreciate what they had 'cos.

JW: You are saying now then; do you think that there will be a negative impact because they have made conditions so bad in relation to the Valley Rams, that people are not willing to stick with it, and they are forcing us all back on trouble (G:well), on public transport, do you think this is gonna cause trouble in perception of Cardiff fans?

G: It already has we, we had an agreement, we said look you find us pubs and we’ll all stick together, and put us in the pubs before the game, and sometimes they can’t do that, so what they would do often is stop on the way to have a drink. We’d also have some cans on the bus, underneath the bus so that on the way home instead of these buses stopping in towns and villages where we would drink, on the way home, away from the ground a mile or two we’d pull over, put the drinks on top and the boys could have a drink on the way home, what harm is that, and that worked great. That was the bargain, now the bargain is we want you to stay on the buses, you can't have a drink, you can't stop, so there is no, what are we offering our fans, what we’re saying is come on the buses you can’t, you’re not allowed to drink let alone be drunk, you can’t have a drink on the bus home or away and that’s.
JW: And how long would these journeys last?

G: Some days you could spend ten hours on the bus, five hours there five hours back innit you know, but it’s a case of, we’ve got to sell this concept to the boys, where before you could say come on the buses, stick together, we’ll look after each other, we’ll have a drink, we’ll have a pub now we’ve got to say to them look boys come on the buses can’t have a drink, can’t, we’ve got to get to this rendezvous point at twelve o’clock or half past twelve they may keep us there for an hour or five minutes you never know, they will take us straight to the ground, you can’t have a drink, they will keep you in until after the game and what are we giving the fans, they’ll say well sod you I’ll go on the train or a minibus, you know I’m a fifty year old man I got a family, I work all week I want to have a pint. I’ll go up in a minibus with my mates and stop at a pub and if that’s what they want. Like QPR last year normally when we were run as the Rams we’d take sixteen buses prop ourselves up at the Walkabout pub in QPR or they’d find two pubs to put us in, buses will drop us off we’d have a drink there, keep us all together walk us to the ground great day out, last year because of all this we went up on the train there must have been 800 people up in the train, in Paddington all over the place there were more police on duty, we took 1200 fans to QPR there were more police on duty for that game than they use for a, than at Cardiff for the Carling Cup final, there was also more police than they used for Arsenal and Spurs, who are big North London premiership rivals. People were arrested because of the heavy handed policing, because of the aggressive tone and it was like the old days again. There were hundreds and hundreds of police whereas before they could have policed it with a tenth of the police. Stoke City years ago, a year before we formed the Rams one hundred and forty arrests at Stoke City, 57 police support units on duty to control the Cardiff fans, last year no arrests one police support unit because that’s how far we have come with the forces of good, in fact people complained last year because they couldn’t find any police to get directions to the ground, whereas years ago fifty seven police support units, we had a Bobby each like, and who pays for that, tax payers, you get thousands of police armed to the hilt and they feel powerful, you get bullyboys amongst them and want to take on, I’ll show these Cardiff fans, an aggressive tone is set, it’s, I find it so simple it’s difficult to comprehend why people cant grasp it because, it is so, so simple and it’s about communication and working together and facilitating peoples. You know, people don’t get up in the morning with as set plan to be a football hooligan and cause something, they get up to have a good day out at the football, very few people get up and think lets go and be that bad if, if they were that bad a person they’d stay home and rob
basically and whatever, they, they want to go away and have a good day out very few get up planning social disorder, it happens often because of circumstances which are put on us and when you see people being treated badly, you get involved and I get involved its, its hard not to when you see people getting treated badly. And, we went to Spurs this year and after the match we had a bubble back to the buses which means everybody was bubbled by the police who walked you, after three quarters of an hour delay they decided to move us so I stayed at the back to make sure everybody was OK and you’ve got some spotty faced copper kicking and hitting in the back of the heels keep moving, and I was saying I can only move as fast as the bubble is going, and he said you know well why are you at the back, I said well someone’s got to be at the back and if I’m not at the back of the line like someone else is, you gonna kick them at the back it’s crackers, you’ve got police at the front controlling the movement and the speed your moving at and you’ve got the police at the back shoving and kicking you trying to get you to go faster. And you cant and you wonder why you’ve got people trying to respond, grandfathers arguing with them and women, children my god it’s mad, mad, there should be after every match there should be a meeting and post match enquiry. Every match whether there is trouble or not, to look at why it worked, how it worked, and where do you go from here, the cost of putting that on would be miniscule in comparison to police costs. You know it’s crackers how much it costs, the policing, rather than talking about what they want and working on plans make some contracts make some agreements and if people renege on it don’t give them a chance again, but we don’t renege on our contracts us Cardiff fans we keep to our stuff all the time, but we’ve been stitched up to many times to mention and that’s why I’ll walk away now and say look, and if it gets back to a situation where we’ve got to take a step back to take a step forward I think then we’ve got to. And, it’s not what we want, and if it works OK and there is no trouble then we are all happy but I’ve just got a feeling that there’s gonna be, it’s gonna go back before it goes forward.

JW: So, given the efforts that you particularly made on behalf of the group in liaising with the police, how do you think that the police still react to us on a force by force level, rather than just putting a blanket over the police and saying they all treat us the same, what would you say that the various police forces treat us like?

G: Well, that’s what I can’t get my head round, you’d think they would all be the same wouldn’t you, you’ve got the head of ACBO saying how good we are, you’ve got this police conference saying how good we are, but you see certain forces gritting their teeth saying aye
we’ll show them, you haven’t got two who have got the same view you know, you’ve got some who think we are the best thing since sliced bread, and some who think you know, we are the sons of Satan basically and you can’t get two forces to agree, but you know the forces agree who think we are OK are the ones who’ve met us and worked with us, and gone along with it, and it’s worked out OK so surely the other ones should say well they’ve done it and its worked, so lets copy that, but they don’t. Yeah, it’s so simple I think its, umm, its hard to understand how people cant grasp it and, give it a chance, if it works great, where they have done it, and where they have done it, it’s worked so what is the problem.

JW: So what forces do you think have been amenable to us and have taken these ideas on board G and what forces do you think are really, really resistant to us a group?

G: Well, West Midlands are notorious and not just among Cardiff fans they’ve had independent things on the internet and the West Midlands are by far the most unfriendly football policing, and their costs per arrest must be astronomical. And, you’ve got other forces who were seen as the enemy at one time like the Yorkshire forces now, we’ve worked so well with after the debacle in Huddersfield, we’ve worked so well with Leeds and Bradford and clubs up there, the Yorkshire police are great because, and even Sheffield because they work with us and communicate, you know and we’ve had great things when we go to Rotherham and whatever, and these are forces who weren’t known for their football friendly sort of policing, who’ve really grasped it and come on board great and there are lots of forces like Crewe who we get on great with, Stoke now, you know umm, Yorkshire even certain, Thames Valley. But the trouble is again, you can’t say it’s an area because there may be a particular Match Commander and then he’ll move sideways and you’ve got a new one there then with a totally new outlook. And the people who agree the tactics and run the match quiet often aren’t even there and have never been to a football match, and, and that’s what’s frightening you know, it really needs a look at, from the top level. We’ve got people involved and we’ll get somewhere it’s a fight we have got to win because football is big business isn’t it it’s like the Olympics and whatever, if they ever want the World Cup and European Cup here they’ve got to beat hooliganism and the only way they’ll do it is by communicating and interaction, rather than trying to squash it you know it’s crackers.

JW: So considering now then that we’ve talked about the other forces that we encounter, what do you think of South Wales Police’s involvement in match-day regulation, and how do you think that this differs to the other forces around Britain?
G: Well the problem we've got is you know, the proof of the pudding is in, in academia you've got to have facts and figures, now we can show you any facts and figures possible, but once you've shown them the facts now how much the arrests have come down, and the costs have come down, now in any other line of industry or business that would be great but, but not in this, it's still not enough you know, we can show them that by doing this we reduce this, and save that, and people come down to look at Cardiff, use Cardiff police as the case for best practice, but other forces say then, but ahh, they are to close to the fans they've gone native, you here that so many times about our police that they have gone native, who do they think they are coming up here telling us how to police our football matches. But they are football intelligence officers', they should be able to talk to people (JW: yeah) and that's what it's all about. Know the lads, and they trust the lads and they trust you, and build up a rapport, so when they go away they say you may have heard such and such is a waste of space, is that right you people don't like so and so, that's what intelligence is about, you've got fifty lads on a train these are beauties, they're good as gold if you treat them alright, you see that, that's what intelligence is about. You got some forces, who do they think they are, coming up here telling us what to do you know, so it must be frustrating for our police a little bit but, my frustration is that our police should do more and fight other political things but it's hard you know. It's like being in the army isn't it with the pecking order and you rock boats, and if you buck the system you know a lot of police are political animals who want to climb and climb, if they buck the system they aint going to so, umm, so the problem is you have people who have the kudos and plaudits for helping us to get as we are, there are police who are involved with Cardiff who are made to look good because of what we have done, but if something goes bad how will it look then because they'll say, why has it suddenly gone bad, we had the answer so what's gone wrong. And in a way that's possibly what we need so people say woof, you know it was working, we've stopped negotiating and that doesn't work so the possibly there's a crime to be nominated there, I just want some common sense I do, I've had my day and you know, and I feel proud we helped to get the stadium and we provided an answer, you can say what you want to, we provided an answer we did solve the problem, but the problem hasn't been extinguished, it has just been dealt with and managed and if they think it's gone away from Cardiff and other clubs it hasn't, it's always there, you'll see this at international matches now, and Man United away and Liverpool whatever, again, but what's funny by there is when Man United and Liverpool go there they will blame bad and heavy-handed police tactics. But when Cardiff are involved its, firm but fair policing when we are treated like that we deserve it you know, but when Liverpool and Man United
go away its bad policing and whatever you know, it is one rule for one, and another rule for another and that sticks in the throat.

JW: Do you think that given the effort that you made, and Cardiff City fans have made as a group in relation to policing that the state of play is any better now, than it was really now that the Valley Rams is gonna have to go to the wall again?

G: Its, what it has done is, umm, there are bridges built with the police in Cardiff whatever, definitely and we’ve got respect, we know a lot of good, some good police in Cardiff who have got respect for the boys, and they are fair they wont let you break the law or whatever, but they’ll treat you fair and you know certain things have happened where they have earned respect by sticking up for the boys who they know, where as in the past they wouldn’t have its just a case of, so, so we have got that, but that will disappear bit by bit you know and, its gonna be chipped away there are some interesting matches this year and I think the potential is there, you know we are only as good as our next riot, if you think we have been treated badly now then we’ll have heavy-handed policing, and then that will cause more riots and it’s a chain reaction then, like a vicious circle and I think we’ll be back where we were.

JW: So would you say, would you think it would be fair to describe Cardiff City fans in that light then; as militant, and unwilling, and unable to take police brutality on any level?

G: Well, if militant is fair minded then we are militant, because I think we are who we, we like fair play, and treat us properly and we’ll respond properly, treat us badly you know, they wont bully us out of it, we’ve been put on all our lives, we see ourselves as put on, fighters and whatever, and a lot of politicians have come from this area, a lot of union people have come from this area because of the fair minded nature of you work hard, you succeed and whatever, and if that’s militant then we are militant I suppose, but we don’t accept unfairness and we don’t accept bullying, backhanders or you know or keep quiet and we’ll give you this and whatever, play the game, yeah we’ll play the game but treat us properly, and you know it’s respect among your friends is more important to us down here than social standing or whatever in some respects, or even achievement sometimes, its, its being able to look your fellow mate in your eye, and have a clear conscience that’s important to us.

JW: that’s excellent thank you very much for that Gwynn

G: Alright butt
**Big C’s transcript**

JW: We now have a little interview, so now can you first tell me your name?

BC: Big C

JW: Age

BC: 40

JW: Occupation

BC: Creatively unemployed

JW: social class

BC: working class

JW: the first thing I'd like to talk to you about is terrace careers and intergroup violence

**Terrace careers and intergroup violence**

JW: first question is: At what age did you start attending football matches?

BC: At ten, I was taken with my best friend’s father at the time, he's dead now but um, he took me down to Ninian Park one night to watch Cardiff versus Charlton and that was my first time at the football.

JW: O.K The next thing I’d like to ask you when did you first witness fighting at the football and what did it mean to you?

BC: Well, I , at a few of the home games would see the odd scuffle at the back of what was the End where everyone used to congregate, which then was the Grange End (JW;yeah). And they’d fight among each other and I was sort of drawn towards that you know, wondering what it was all about. But my first actual experience of rival fans was when I went to Wembley, I was only 11 and went with my cousins and it was an home international between England and Wales (JW;yeah) and after the game particularly it was just, um, well mass brawls really throughout the Wembley car parks, and to a kid that age it was just scary but also fascinating, something that I thought yeah when I’m a bit older I wouldn’t mind being a part of all that, so I would say that was my first real experience of it.
JW: At what age did you become involved with disorder at the football?

BC: Id say at about, whats that? When you say involved, I would reckon,

JW: that could be throwing things

BC: yeah sure,

JW: that could mean anything mind.

BC: I was throwing the odd stone here and there, and trying to stick the odd sneaky boot in at brawls when I was about thirteen, fourteen something like that you know (JW;yeah), I was on the fringes of it because there were a lot of grown men in there, and I didn’t want to get to close to it but you know if I wasn’t involved in it I was a sort of a voyeuristic tendency to have a look at things you know, it was something that really did interest me, it was something that did get my senses tingling so to speak (JW;yeah), thanks mate)

JW: Have you ever been actually involved in actual physical fights at the football?

BC: Mm, the short answer to that is yes, and on many occasions now as the years have progressed, and um some have been basically what I would describe as hand-bags, posturing and standing off but, other altercations have been quite up close and personal, and quite nasty so yeah, yes I have.

JW: next question is. Have you ever been beaten up or assaulted by rival fans at the football?

BC: again yes, yes, that’s part and parcel of it you give and you receive, its mm, definitely not a one way street, you know people are out with you know, and even though its all in the name of sport and a bit of fun and all that, people do actually get hurt so yes, I have been on quite a few occasions, couple of times worse than others both home and abroad yes, yeah.

JW: Have you felt physically frightened at the football, if so where and why?

BC: Mm, again yes I’d be lying if I said no, and I’m sure everyone who has participated in football violence would have to say the same or I think that they are lying, you know, its got a lot better these days, you can go to places now and you know be virtually taken from your front door to the ground without encountering any fans, but going back years ago, then you know yes it was, some places were very scary, and I’d have to say, you’d have to include Upton Park, West Ham (JW:yeah), you’d have to include a lot of the London clubs really,
Stamford Bridge-Chelsea that was always a dodgy place, and the Old Den was probably the worst I've encountered because the levels of intimidation there were second to none, you were in a cage, a virtual cage where they couldn’t climb over, so they were just throwing bottles over the top of the fencing and you were getting showered with glass, and umm, also you know abroad. Russia was probably the place I did, when thirty of us was attacked by about three to four hundred of them and that was a very scary moment, with flares whizzing past your ears and umm, the thought of knowing you're on foreign soil and hoping none of them have got knives, so yes there’s been many times I’ve been scared, so I think everyone if they’re honest would admit the same thing. (JW: OK thanks for that)

JW: Next question. Do you ever attend the football, solely to fight with rival fans?

BC: Umm, I suppose that I would have to say yes to this as well, I have done, yes I have done, we’ve gone to places like Newport where it has been just invite only, where you know a certain group of us have met up in a pub, we’ve travelled in cars to avoid detection, and arraigned with Newport to meet them, and have it out with them, with about eighty of us and about a hundred or more of them, but the best laid plans went to waste again, because just as we were getting towards were we were supposed to have been the police spotted us, I suppose a group of eighty people (JW;yeah), walking through the streets of Newport is hardly inconspicuous, umm and there’s been plenty of times again when we’ve gone to Newport again to have it with Everton and Millwall when our game was called off with Millwall there’s been Swansea plenty of times, Bristol yes there’s been countless times really I suppose where we have gone just for a punch up yeah. Sometimes we haven’t even bothered with the games, so yes.

JW: OK next question. Do you attend away games regularly?

BC: yes, yes I do there’s very few I miss, I’ve missed a few this season, but umm there has been seasons when I’ve done every away game so, and you know not all of them are potentially violent so I suppose I do enjoy the football as well, or more you know the crack that comes with the football, you know the banter, the camaraderie, the company basically.

**Policing**

JW: OK the next things I want to ask you about now C is the policing of football

JW: Have, you ever been assaulted by the Police at the football?
BC: Ha, yes, yes I have been assaulted quite, mm, quite badly once or twice as well some of it very unnecessary and some of it necessary I suppose, you know I mean I suppose if you put yourself on offer in these situations you’ve got to take the lumps that come with them, but yes the police can be umm, a little to over zealous in dishing out umm, their on the spot retribution so to speak.

JW: The next thing I’d like to ask you is, Have you ever been arrested at the football?

BC: Yes I have been arrested, remarkably low on the average when you think about all the incidents I’ve been involved in, but yes I have been arrested, I’ve been section sixtyed, we’ve been told we’re no longer welcome, we’ve been physically removed from certain areas, and we’ve been actually escorted all the way to our own (JW:yeah) place by the police so that’s how unwelcome we’ve been at places n that, yes I suppose that that’s another part and parcel of it I suppose arrests, the odd conviction here and there, yeah.

JW: OK next thing I’d like to ask you is, what do you think of the policing of Cardiff City fans, both home and away? Do you think that there is a difference in the policing that occurs at the home games and the away games?

BC: Oh, there is a notable difference it really is because, I put it down to the umm, experience that Cardiff police have had with dealing with disorder over the years has held them in good stead, and as practice makes perfect as we all know, they now have policing of Cardiff City home games down to a fine art. They, they really are unfortunately the best in the business (JW: yeah) at preventing this sort of thing because they’ve had such experience with it. There’s been times in the past when they have lost control like Millwall at home being one example in 99, they underestimated that day and since then they really have got things together, and to be honest with you they are, I’d say that they are the best in the country at it, because and Millwall police are also just as you know proficient at sorting out disorder because, again they’ve had such experiences that you know they, they really do have it down to a fine art at Cardiff City, so hmm. (JW; what about away games C?) Now Ha, this can be, this varies from force to force, because you go to some areas and they’re great, you know they say right boys you know they let you know that if you step out of line you will be dealt with but, you are welcome here you know, just go and have a drink boys, go do what you like but just don’t play up, or otherwise we will be on you, which is fair enough. Then you go to other areas like West Midlands, West Yorkshire the two of the worst, they just really do just make it clear that you are not welcome and you are basically sub-human scum,
that, that's it, it sounds a dramatic statement but believe me the way we are treated at these places is um absolutely shocking. You know, you would think (JW; I understand) you'd think we are a total danger to society in general, you'd think we're all going to let off nuclear bombs in the cities, (JW; I know) the way we're treated it's crazy; it's totally over the top. But some of them really, really do need to look hard at their own policy of policing matches because some of them are absolutely clueless, so yeah it does vary, from you know, force to force, most definitely.

**Football Casuals and Social Networking**

JW: Next question, would you consider yourself a football casual?

BC: yes, yes, I would I’d have to say I would, yeah, yeah, you know going back years ago when the explosion first started I had a wedge haircut and the Stan Smiths and everything, and everything that went with it. I have from time to time you know, that fashion isn’t so important, but, yeah, yeah, yes I am a football casual, yeah I am. Definitely followed the fashion over the years and the identity so yes, I would yeah.

JW: OK now next question is, do you have friends/acquaintances at other league clubs, both at home and abroad, let’s say?

BC: Yes, more, more so at home, um I did have a bit of a thing with a Russian who um ha, was one of the ones that battered us in Moscow, which is quite ironic when you look at it but um, I haven’t heard from him in a while now, so maybe he’s in some Gulag somewhere, or something I wouldn’t know (JW: laughing), but it’s quite possible over there. But over here yes, I’ve got um, friends at quite a few different clubs, I’ve got um, quite a lot of mates in the London area; Charlton, Millwall, West Ham, Chelsea, umm up north, Leeds I’m particularly close with up north which is quite ironic considering (JW: yeah) the history between Cardiff and Leeds. Umm, Birmingham, Aston Villa, yeah I’ve got quite a few acquaintances at, umm, some better than others, but I’ve, I’ve been invited to umm, quite a few different occasions with these people, and I have taken them up on a few times and I’ve been treated really, really well when I have been at these places, so yes I’ve got quite a few acquaintances now throughout the clubs.

JW: OK, next question, do you wear designer gear to the football regularly?
BC: Yes, I’d have to say I do, yes it’s umm, a bit of an expensive hobby but umm, I wouldn’t say I’m there looking for the latest fashions, I, I don’t let it dictate my life that much, but yes I wouldn’t like to go down there with a Donnay T-Shirt on, or anything like that you know, (JW; yeah), or a pair of George trainers or whatever. So huh, yeah, yeah I do.

JW: Next question then, how important do you think the right designer-wear is, in relation to the football?

BC: Well, this is, this is a thing that has divided a few people who would define themselves as casuals over the years. I know a few people who tend to really look down on people if they haven’t got the right clothes on or... But you know, some are very, you know but, yeah I think that’s a little bit too much like Susana and Trinny, you know to me (JW; yeah) to me what’s more important to me is that they are staunch lads, and, and they will put their selves in a position to back you up, rath, I couldn’t care less if someone is wearing a two grand coat (JW; yeah), or a ten ninety nine coat you get what I mean. If they’re standing by the side of me and they are prepared to put their neck on the line, (JW; yeah), and trade right handers with the opposition and, and they show themselves to be staunch that’s far more important to me than having a C.P. Company coat on, or whatever you know, but umm yeah, yes its nice to look the part as well I suppose. You know you don’t want to be known hah, as a scruffy firm or nothing like that (JW; yeah) but at the same time to me it’s more important if, if the lad will back you up if your in a tight spot. I’d rather have ten people in the wrong gear than thirty people looking the nuts but not wanting to get their hands dirty (JW; yeah), getting their hands dirty (JW; yeah) is more important to me personally (JW; yeah) so (JW; yeah) that’s my answer there I would say (JW; thank you C).

**Social Identity Issues**

JW: The next things I want to talk to you now about are social identity issues, is being Welsh, an important part of your identity, and if so why?

BC: Yeah to me it is, umm I prob, probably because of where I was born and bred you know in the Welsh Valley’s and the mining communities, you get a strong identity of being Welsh. Maybe, which may be quite insular, because you’re from the Valleys but umm, I think with the Cardiff lot. I think a lot of them feel it but maybe not so thing, because they’re more Anglicised in Cardiff being, being that the English in a lot of them, probably got English you know, half, half English perhaps, I don’t know. But you find the Valleys lot are very, but
saying that I'm being a bit disrespectful to my Cardiff friends here, because a lot of them are proud Welshmen to so, but, I think its, its more like it's where your born and you know, I (JW; yeah) just think of myself as Welsh, but I do think of myself as Cardiff first you know (JW; yeah). I'll put myself as a Cardiff fan first before anything else, its, its club more than country you know but umm, I am a proud Welshman yeah, and I think that does mean a lot it, I think it does give it that extra edge when you go to England, and everywhere you go its one nil to the Engerland, not one nil to the whoever your playing, Sunderland no, there's one nil to the Engerland, you know, so yeah it does give it that extra bit of an edge, so yeah its very important I suppose.

JW: Next question which leads off from that is, do you think being a Welsh club in the English League is important, in relation to hooligan activities?

BC: Yes, again because we are representing a country basically, because we are without question, without a shadow of a doubt the number one outfit in Wales without a doubt. The Welsh, you think of the Welsh firm, the national firm and you just think of Cardiff, and a few Wrexham. You know them tramps down the road they, they don’t even go, you know the Swansea supporters they, they’re not welcome so, and Newport basically the same. So yes, it is very important it is because like I said, as I said earlier, I suppose I answered this question a bit too soon but everywhere we go its, one nil to the Engerland its, its, you know they, they make a big thing and call us sheep shaggers and this, that and the other, you know. Which is all a., it doesn’t bother us its water off a duck’s back (JW; yeah) to us, but umm, it gives it that extra bit of a, you know competitive edge (JW; yeah), plus they don’t like the fact that, being as England fan’s have always been the number ones, you know the exponents of football violence (JW; yeah) throughout the world and everything, and they don’t like the idea of some Welsh club coming to their town and turning them over, and terrorising them as they’ve done to countless countries abroad. It’s a little bit of the chickens coming home to roost for them, and I don’t think they like it too much personally so it gives it that little bit of an extra thing, and it gives me that little bit more pleasure as well that we do turn them over, so yes.

JW: OK next question, what do you think of the rivalry between Cardiff City F.C and Swansea City F.C?

BC: Mmm it’s a bad one this hahaha, its pure hatred there’s, there’s no doubt about it. Its umm, I suppose I do reserve my worst contempt for my fellow countrymen, if you can call
them that, but umm that stems out of their bitterness towards us I think, because of them being you know, not being the capital city of Wales, where they always thought they should be, and all that you know its... They really have got bad chips on their shoulders, they had a great time during the eighties which was a nightmare for us don’t get me wrong when they were playing all the top teams n that but umm, even then you know, we still carried on watching Cardiff and never thought about going to watch them lot you know, and even the away fans if anything. And umm, oh its pure hatred it is, they, they are despised and they despise us there’s no doubt about it, the hatred, we can’t even get on at away games for Wales you know, if Cardiff and Swansea were to meet in say Ital., as happened in Milan they are into each other they’re not thinking about the Italians, and which is why when we go abroad with Wales you’ll always see Cardiff City fans looking for Swansea fans because the hatred is, it runs that deep, it does. Being that when other English clubs can come together under the collective thing of England, but Welsh clubs can’t seem to do that, so I’d say yeah there’s a particularly bad rivalry (JW; thank you).

JW: What football league club do you dislike the most and why?

BC: Well, again it’s our friends from down the M4 its got to be Swansea again, because as, as I’ve answered earlier they are, they are the natural enemy, but then with the proximity of the clubs you know its bitterness on their side, there’s bitterness on our side we really just don’t get on it’s as simple as that. We, we just don’t get on at all; there is no love at all between Cardiff and Swansea fans. You, you might if you see them at Wales games you’ll see one or two and you might feel sorry for them and they’ll just walk around with their heads down all weekend you know. But, no there’s been so much history with all the things that have gone on over the years between us that umm, it has got to be them and I suppose it always will be them. But that said, Bristol City come a close second I have to say that umm, I really despise Bristol City because there is a lot of history there, there’s been umm, bad incidents between us you know, they’ve chanted things like Aberfan at us and there is a lot of history there, so Bristol City come a very close second in my opinion, yes.

JW: OK last question now, what national team do you dislike the most and why?

BC: I suppose the natural thing would be to say England, I suppose because they the ones who its, again it’s a regional thing, it’s the you know, the English rule over Wales, its so
much history between the two countries, but umm, that said I have a lot, a really lot of good English mates, so I couldn’t say I despise all the English, or that would be a lie because I’ve got a lot of good English mates (JW; so what you’re differentiating there is between a personal level and a national level, Big C; yes. JW; so that what you’re saying there, Big C; yes that’s exactly what I’m saying there yeah, yeah), because I do find the English are arrogant, an arrogant bunch of people so they are the natural enemy to hate. But that said, after a few travels abroad I have a particular dislike for Italians after umm, an incident in the San Siro (JW; yeah) where a few of, and leading up to the game where a few of our boys were stabbed, and during the game where they were spitting, vomiting, urinating on us you know and throwing everything they had in their pockets at us, yet when, when it came to outside and we charged them they scattered, you know, they didn’t want to know so nothings changed since World War Two much with them but umm, I found them a particularly bunch of nasty, cowardly umm, people. I’ve been to places like Poland was great, you know and we had a great time out there like and they’re a nasty bunch but we had no problems there. And I’ve been to quite a few places now, but yes, I’d say the Italians I would say yes that was the place, we were based in Turin and we were fighting with African immigrants a lot because they were coming on to our lot outside the pubs and that. We were fighting with Italians then in Milan, we were fighting with Italians and it was, that was one of the worst trips, so yeah I’d have to put them up there, and obviously Turks. I don’t like Turks for what they did to Leeds fans over in Istanbul, that to me that was a heinous crime, you know what happened to them, the amount of stab wounds that they suffered out there was, well it was horrific, and umm, you don’t forget things like that when you’ve travelled abroad because you know it could be you, so umm yeah them to, yeah I don’t like them very much I wouldn’t fancy going over there you know. So yeah I’d say England, Italy and Turk.. Oh then again, ha-ha I could go on all night by here now, I aint to keen on the Scots, the Irish either side, you know so umm, all of them basically hahaha, apart from the Welsh, no but they are my top three would be England, Italians and Turks.

JW: Thanks for that C, thanks (Big C; no problem)
**Kty main interview**

**Personal Background**

JW: Age

KTY: 47

JW: Occupation

KTY: Medical Supervisor

JW: Social class

KTY: Middle, I would say

**Terrace careers and intergroup violence**

JW: At what age did you start attending football matches?

KTY: ummm, I first went when I was eight years old with my father, I first started going on my own when I was thirteen, so thirteen.

JW: when did you first witness fighting at the football and what did it mean to you when you saw it, what did you think about it?

KTY: umm, well I saw a few minor scuffles, but the first major one I seen was Cardiff- Man United, and it was just, well it was just incredible, it was just, it went on from the moment I left the train station ‘til we got to Ninian Park, bearing in mind I was 15 years old at the time, just starting to get involved in it myself, you know what I mean, and to be honest with you, I’ve got to be honest I was a bit out of my depth, you know what I mean 1 was only 15, and there was these blokes just fighting tooth and nail all day. And it was just incredible, I’ve got to say like it was one of the most exciting days of my life, it was such a buzz like, it was incredible and, umm, it went on ‘til eight, half past eight in the night. And then, a train back to the Rhondda then and just talked about it for the next two years like. You know it was a big thing like, the battle of Ninian Park and that’s exactly what it was, it was just incredible and that was my first major sort of insight into the old football violence, and then I got out of it for a while then like.
JW: I was going to ask you; at what age did you become involved with disorder at the football, but you just said at 15?

KTY: well I got arrested when I was 16 (JW: yeah) Cardiff City versus Wolves, that was my first arrest, ummm, so yeah at 15 or 16, I started to go away then and mix, mix with the older boys like, like the FG’s and what-have you like, you know I wasn’t sort of in their company but I was in awe of them like, (JW: yeah) you know what I mean. And, like I’d just be hanging on to their coat tails basically like, and trying to copy them, you know what I mean, and uhh, I loved it I’ve got to be honest, it was fantastic all my, imagine being 15, 16 I didn’t have a lot of money I just started work, my wages were £16 a week, 16 years old and £16 a week for my wages, and it all used to go on football, everything, you know what I mean. And, I was just hooked on it for, I’d say a good, well until I had the life ban which has come on later like.

JW: Have you ever been involved in actual physical fights at the football, like fist fights and worse?

KTY: yeah, yeah, yes

JW: Have you ever been beaten up and assaulted by rival fans at the football?

KTY: yes

JW: Have you felt physically frightened at the football, and if so where and why?

KTY: Numerous occasions, and anybody who tells you they are not frightened in them situations is either not human or a liar, because if you’re not frightened then you’re not at your best, you know what I’m saying (JW: yeah). Umm, if you are confronted with, you know like, when you say stupid odds of people when there’s thirty of them and there’s five of you, then its obvious that you are gonna be frightened, and it’s happened, you know what I mean, and at the end of the day, with the sort of people I’ve gone around with over the years we’ve, we’ve been in them situations hundreds of times, and yeah I’ve been frightened, definitely, hundreds of times, you know don’t get me wrong, once it’s over the, the buzz after is incredible, it’s just unbelievable, and, and I don’t take drugs I never have, I drink I have a couple of pints and what-have-you but I don’t know what sort of buzz you get off drugs but it can’t be any better than that buzz you get after you’ve been in a row and come out the other side (JW: yeah) it’s unbelievable.
JW: what sort of grounds would you feel, these feeling at the worst say, where to have you felt it was on top?

KTY: well I can say, over the years its, it’s been to numerous to mention during the eighties, it was always when Chelsea come to Cardiff you know what I mean, they’d come down massively mob handed early, you know, and by the time we all got together, you know what I mean, you’ve already, you’ve already had three or four fights just to get to your, just to get to the pub like (JW: yeah), and you know what I mean, ummm, I described to you that Tottenham thing when they attacked that pub, you know what I mean, that’s just craziness when you get like, close to a hundred blokes running around the corner with scaffolding tubes and lumps of wood (JW: yeah) and you are standing there with nothing, then, you know what I mean that’s scary like (JW: yeah), ummm, obviously Millwall years ago was hell of a place to go and I mean it was just, Cardiff would turn up with two hundred and fifty, three hundred people and the like, and you would have to fight your way all the way to the coaches, and then your coaches would be smashed to smithereens, like, you know. And, West Ham, West Ham in the eighties was terrible like, true story this is; I came out of West Ham, I dont know if you’ve been to Upton Park (JW: yeah), you know as you, they got a cantilever stand you walk under, and them double rows of flats (JW: yeah), you know those double rows of flats (JW: yeah) and then you walk onto the Barking Road innit (JW: yeah) well it was in the eighties and, we, we parked up now a good couple of miles up the Barking Road ‘cos you know there’s no parking there (JW: yeah, I know) and we hadn’t gone by coach so we’re walking towards the Barking Road and there’s a good few hundred of Cardiff there, but West Ham were bonkers in those days, you know what I mean, those were the ICF days when they were crazy like, so we were panning it a bit like obviously, and I’m walking down now like, and next thing, this thing hits me in the arm now right, and I’ll tell you what I thought I’d been shot, honest to god. I dropped to the floor and all the boys come round, and this is true this is I swear, some old lady had from her balcony had hit me with a tin of beans (JW: laughing) and the boys could here her shouting, ‘ fuck off home you Welsh cunt’ (JW: laughing) and honest to god a tin of beans hit my arm butt and I thought I’d been shot, I had a bruise like that for about two months after, that’s what it was like, well. And that’s what it was like in the eighties like, you not only had to fight their lads, you had to fight the old woman as well, up in London like it was scary, for someone in his twenties like it was scary supporting Cardiff then, it was, scary but fun and enjoyable. Like I say afterwards it was incredible but, once you get away from it (JW: yeah) and one you haven’t been nicked and
one you hadn’t had a terrible pasting (JW: yeah) the buzz was incredible like. JW: Do you ever attend the football, solely to fight with rival fans?

KTY: Never, ever it’s umm, my sole interest is, and anybody who knows me will tell you this is, my sole interest is Cardiff City Football Club right, I absolutely, I live for it right, you know what I mean, I’ve nearly had a divorce over it ‘cos, ‘cos its all my life right, I don’t know if you’ve noticed but’im always in the Echo reporting on the games right, I go to games to watch the game right, umm, we always put ourselves in situations where we sort of isolated from the main mob of Cardiff sort of thing, which, you know what I mean it puts you in a situation where you might have to have a fight, you know, like we’ve parked, we go in people carriers and we park away from the grounds so we’ve got to walk with their fans, and if, you know they know we are Cardiff, its obvious, and, you know we get confronted quiet often, but no I’m a, I can categorically say I have never gone to a football match just for a fight. (JW: OK thanks for that KTY mate)

JW: Do you attend away games regularly?

KTY: yeah, I’ve missed one in five years (JW: OK thanks for that)

Policing

JW: Have you ever been assaulted by the Police at the football?

KTY: yeah, umm, numerous occasions but the main one was Huddersfield away, the infamous one where, you know, we’d all gone to Manchester for a drink, we got off the train and, to be confronted, its all I can say, it was an army but horses and dogs, unbelievable we, it was incredible there was only, I would say there was about 150 of us, three coaches there was about 150 of us, umm, Manchester police, like, we’d had a laugh with them at the station and we were warned watch yourself in Huddersfield they are waiting for you right, by their, by, you know, by the police like so, but we, none of us expected what happened next then, we got, we got outside the station and you know, the, the only way I can describe it was like a war zone the only thing they didn’t have was tanks, they had every thing else and they started marching us towards the ground now and, like they were so aggressive it was unbelievable right, it was just, you know there was none of this, uhh, you normally have banter with the police and you can say how’s it going and that, and have a laugh, but this lot was just out for one thing right, and they were whacking you and get, get in line, and Christ you know what I mean, we were just walking to their pace right, and then by a strange coincidence, three roads
lead in to the McAlpine Stadium as it was then, its called something else now innit, but in one of them roads, was the main Huddersfield Pub where they all drink (JW: yeah) called the Cresent, and for some reason the police walked us past there and when they got us there they stopped, they stopped us moving they decided to stop us, not us deciding now, they stopped us. The Huddersfield fan’s stated smashing windows in their Pub to get out, the police then just went absolutely berserk, and there was one copper on a horse which right, you know what I mean we, he was just smashing PM to smithereens right, right so I jumped up to stop him hitting him basically and then next thing I’m battered from head to foot right, and the two of us are thrown into the back of a dog van, right, it was a dog van, and, they cuffed us on the floor, and chucked us in the back of a dog van. I thought PM was having a heart attack I thought he was dying I swear to you, right, ‘cos he’d had such a battering his head was bleeding and he couldn’t breathe. Yeah, so yes I have been, that’s the worst incident of being assaulted by police, but, you know we get it everywhere we go, you know by, the list is too long, I can go on and on about where I’ve had a whack off a copper for nothing, know what I mean, but that was the worst one like I say and I was arrested and charged, and I went to court once and it was thrown out straight away, know what I mean (JW: yeah) right. (JW: OK thanks for that KTY)

JW: Have you ever been arrested at the football?

KTY: yes, yes, ummm, numerous times, I’ve lost count to be honest, three times in Swansea alone, Chelsea away, Exeter, Chesterfield, ummm, Huddersfield twice, I’ve lost count to be honest. (JW: OK then)

JW: What do you think of the policing of Cardiff City fans, both home and away, do you think there is a difference in the way we get policed at home, and the way we get policed away?

KTY: absolutely, South Wales Police right, have got it off to a T right, they, every police force should be sent down to Cardiff to be trained, right, because South Wales Police have got it off pat, and the police liaison officers SH and W right, I know them personally as friends right, you know what I mean, over the years that we have been following the football, I class them as friends right, even though they are police you know what I mean, at the end of the day like, they, I class them as mates like, they ring me every time we go away and ask me where we are, I don’t lie, I don’t tell them no lies you know what I mean, and I class them as decent people, and I class South Wales Police right, not in every walk of life like, but as
regards of football they are the model every other police force should look at. But on the other hand West Midlands Police are the biggest joke in the world. I’ll give you a story about West Midlands Police now, forget the Wolves and all this right, West Bromwich Albion away, and I think it was maybe two, three seasons ago right, probably it is three seasons ‘cos the went to the premiership didn’t they and come back down (JW: I was there, then) it was the year they got promoted anyhow, we couldn’t get off the motorway now on that junction ‘cos there was chaos on the bridge right, in front of us right, so anyway ends up now we had to get off the coach and walk right, ‘cos, well the game had already kicked of and we hadn’t got off the motorway right, so we walks up the hard shoulder now right, and the police now are stopping us going anywhere and we are saying hang on now, all we want to do is go and watch the game like, like I’ve told you earlier I, the whole thing about me following Cardiff City is not violence right, it’s the game right, I go for the game, if there’s violence then so be it right, but I go for the game right, and I said look all we want to do, is go to the game get out of our way like, you know what I mean, we are not here for trouble like, and anyway, cut a long story short now right, we’d been walking now 25 minutes right, and they’ve taken us a totally wrong way, you know, past the ground, 2 miles past the ground right, up this dead end lane now right, and I know that’s the away entrance now right, up that cul-de-sac (JW: yeah) but they’d taken us way past that like right, and the game now is it’s half time right. So I turned to the police officer now right and, just to put you in the picture now right, I had just had gout, a real bad thing of gout (JW: yeah) in my foot right, so I was on tablets right and I hadn’t touched a drink for 2 weeks right, not a single drop right, I was drinking water all the way up on the coach right (JW: yeah). So as we are outside the ground now I turned to this police officer now, the West Midlands Police with about forty pips on his shoulder right, who looked like the match commander , I turned to him and this is honest to god now, word for word what I said, what I said to him was you must be the most inept police force in the country, right, that’s all I said right. He said you what, and straight back at him I said you are the most inept police force in the country, I said how can you police a football match like this, I said the game is, it’s half time, and I said you still got a thousand Cardiff fans outside the ground. I said it’s absolutely pathetic right and that’s all I said right, to which the guy with all the pips on his shoulder shouted out, get that C-U-N-T in the check shirt right, so I walks ,I walk away right, I thought I’m not getting involved in that, so I just walk off, I gets out, I walks in to the ground put my ticket in the turnstile like that and as I got to the turnstile the other side two policeman waiting for me, put my arms behind my back and I’m arrested right. I said what have you arrested me for? Drunk entering a football stadium right, I said
boys you’ve made a mistake, I’m on water I said I haven’t had a drink like, you’ve made a mistake right, just let me go you’ve made a mistake. You are going nowhere, you are going to West Bromwich nick right, my mate gets arrested then pleading with them to let me go right (JW: yeah) and you know the story right (JW: yeah) two of us banged up in the holding cells under the ground right, it takes, I’m there ‘til after the match, hours gone by now, they chuck me in the back of this van now, my face is pressed against the thing like, drives us to West Bromwich nick, umm, goes in, they’ve taken us in one by one, and as I get up to the desk sergeant and he says name, I give him my name and he said have you got anything to say for yourself and I say yes, you’ve made a mistake here mate, and he looked up at me and he could obviously see that, he read the charges and he said yeah I think they have. He said can you do me a favour could you go and sit in the cell for half an hour, and I’ll come and see you. I said yeah no problem butt, you know what I mean and I, well they take your shoes off you, you know the score like and 5 minutes later he comes into the cell, look mate I don’t know how this mistake has happened but you’re free to go. I said ahh, lovely I said, thing is I told your colleagues all along I said they’ve made a mistake, I said you know, I know why I was arrested and I told them what I’d said to that officer right, and that’s my story like you know what I mean, and he said you’re free to go but I’m stuck in West Bromwich, and it’s now nine o’clock at night you know what I mean (JW: yeah) they didn’t pay for my taxi home or nothing, and, so yeah South Wales Police are great and most other police forces are, I go all over the country are rubbish, but West Midlands are by far the worst, they are absolutely pathetic, they, they need to go back to school them lot do and get taught, and West Yorkshire were bad at one time, you know the trouble we’ve had up in Sheffield and what-have-you over the years but they have come round now you know what I mean, we’ve got Barnsley tomorrow and Sheffield next Tuesday, Sheffield United and they are being overly nice, you know what I mean, they are giving us pubs for the boys to have a drink in you know what I mean, which, you know what I mean, they are learning, I don’t mind that you know, if you go once, another bad police force is Plymouth Devon, Cornwall or whoever they are, then again last, on telly a couple of weeks ago and they still escorted us all the way back to South Wales like, how much did that cost them like. What, what do they think we are going to do we are going to pull off and raid a village or something are we or what, you know (JW: yeah) so like I say South Wales Police are great the rest are a joke. (JW: thank you for that)
JW: Would you consider yourself a football casual?

KTY: well, no, I got to be honest like, I'm not into all the dressing, 'cos as you can see I know, I got the odd one or two things like, probably, I am probably, if you had to name what we were you'd probably say yes, a football casual but a dress code means nothing to me, I, I wouldn't be wearing a Stone Island top tomorrow right, I'd just be wearing an ordinary top, jeans, trainers that's it you know, I don't go in for the fashion side of it like, 'cos I cant afford it basically (laughing)you know what I mean if I've got a hundred pound for Cardiff City or a hundred pound for a top I know what I would rather pay (JW: OK)

JW: Do you have friends and acquaintances at other league clubs?

KTY: no, not really no, you know I got, not really no, I don't keep in touch with other people at other clubs, you know what I mean, I know the odd bouncer here and there from different places who support different clubs like, you know what I mean like, Blackpool and what-have-you from going up there over the years (JW: yeah) you get to know a few boys like, but no, I'm not one of these who keep in touch, I'm not into that at all like.

JW: Do you wear designer clothing to the football regularly?

KTY: no, I just told you that, no

JW: How important do you think the right designer wear is, in relation to the football?

KTY: well, to me right I think it's a joke right, you see these people with all the gear on right, they look the part, talk the talk but none of them can walk the walk, I'm telling you what you got to worry about is people in their forties and fifties with an old sloppy joe on, you know and a big thick forearm they are the ones you got to worry about, not these stupid little kids in their Aquascutum and all that, you know what I mean, it's a joke, I think it's a joke myself, but there you are (JW: OK thanks for that KTY)

Social Identity Issues

JW: Is being Welsh, an important part of your identity, if so why?

KTY: umm, yeah, I'm very proud of being Welsh, I, I got a Welsh football cap by here look, right, umm, yeah, yeah, and obviously wherever we go it's like us and them every game, you know what I mean, it's like a war innit between Wales and England because all these clubs they don't sing their clubs, they all sing Engerland, Engerland, Engerland don't they, you
know (JW: yeah) Cardiff don’t sing Wales, Wales, Wales we never but yeah I am proud of being Welsh but I’m one of the few football fans who like rugby as well you know because after my life ban I played rugby for ten years like, but yeah, yeah I say I am Welsh and proud of it like (JW: my next question was gonna be)

JW: Do you think being a Welsh club in the English League is important, in relation to hooligan activities, and you’ve answered that?

KTY: well yeah, everywhere we go right it’s Engerland, Engerland and you know what I mean, and Cardiff fans sing ‘Oh Engerland is full of shit’ you know what I mean like, yeah it is, me I hate it, personally as far as I am concerned I support Cardiff City right, if I go away with Wales I’m supporting Wales, I go away Wales I go all over the world right, then its Wales right but when you’re watching Cardiff City it’s Cardiff City but it can’t be that ‘cos everyone, everywhere we go its Engerland, Engerland, it’s England against Wales so yeah its very important.

JW: What do you think of the rivalry between Cardiff City F.C and Swansea City F.C?

KTY: well, I gotta say right I hate them with a passion right, I always have right, since I was a kid right, umm, but I know that they hate us more right because they’ve got a complex ‘cos obviously you know we are a bigger club than them now, you know what I mean, they wont, they wont think that but yeah, I do, I do hate them, them and Bristol City they are my two, you know, I, I just, well I’ve been arrested three times in Swansea so say no more (both laugh)

JW: What football league club do you dislike the most and why?

KTY: Uhh, Swansea City because, well basically because well they keep going on that they are better than us, but you know they are not right, you know we call them gypos, and I think they are a bunch of gypos right, I, I detest them, I also don’t like Bristol just because they are so close to us like

JW: What national team do you dislike the most and why?

KTY: National team, England, England just because never mind what happens right, no matter what Wales do it will never get reported tidy in the press right, umm, we get England, we get 1966 we’ve had it slammed down our throats ever since 1966 so, it’s 41 years ago like you know what I mean (JW: yeah) yeah its just, they are so up themselves England aint they
you know what I mean, and you know Wales went to Slovakia two weeks ago and come away with a 5-2 win and England are losing 5-1 at home but you know what I mean it didn’t get a mention in all the press, it obviously did in the Echo but in the British press you get a little piece like that, so that’s why I hate England so much, I also hate Scotland ‘cos twice they have cheated us out of a world cup (laughs)

JW: OK thanks for that KTY that’s the end of that interview.
Arsenal Away-day 2005

I’m laying on the settee its five o’ clock in the morning, and I feel like a kid at Christmas, I mean I’m 35 and this game is all I could think about over the holiday period and it’s got so bad I haven’t been able to sleep due to the excitement. RG gives me a call on the mobile to see if I’m up ‘n’ about and I tell him that I haven’t slept ‘cos of the excitement, and the truth is that it is its excitement and fear mixed in equal parts because today is going to be Arsenal away, and we are all going on the train. On the one hand I’m excited because we could knock Arsenal out of the cup, but we could also run into a welcoming committee, and in fact if we don’t the lads will be well pissed off because they have all been looking forward to this since the draw was made.

Before I have left the house the day has cost more or less a oner, and I hope it will be worth it, and at twenty past five I leave the house. The bus stop is only a couple of hundred yards from the door ad I am the first there, as I stand on the bus stop I get a call from Big C and he wants to know if we are on schedule to meet the rest of the lads at Central ready for the off, I tell him that we are all getting it together and it is sorted. Here comes one of the lads and we have a little bit of banter but the truth is that its hard to raise a smile at this time of the day and its fucking freezing just for good measure. So its me and D for a minute as we wait for RG to get himself down here, and as if on cue he steps out from his door. We get in the van and I’m so slow wilted 1 don’t even think about grabbing the front seat and I’m in the back of the van and we a rattling along to pick up a couple of the lads.

Three or four minutes of RG doing his best Colin Mcrea impression and I am fucked, I feel like I’ve been through the spin cycle of a washer, come on RG you fucker chill out mate. We stop for J first and thank fuck for that ‘cos another minute and I would have been wiping the sick off my Rockport ‘n’ fuck that for a laugh, J gets in with a spliff and we are off again to pick up the other J and P, when we get there we have to wait, J has decided that the best way to start the day is with a couple of ‘buckets’, what a star. With the last one in, we are on our way to the train station to get to Cardiff, we are the first here and I hope that there are going
to be plenty more before we get underway. The lads start to arrive and with the heads that are turning up and the lads we are due to meet I start to feel a bit more secure in myself. The lads that are turning up are good un’s and with the ones that we are going to meet at Central make up about half the core group of the lads from the area, and we all know and trust each other. The station is filling up and we are on our way to Cardiff.

The ten past six train from Caerphilly gets the day of to a good start and J ‘n’ J are already up for a laugh and the banter is flowing freely. The conductor on the train doesn’t want to know he’s made a quick check of tickets, but he looks like he couldn’t give a fuck really so that’s the end of that one. By the time we get to Cardiff we are all pissing ourselves with laughter winding each other up and having the start of a good day. I am probably the quietest on the journey as I’m doing research or something that approximates it at this stage, and I know that I have got to keep control of my faculties, oh that and the fact that I might get kicked to fuck in London ensures that I am awake to the danger that might follow

When we get into Cardiff we are among the first to arrive so the lads decide another spliff is the best policy and we wait around for the rest of the troops. I get a call from Big C to find out where we are, and I tell him that we are at the station and waiting. Big C and the rest of the lads have been in the local pub mirroring scenes taking place all over the South Wales valleys, as the lads get set for the big day out. We go into the Spar and get stocked up on supplies, which for me means more cigg’s and some Poweraid, I can’t be drinking today I’m making sure I’ve got a clear head for this one. We hang around for a while and then Big C and the rest of the lads pull up in the mini-bus, so this is it and we are ready for the off. We duck back into the station and make our way up towards platform one as we’re all on our way to Highbury and a shot at the big time, that only the F.A. Cup can provide, and as Arsenal are the holders it’s a chance to gauge where Dave Jones is taking us in competing with the big boys. On a different level Arsenal have been known to have a following of lads known as the Gooners, and the lads want to have a pop at them, and as an added bonus there might be the chance to have it with Huddersfield and Everton both of who are in London.
When we get onto the platform the place is starting to fill up quiet nicely and this is only the first group, and there will be more trains after the ten past seven that we are booked onto. We mill around the platform as we wait for the train to arrive and all talk amongst ourselves laughing and joking, getting ready for the rest of the day. When the train gets in there is a scrummage at the doors as everyone tries to get a seat for themselves and I literally shoot through the door laughing. I get a seat behind Big C and DD and we laugh as the rest of the group try with varying success to get somewhere to sit. The train is full to the rafters as we pull out of the station and we are now really off, so it's a case of London here we come. Within moments of pulling out everyone starts to settle into their seats and the spliffs and drink start to appear, having been concealed as the train is supposed to be of a dry variety. The lads are all sitting round having a laugh and a joke when the conductor makes his appearance, and he is not best pleased but at least everyone has a ticket and he doesn't get a hard time off the lads, as they are all in a mood that would be best described as quietly confident, there is an air of trepidation but the lads all know and trust those in the immediate group and there are a good few on the train.

We arrive at Newport station and another group of the lads get on and the lads now start to get on with the business of enjoying themselves. A deck of cards appears and things start to take shape for the rest of the journey, with the boys playing cards, laughing and joking, and drinking and smoking. When the lads go for an away-day this is the usual drill there's no sitting around sharpening knives or any other such bollocks, every one of them to a man knows that there is the possibility of a bit of rough and tumble but by being on the train they have put themselves up for it. The lads on the train are a mixture of ages and the youngest in our group is young G who at 18 stands at one end of the scale while some of the older lads are in their forties. Among the lads are some that I haven't seen for a long time and I spend much of the journey catching up on old times and laughing and joking about the day ahead and what might happen in London. The charley has made its entrance and the drink is beginning to kick in, and the carriage has now taken on a slightly different feel; everyone is starting to get up for it.

Big C, DD and the rest of the lads are playing cards with the banter flowing thick and fast, everyone is laughing and joking and there is a buzz in the carriage and the rest of the train as
we travel through the English countryside. A couple of Chelsea get on the train and contrary
to popular misconception they are not summarily set upon as they are beer monsters with
football tops on, rather a couple of the lads chat to them as they take in the view of a train
full of Cardiff, heading for London and a showdown with the famous Gooners. On the train
there has been an announcement that the Buffet Car is open for business selling alcohol, after
the service has been advertised as a dry train so the lads take full advantage and the party is
in full swing except for the appearance of the ‘train manager’ he’s a bit of a jobs worth and
he is keeping on “ I’ll get the police to remove you, its against health and safety to smoke on
the train.” which does nothing to stop the lads puffing on cigars, spliffs and cigg’s, the more
he tries the funnier the lads find it, and in the end he fucks off out of it, seeing as he is getting
nowhere fast.

By the time we are approaching Paddington the party has been in full swing for the last
couple of hours and everyone is now on top form. We all say amongst ourselves that we will
stick together whatever happens, and we pull in to the station. As soon as we pull in we are
met by an escort of British transport Police and they begin by penning the Cardiff fans in to
establish order. They hold us on the station for a while as they decide what to do with us,
then they walk us towards the tube. I talk to the police on a general level asking what they
think of the Cardiff fans, and they reply that they find us the same as any other football crowd
in the capital. We are put on the tube to Kings Cross and held yet again, I show them my
university staff card and tell them I do research on the football, I’m busting for a piss so I
play the research card and am let out of the cordon. I wander around looking for a toilet and
when I get back to the tube I ask the old bill where they have taken the Cardiff lot. I am told
that they have gone to the Flying Scotsman, and I am happy as I know it’s a strip bar only
around the corner as we had all agreed to stop there anyway. So on hearing this good news, I
head on my way out of Kings Cross to make my way to the pub.

On leaving the station I start to feel slightly uneasy as I am wearing my Rockport jacket,
Ralph Lauren jeans, a sky blue Lyle and Scott jumper, check shirt and tan moccasins; in
other words I look like a football casual. So what has served me well enabling me to mix
freely within the group could now be my undoing as various groups of lads start taking an
interest in my presence. I am beginning to feel more uneasy, and this is entirely subjective as
no-one threatens me but I am being clocked and its doing my head in even the shirters are
scoping me out. I ask a couple of Irish fellas on a building site outside the station where the
Flying Scotsman is, and they inform me that it is only a couple of hundred yards around the
corner. I set off for the pub happy to be getting away from the attention I am receiving, but
when I get there the fucking place is locked up and all the lights are off. The old bill have
fucking stitched me right up. Now I am really fucked off with the way things are going, so I
phone RG as I wander further up the street, when RG answers he lets me know that the old
bill have fucked me off cos they have taken the lads a couple of stations further up the line to
Drayton. I ask a couple of the locals in the shops if they can tell me the quickest way to
Drayton but they either cannot understand my accent or think I’m a fucking head-case cos I
cant get any sense out of any of them.

I walk back to Kings Cross and I am fucked I phone Big C and see if I can get any shape out
of him with regards to their whereabouts, only to be told that the old bill are walking the
group round in circles and he will ring me back when they get a pub. I carry on wandering
and I can see various little crews looking in my direction and it is doing my head in, I could
pull out my staff card and say I’m a researcher, but it wouldn’t cut no ice, I look and sound to
much like the lads. I wander round the station a couple of times and ring Big C back to try to
get a fix on the lads. Being on my own is starting to wear a bit thin now, as I have been
mooching round for about half an hour so I decide that I will head for Highbury on my own
as this seems the safest bet in the situation. I get a cab and am told that it will cost between a
tenner and fifteen quid but I don’t care I’ve had quite enough of fucking about and don’t need
my head kicked in for good measure. As I sit in the back of the cab, I ring Big C and tell him
that I will meet him and the rest of the lads in the ground. The cab pulls up on Highbury hill
just outside the ground and I start to feel at ease now, there are old bill everywhere and there
are Arsenal everywhere, but also loads of Cardiff and I’m happy within the realms of the
‘pop n crisps’ but any chance of reporting hooligan activities before the game is gone.
Anyway fuck it, at least I’m ok, and that is what I tell myself as I enter Highbury home of
Arsenal F.C. and have a general mooch about.

I wander round looking for familiar faces but there are many people in the crowd that I have
not seen before, but what do you expect with the numbers we’ve brought today. The ground is
a million times better than the facilities at Cardiff and it makes me jealous that what Arsenal see as being unsuitable, would be considered state of the art at Cardiff, and it just amplifies the differences between the clubs on an economic level. I spend the time until kick off mooching about and taking in the atmosphere before the game, and praying to the gods of football to let us win, please just let us win. The place is heaving and I start watching the game from behind the Cardiff goal, oh fuck this we are one nil down, then two nil down, it's a fucking living nightmare and I'm nearly reduced to tears. Two fellas in front of me, real beer monsters start fighting amongst themselves, and I don't know whether to laugh or cry all the way to London for this. RG calls me and lets me know that some of the lads are further up behind in the stand and I try to make my way towards them. This is fucking ridiculous all the aisles are blocked and it takes me nearly fifteen minutes of literally fighting my way through the crowd before I finally reach the lads. We watch the game up until half time and it seems like the biggest let down ever, the boys on the field are being over-run and this feels like one big kick in the bollocks.

Half time, some refreshments and hopefully we can put up a bit of a fight in the second half, I hope to fuck Davey Jones has been throwing the cups round at half time because that first half was awful. I phone Big C and he lets me know that the boys are staying put in a pub over at Kings Cross, and for me to meet them there after the game. So with everything sorted I settle down to watch the second half, and fair play to Cardiff they give it some and have a right good go at the Arsenal, who in the words of Corporal Jones 'don't like it up them' and we even get a goal back and are stitched up for a penalty. Thank fuck for that, as it has given me and the lads a chance to put a decent shine on our performance. I spend the rest of the second half talking with the lads and the rest who have come up on coaches and posing for a few pics taken by Kodak of course, as you won't see him without the camera at the footy. The second half ends and we are kept back before being let out on to the streets of Islington to make our own way back to Kings Cross.

Outside the ground there are literally hundreds of us, making the streets ours, as there is no sight of the famous Gooners, if they are about it is not around here. Seeing the massed ranks of Cardiff City fans, one bright spark enquires if we are really in Cardiff rather than London such is our presence and their lack of one. We walk back to Kings Cross and the crowd
begins to go off towards different pubs and bars in the location, the lads I started the day with want to get back to Paddington to get the five o'clock back to Cardiff and I go along with it as the boys are now a bit worse for wear, and they are having a right laugh and a joke but it is loud and they don’t give a fuck for nothing when they are like this. From a crowd of hundreds there are now seven of us crossing the tube from Kings Cross and Paddington and the lads are getting outrageous with their humor and its getting louder and louder, but it is all in good spirits. I can’t wait to get to Paddington as we are now easy pickings and anything can happen I mean the lads I am with would put up a good fight but there are only seven of us and I’m a researcher, and lets face it its not as if they wont hear us coming never mind fucking see us. We shamble along the tube, laughing, joking and singing, and reach Paddington with plenty of time to spare, too much time if anything.

The lads decide it is time for some food and the queue at Burger King, I don’t want anything, and keep my eyes open to see if we attract any company, but there’s not much chance of that happening as the place is crawling with the old bill. The lads sit down on the floor by a pillar to eat their food and wait for our train which will take another half an hour at least. As the boys are eating their food, a black lad walks past and says that RG has tried to trip him up which is almost impossible being as he is sat down, anyway J has jumped up and told the lad to fuck right off. With this being said the other lad says he is going to ring his friends and they will come and shoot the lads, cos they don’t know who they are messing with. The lads tell him to fuck off and he walks away stopping to chat to another back lad on the way. Well that’s it now and my senses are on full alert, the lads honestly don’t give a fuck, so I keep my eyes open for any trouble that might be coming our way. Anyway fuck all happens and we get on the five o’clock from Paddington and to tell the truth I am one fucking relieved man as it could have got potentially ugly on a few occasions but we are now getting from London ad returning to Cardiff and the warmth of our own.

The train ride home is more of the same as on the way up except now the lads are considerably the worse for wear and it is as funny as fuck at times. We start talking to a group of old school lads from the Rhondda Valley and these boys are fucking nutters, funny as fuck, not what you would call politically correct but funny as fuck none the less, the boys think they are hilarious and they think the same about us and the banter goes back and forth.
I tell the Rhondda lads I do research on the football with Big C and they proceed to give me their views on the Soul Crew book saying that it concentrates too much on the clothing and not enough on the actual fighting. We have a conversation about football hooliganism and football casuals, with the Rhondda boys placing themselves firmly in the hooligan category and talking about various hooligan activities carried out by the supporters of Cardiff City long before the casual identity was even thought of. It just points even more to the highly heterogeneous nature of the Cardiff support, and all the lads are entitled to their opinion and we agree to differ on many points including quite an interesting discussion on occupation and class.

We reach Cardiff Central and it is not a moment too soon as it has been a long old day for all of us. We get a five-seater taxi from outside the station and travel up to Caerphilly, happy with the days events, no one has been nicked and it has been a good laugh. There has been no hooligan activity for me to report except the report off the Rhondda lads that a couple of Cardiff got attacked outside a pub, but fuck all else to write home about. We have put up a good show on the field and the lads have walked all over Arsenal’s manor without seeing a single Gooner in sight. When we get to Caerphilly, me and RG go and collect the van to go back down the Brad. On the way home we both agree that we have had a good day, and that it could have got a bit out of hand at times but that is the luck of the draw, and as was we were both home safe and sound, so fuck it its just another one for the memory.

The next day I talk to Big C, and him and the lads spent the duration, talking to one of Everton’s main faces and trying to get something sorted, nothing came of it so they had a laugh and a joke with the lad, and he went on his way with not a cross word spoken. Turns out Arsenal did have a crew out, about a hundred and fifty boys they reckoned, and they did have a pop at a couple of the lads outside one of the pubs with a good few Cardiff locked inside and unable to get out to help the lads outside, a situation that proved so intolerable for one Cardiff fan that he dived through the pub window only to be summarily beaten and thrown in to a police van in attendance as the story goes. The Arsenal lads gave Cardiff their dues and noted the numbers the lads were able to produce on the day, and it all goes further to cement the position of Cardiff City’s hooligan following.
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