

Negotiating Sectarian Imagery

Races and Nationalisms in Glasgow Celtic Fandom

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Abstract

This is a study of the history and culture of Celtic Football Club and its imagery. It examines particularly the negotiation of Celtic fandom with its stereotyped sectarian representations of races and nations. My aim is to reconceptualise the way sectarianism in football is understood and then to develop an understanding of the tension between continuity and change in Celtic fandom as a particular cultural community. For this purpose, I rely for research resources on archival sources of biographies, fanzines and newspapers, and ethnographic interviews with the fans and participant observation. The observation through those materials is combined with theorisation of the cultural mechanism through which sectarianism is articulated or dis-articulated with the football rivalry with Rangers. This mechanism is elaborated in two halves. The first half explores the ways in which the fans' emotional investment constitutes the fandom as an affective community. The fandom is conceived by the dialectic relationship between affective agency and the social and cultural space of the affective investment. This relationality is understood from the angle of performativity of the incorporating collective rituals rather than from the foundational point of view. The second half is concerned with races and nations at the intersecting point of football fandom and sectarianism. My approach sees racialisation not as a unitary, simple differentiation but as a process of the complex inter-play between racism, sectarianism and club belonging. In conclusion, the thesis seeks to evaluate the way that the cosmopolitan style and meaning of belonging emerges in football public spheres even in a deeply localised environment.

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Acknowledgement	6
Introduction	8
1 Sociology of Football, Identity, Rituals and Community	11
2 Problematising Sectarianism and Celtic History	15
3 The Centrality and the ‘Positivity’ of the Discourse on Sectarianism in Football	21
4 The Fieldwork	24
5 Fanzine: The Textualisation of Fandom	26
6 Structure of Thesis	27
First Half Anatomy Of Fandom	31
1 Love or ‘Pure Hatred’?: Foundational Sectarianism and Transitional Cosmopolitanism in the Old Firm Fandom	33
1.1 The Sectarian Sub-Cultural Residue: The Case of Donald Findlay	34
1.2 Socio-Pathology and Culturalism	35
1.3 ‘You shouldn’t be here if you can’t get yourself up for these games’: The Rivalry in Transition	39
1.4 The Old Dichotomy Challenged by Cosmopolitanism?	41
1.5 A Solitary Expression of the Residual Element of Celtic Supporting Cultures	42
1.6 Hegemony and Locality: Iconisation of the Hoops and the ‘Imaginary Geography’ of the ‘East End’	45
1.7 Conclusion: Problematising ‘Tradition’	48
2 Documenting Celtic Cultures: Methodological Considerations and Political Issues	57
2.1 Problem of Category: Authenticity, Negativity, Recognition and ‘Mis-recognition’	58
2.2 Knowing, Not-knowing, Writing, Emotion in the Field of Research	61
2.3 Coping with Anxiety, or the ‘Nervous System’: The Politics and Ethics of Ethnography	66
2.4 Stranger in ‘Paradise’: the Ambivalence of ‘Outsider-ness’	70
2.5 Secrecy and Transpositionality	71
2.6 Conclusion: The Exchange of Exoticism at the Edge between the West and the Rest	74
3 Fandom as a Plane of Affect	80
3.1 Defining Fandom	81
3.2 ‘Affective Sensibility’ and the Modality of ‘Affect’	82
3.3 The Body in the Space of Football	85
3.4 Learning to Do the Same: Performing Rites, Community- construction and Non-sensuous Mimesis	87
3.5 ‘Smell of the Real Crowd’: Moral Economy of the Fandom	91
3.6 Conclusion: Towards the Spectacle	96

4 The Spectacle of Affect: Love and Hate in the Stadium	100
4.1 The Theatre of Power	102
4.2 'Mayhem in Paradise'	103
4.3 'Jungle Fever!': Faith and War in Celtic Park	108
4.4 Wearing the Shirt, or the Minimum Gesture of Affect	112
4.5 'This Attacking Play!': Emergence of a Football Identity	114
4.6 Activating 'Diasporic Imagination' through the Memorisation of 'Attacking' Football	118
4.7 Conclusion: Attacking, Passing and the Style of the 'Changing Same'	123
Summary of First Half	128
Second Half Affiliation of 'Race' to Celtic Fandom	131
5 Genealogy of 'Fenian Bastard': Formation of Sectarian Racism	135
5.1 'Bad People with Bad Blood'	136
5.2 'Mason in Black': 'Conspiracy Theory' as Populist Defensive Discourse	139
5.3 Racial Inscription in the Early History of Celtic	142
5.4 Recycled Racial Stereotypes	145
5.5 Humour, Jokes and Laughter: Re-inscription of the Peculiarity of Being a Catholic in Scotland	148
5.6 Celtic as a Collective Representation of Otherness	149
5.7 'Huns' the Enemy: the National Ambivalence of 'Fenian'	151
5.8 'You'll Never Walk Alone': Racialised Sentimentalism in Football	154
5.9 Variants of Masculine Body, Discovery of Interiority and Modern Sports	156
5.10 Conclusion: Class, Masculinity and the Unstable Whiteness	158
6 Sectarian Racism, Expressive Identity and the Urban Myth	164
6.1 'Fenian' and Its Authenticity	165
6.2 Fenians and Huns, or the Victim and the Criminal	169
6.3 The Fandom That Has Resulted in Terror and Death	171
6.4 Fatal Performance: Racialisation through the Sectarian Violence	173
6.5 The 'Footballisation' of Violence and the Urban Mythology	177
6.6 Conclusion: Sectarianism, Racism and 'Officially Recognised' Racism	183
7 'Whiteness' as the Quality of Sectarian Imagery	186
7.1 A Jungle Tale: Changing Axis of Differentiation and Determination	187
7.2 Unevenness of Racist Cultural Practices in Football	188
7.3 Scottish Myth of Non-Racial Politics and the 'Inferential Racism'	190
7.4 Whiteness and the Ontological Confusion of Being and Doing	195
7.5 Paul Gascoigne and the 'Fluidity of Whiteness'	197
7.6 The Different Colour of White	201
7.7 Nationalism and the Multiracial Dilemma	203
7.8 'English? Black? and What?': Mark Walters and Paul Elliott	206
7.9 Conclusion: Discrepant Politics of Colours	212

8 Against Whose Bigotry?: Politics of ‘Othering’, or the Critique of Normative Racialisation	218
8.1 ‘It’s Not My Problem, It’s Your Problem’: Limits of the Semantic in Problematising ‘Racism’	218
8.2 ‘Militant Particularism’ and the Politics of Post-‘Bhoys Against Bigotry’	221
8.3 Ethnographic Dilemma and the Difficult Practice of Anti-racism	225
8.4 ‘United Colours of Celtic’: Towards the Reinvention of Multiculturalism	231
8.5 ‘Different Colour of Green’	237
8.6 Conclusion: ‘Tradition’ or the Re-ontologisation of Whiteness	240
Summary of Second Half	246
Conclusion	249
Appendices	265
Bibliography	275

Introduction

Even outside the British football world, the rivalry between the two big clubs in Glasgow, Celtic and Rangers, is a well-known story. Their relationship is often given the privileged name of the 'Old Firm'¹. The fanatical rivalry and antagonism between two big football clubs in an industrial, 'working class' city may not seem to be an exceptional phenomenon in modern popular cultural life in Britain. However, what has made the 'Old Firm' distinctively unique is that the local rival is also immediately the national contender for the Scottish championship title. Furthermore, their competitiveness is instantly paraphrased to the political, religious, ethnic and cross-border tension between the two supporting communities as 'religious sectarianism'². It has been said that Celtic is a Catholic club mainly supported by the Irish Catholic population and that both the Scottish Protestants and the Irish Protestants follow Rangers. This polarised, mutually exclusive, and even violently heated-up football culture is said to be a consequence of religious hatred that is deeply rooted in the wider social and historical environment.

The contrast between the anti-Catholic, Protestant-favoured imagery of Rangers and the Catholic, Irish Nationalist and even militant Republican imagery of Celtic has been considered in terms of the cross-cultural linkage and separation with the sectarian war in Northern Ireland³. It may be appropriate to say that the history of both clubs and the fan cultures has been a process of negotiation with the political terror around the issues about the 'Troubles'. Besides the Celtic shirt wore by the Republican prisoners in the 1970s and 1980s, the green and white Hoops is still iconised as part of the identity of being a Catholic. The most recent incident that is marked by this identification is the murder of the teenager Gerald

Lawlor by the Ulster Freedom Fighters in a Belfast street⁴. Wearing the Celtic shirt he was seen as a hate target.

A death threat to Celtic midfielder and Northern Ireland captain Neil Lennon and his family, and his eventual announcement of retirement from the national team, may well epitomise the impossibility of the simultaneity of playing for both Celtic and the country. Celtic manager Martin O'Neill, himself a Catholic and Northern Ireland skipper in the late 1970s and early 1980s, admitted that 'I was captain of Northern Ireland without problem, but I wasn't playing for Celtic'⁵. What is unforgivable for the sectarian ethics is being a Celtic player rather than being a Catholic Northern Irishman. It seems that playing for Celtic always-already forces a player to bear a heavier burden than his national belonging. It is the effect of political sectionalism, which sees the sectarian politics in Glasgow as taking place at a different magnitude from Belfast. Raymond Boyle has insisted that Glasgow is less segregated than Belfast on the basis of the following two narratives provided by his interviewees:

In Scotland most of us found that they [Celtic and Rangers supporters] drink together, they work together...

Over here[in Ireland] they don't, you live apart, they don't mix and that's just it, Rangers supporters here are much more bitter than those in Scotland'⁶.

In contrast, when the IRA bombed the village of Enniskillen and killed a number of civilians, the *Glasgow Herald* article claimed that 'the tacit support for the IRA that you can read off virtually any wall in Glasgow and which you can hear, chanted from the terraces of Celtic Park, or wherever Celtic players take the field'⁷. Although magnitudes may be different, those apparently mutually opposite views share a point that the football rivalry in Glasgow could automatically turn out to be a political conflict in Belfast.

However, I would like to propose that the connectivity between the competitiveness in football and the sectarian antagonism should not be taken for granted. Instead, the question is how football in Scotland and postcolonial politics in Northern Ireland can or cannot be historicised as analogous and then as nearly homologous. Between orange or blue and green, the politics of colours is fought on the basis of real as well as imaginal political antagonism⁸. The overwhelmingly routine, simplified description throughout the mass media about the divided

football fandom, the tiredly antagonistic representation of the binary cultural imagery, the excessively religious, political and also terrorising images mainly provided by the media, and the real sense of boredom, excess and displeasure about the tension, all these factors have prevented the analytical endeavour from intervening into a field of uncultivated cultural richness and political complexity.

This is a critical study of the cultural politics of this field where the history and culture of Celtic Football Club and the fandom are negotiated and experienced. It has to be critical because I aim to pose a question on the apparently naturalised and rooted ontology as well as on the entitlement and belonging to a defined fan community. The rigidly imagined 'root' and the firmly mobilised exclusivity renders 'sectarianism' articulated to the imagery of Celtic and the fandom. In order that this aim is smoothly understood, I briefly explain the ideas I employed for the title of the thesis. By history, I denote the narrative of meta-history or signification of historical interpretation, that is, how and why a specific interpretation is signified, what is the implication of this on the past and present. The culture of Celtic fandom can be understood as the emergent forms through which the club, fans, supporters and its social conditions are represented and represent themselves. In this sense, I do not view Celtic fandom as already represented social relations⁹. Rather I see those patterns as emerging through the negotiation of meaning and value.

'Negotiation' is not mediation, because the negotiation is not a transparent process of transmission of power, ideology and meanings. The practice of negotiation does not literally mediate the preceding social reality through an apprehensive, sovereign subjective will. By 'negotiation', then, I mean the practice and process in which the mutually contradictory signification of the adaptable and the oppositional could lead 'the self' to a particular position in relation to a dominant, commonsensical interpretation of cultures¹⁰. Within its own positionality, negotiation maintains the contradictory moments by which the meaning of an action is kept unfixed. In turn, the contradictions become the condition under which negotiation takes place. In short, negotiation is primarily an ensemble of power relations. The unconventional usage of those rather commonplace idioms exactly marks out my challenge on the simplified and totalised view of the Old Firm as sectarian. This claim itself may not seem novel but what I attempt is to suggest an epistemological turn by which the way of

viewing, documenting and narrating what has been routinely called sectarianism in football is more carefully examined.

1 Sociology of Football, Identity, Rituals and Community

The following three sections, including this one, serve as a literature review. Instead of listing the preceding literature of sociology of football, I wish to present, with epistemological, theoretical and empirical sensitivity, a rough sketch of the current mapping of the sociological enterprise and its failure in theorising the relationship between sectarianism and football. It is a brief summary, but throughout the thesis I will return to those literatures that will be mentioned here. My aim is to point to some of the theoretical limitations in the existing literature while at the same time present a case for the approach offered within the thesis as a whole.

In the last decade, the study of football in Britain shifted the focus of interest from the socio-historical exploration of the origin, background and development of the factors of football culture, to the more anthropological as well as cultural studies style of account of the lived experiences in the communities where football is centralised as the resource of identification, belonging and entitlement. Most notably, the pathological criminalisation of 'hooliganism' in sociological discourses has been, if not entirely, criticised and counter-posed by, with a few exceptions, loosely grouped relatively young, male, working class-oriented and mainly white scholars¹¹. Through their efforts, the structure of feeling, communicating, performing, commemorating, and participating has become the focal point of academic debates on the ways in which a particular fandom is constructed as a community and functions in local, national and trans-national contexts¹². This sophisticated analysis of football cultures dictate that fan communities articulate themselves with economic, political and cultural resources through the embodiment of meanings, values and norms in society.

Here, how to be a fan is understood as gaining an identity by becoming a part of the fandom of a particular team through particular rituals, collective performances and specific patterns of identification. One of the most sophisticated outcomes of this trend is Gary Robson's seminal study of Millwall fandom, "*No One Likes Us, We don't Care*": *The Myth and Reality of Millwall Fandom*.¹³

Following Christian Bromberger's influential idea of the 'collective imaginary'¹⁴, Robson presents a thick description of the ritualistic determination and mobilisation of what he calls 'Millwallism' as the embodiment of 'a locally inflected masculinity'¹⁵ in the South London working class culture. Robson's analysis has created a new horizon where formalised languages, ritualistic embodiment, and the space, where 'commemorative ritualisation' actually occurs, are considered seriously as contributing to producing the moment of enactment of difference.

The idea of 'collective imaginary' is largely accepted in the football academic discourses as a referent of 'identification of team or club with an ideal collective life'¹⁶. It is also widely appreciated for its emphasis on 'a specific mode of collective existence' rather than 'a simple sign (arbitrary) of a common belonging'¹⁷. Robson skillfully employs this idea to suggest how the collective imaginary signifies the embodying moment of a community, while Bromberger emphasizes the inter-play between playing style and its collective transformation into the general imagery. The connectivity of football cultural sphere with socio-political struggle is not only established in a semantic world but also embodied in material locations, most importantly in the stadium. Mobilised knowledge, utterance, bodily rituals and the game itself are articulated and produce a particular pattern and style of spectacle. Therefore, I accept the general usefulness of the idea. However, I do not fully rely on it, firstly because, assuming the rigid binary perception of the discursive and the non-discursive, Bromberger does not seem to be aware of his theoretical and epistemological naiveté of applying the psychoanalytic term. The strength of the notion of the imaginary primarily lies in thinking of the non-difference of discourse and non-discourse rather than disclosing the non-discursive as material or historical. The second reason for my reservation is because of the pre-empted implication of the 'collective' as heterosexual masculinity¹⁸. It seems problematic to me that as the overwhelming masculinity in, or the masculinisation of, football fandom has to be problematised in the first place, the conceptual device that is employed to do this task has been primarily en-gendered.

Sensitivity towards the gendered, ethnicised, racialised, and nationalised mode of signification is essential precisely because there is no such a thing as perfect theoretical device free from differences. A single social category with monolithic

signification does not help understand the complexity of cultural mechanism of football fandom. Thus, I use the concept of the 'imaginary' in its most basic way as the 'corporeal imagery of the self'¹⁹. By the 'imaginary' both the material conditions in which the subject experiences his/her being and the perception of his/her situation of being are simultaneously conceived. In fandom, the imagery constructed around a particular player or a particular team and the imaginary the fans and the players alike articulate with their own life-worlds when they speak out for themselves, shapes the social, political and cultural lives of those who are subjectivised through the imaginary. Although the imaginary may refer to the utopian ensemble by which Celtic, Rangers or their fandoms are represented as the ideal totality, it can be situated in-between sign and symbol, and the self-sense of body, as a focal point of accumulation of memories, of intersection between 'us' and 'them' and of transaction where racial, national, gender and class boundaries exercise the powers to constrain the subjects. This complex practice of the imaginary provides the present Celtic fandom with the ways in which the organic quality as a community negotiates with the environmental transition of the whole industry.

Although sectarianism is out of their scope, this general currency of transition is well observed by Les Back, Tim Crabbe and John Solomos in *The Changing Face of Football*, another excellent off-spring from the sociology of football archive accumulated in the past decade. Their approach provides an elaborated analytical device by which the inter-relation of the tension between club-belonging and race, race thinking and racism is interpreted as demanding a novel perspective of the cultures of racism in football. Back, Crabbe and Solomos propose to 'identify the specific ritual and cultural mechanism through which football culture is racialised'²⁰ not to defy the multiplicity of racism whose realm is spread from casual remarks on the pitch to the more institutionalised racism.

One of the central ideas Back, Crabbe and Solomos employ to interpret the multifarious nature of racism is 'neighbourhood nationalism'. This idea stands 'in opposition to racialised versions of national belonging'²¹. 'Race' as the referent of differentiation may be taken over by the immediate commonality of social relations, such as club identity. The components of 'neighbourhood nationalism' are more syncretic and its relative gravity is made heavier than the simple colour line of black and white. Something 'in common' regardless of 'race' rather than

the pre-inscribed idea of racial difference comes first to act as 'an over-arching reference point' in particular locations²². Although it is important that this tentative deconstruction of the significance of 'race' does not completely reject the idea of 'race' and race thinking, it crucially underlines the existence of a public sphere where the substitution of 'race' is actively sought for by means of the performative construction of the commonality through the rituals that are shared among the supporters of the same team.

Once this flexible mechanism of the cultures of racism is acknowledged, the notions that have often appeared in telling racist incidents, such as 'hooligans', 'scum', 'yobs' or 'thugs', become less valuable and useful. For at the level of actual experience, as John Barnes repeatedly cautions in public, 'you keep your mouth shut for 90 minutes on a Saturday and Monday to Friday you can be a racist'²³. At the analytical level, what Back, Crabbe and Solomos have termed as the academic formalism of the 'hooligan/racist couplet' depends on this labeling for the validity of its frame of reference. This formalism may have little insight into not only the 'process of normalisation of racism' as a form of what Barnes defines as 'silent racism' in football culture, but also, more significantly, the 'wide variety forms of instrumental racism'²⁴.

The notion of 'instrumental racism' is extremely important because the idea of 'race' works through largely masculine and sexist banter, encouragement, joke and laughter, all of which are legitimatised not by the intention or the degree of seriousness, but by instrumentality. The instrumentality is given its pseudo autonomy through the expressions made deliberately on some occasions, subconsciously on others, by fans, players, managers, journalists, administrators, directors and board members, no matter how they are 'conscious' of the racist entrapment. Cosmopolitanisation does not erase the place of racism in football but transforms the role of race in the discourses and experiences of football. The normalisation of racialised language, performance, imagery and representation works at various levels of both the public and private spheres of football culture. I want to suggest that Celtic fandom is no exception making it necessary to develop a critical reading that can identify the interlay between emerging cosmopolitanism and the effect of enduring and normalized ideas about race and whiteness on football culture in Glasgow.

This current development of the ‘football studies’ is essential to consider how both the construction of a particular fandom and the category of race act upon each other. The idea of the ‘imaginary’ could help interpret the cultural phenomenon of sectarianism in football and clarify how misleading it is that sectarianism is another variety of hooliganism. By theorising the significance of performative rituals for the embodiment of the fandom, the lived experiences in football cultures can be described as the field where identity, belonging and entitlement intimately negotiate. However, this approach has been rarely appropriated among the discourses on sectarianism in football. Looking at those discourses, I want to suggest that the perspective on the phenomenon rather than the phenomenon itself has to be questioned.

2 Problematising Sectarianism and Celtic History

Among the writers on sectarianism in football, Joseph Bradley, Gerry Finn and Bill Murray are most committed to the field. Murray, author of three books on the Old Firm, published his first contribution to the debate on sectarianism in football, *The Old Firm. Sectarianism, Sport and Society in Scotland* in 1984. Since then, it has been the essential reference for those who take the issue seriously. Through the early 1990s, Finn presented a series of articles that examined the discrimination and prejudice against the Catholics in Scotland. His challenge began with the essay entitled “Racism, Religion and Social Prejudice: Irish Catholic Clubs, Soccer and Scottish Society-1 The Historical Roots of Prejudice”. It attempted to disclose how the uneven power relationship between Protestants and Catholics in modern Scottish society was realised in football grounds, institutions and fan cultures. Coincided with the fashion and passion of ‘identity studies’ in the mid 1990s, Bradley displayed his view of the expressed identity among Celtic supporters as the affirmation of the ethnic distinctiveness of Irishness in Scotland. Developing the argument from his original study, *Ethnic and Religious Identity in Modern Scotland: Culture, Politics and Football*, published in 1995, Bradley became more engaged with the quest for active, positive and politically correct ‘Irish identity’ in Celtic fandom. This line is clearly endorsed in one of his recent essays, “Sport and the Contestation of Cultural and Ethnic Identities in Scottish Society” in 1998.

Despite such good efforts, the discourses they have produced do not seem to share the theoretical and epistemological sensibility of the current sophistication in the sociology of football. It is not a matter of whether they are up-to-date or out-of-date. It is more important to be aware that because of the lack of such a sensibility, they have failed to grasp the way that sectarianism produces extremely complex sociality in relation to both football fandom and race thinking. Therefore, I want to problematise their perspective by situating their contribution in the historical narrative of Celtic's position and its relation to sectarianism in modern British football.

In contemporary football terms, the most notable achievement by Celtic was perhaps their European Cup victory against Internazionale in Lisbon in 1967. That victory saw Celtic become the first British club to win the European title. In the domestic campaign, Celtic's golden era lasted from the early 1960s to the late 1970s, including the 'nine in a row' championship in the Scottish League. It would be slightly confusing to say that one of the most successful 'British' football clubs is said to remain an Irish Catholic institution in Scotland. While this sensitive, unstable positionality can possibly be a firm basis of the extremely loyal, empathetic fandom, the nationally and ethnically mongrel imagery makes the position in Britain extremely vulnerable. The positivist value of the 'matter-of-factness' makes it difficult for historical writings to emplace this indefinite identity of Celtic.

The co-habitation of the firmness of the fandom and the vulnerability of the social position affect the historical narrative of the club. Writing the centenary book of the club history in 1988, Brian Wilson MP officially confirmed that Celtic Football and Athletic Club was founded in 1888 by a Sligo born Catholic priest Brother Walfrid of the Marist Brothers²⁵. The club was expected to provide the Irish-Catholic working class communities with charitable money and leisure opportunities. Wilson's book is the most frequently referenced non-fictional account, which underlines the liberal belief that Celtic is the club for the underprivileged, the discriminated, the poor and the working class no matter what race and ethnicity are.

In contrast, Celtic historians Tom Campbell and Pat Woods claim that Celtic was in fact established in 1887 and indeed played their first game ever in 1888²⁶. They also state that a physician Dr. John Conway and a Donegal born joiner John

Glass were the real founding fathers. Brother Walfrid was indeed involved to make up the plan to establish the club in the earlier stage but was not even a member of the founding committee. The aim was rather to assimilate the unsettled Irish population into the Scottish society than to benefit solely the Irish communities. Although there is contrast between the mythologised founding story and the more realistic historical account, they share one point. Celtic was regarded as an Irish institution. It was called 'the great Glasgow Irish club', 'the shamrock representatives', or 'the best combination of Irishmen that has ever been raised in Scotland'²⁷.

When the foundation of Celtic was being prepared, the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) banned football on the ground that it was too British/English imperialist. Bradley describes that the founders of the GAA 'wished to use the game (of hurling, in particular) as a nationalising idiom, a symbolic language of identity filling the void created by the speed of Anglicisation'²⁸. It was their culture, not ours. However, the fact that the years of establishment of Celtic and the GAA were 1887 and 1885 respectively indicates that the popularisation of Gaelic sports had just begun when the overtly Anglicised and imperial form of sport, football, was already spread among the immigrant Irish Catholic population in Britain at the period when the jingoism and regimental aspect of organised sport appeared in different ways²⁹.

This ambivalent recognition of football coincides with the apparently hybrid position of Celtic as 'a Scottish club with proud Irish roots' that seems to signify the club and the fans with suspended positionality between Irish, Scottish and British identity. Bradley sees this positionality interrogating a distinctive ethno-cultural identity and making Celtic emerge 'as a definition of Irishness itself' in contemporary Scotland³⁰. What Gaelic sports were assigned to do in the late Nineteenth century has become the public role of Celtic FC through the Twentieth century. It is to provide the otherwise prohibited expression of an ethnic distinctiveness with the opportunity of contestation for their public presence. Celtic is made to function as a focal point where the oppressed legacy of Irish-Catholic immigrant identity is allowed to claim the position by means of such a manifestation as supporters' songs³¹. Bradley acknowledges that the identity is rather multi-layered than exclusively unitary³². However, he rarely observes how the components of the multi-layered identity mutually negotiate and are activated

by contradictions. While articulation and dis-articulation are more central of the issues of identity, he goes for seeking for an ethnicised origin of identification.

On the other hand, Finn carefully avoids the allure of religious languages in his study on the inter-community conflict and the prejudice against Catholic population in Scotland. Finn suggests that the ethnicised 'double-identity' of 'Irish-Scots' may be commonly approved by a large section of Celtic fandom³³. However, this pattern of identification has been often denied either by the less disseminated Irish nationalism or by not exactly Protestantism but anti-Catholicism prevailing in the Scottish national establishment including Rangers³⁴. The relative gravity of the Scottish nationhood is heavier than the Irish ethnicity. Instead of placing the identity in one nationalised and ethnicised category, Finn looks for the irreducible simultaneity of being Irish and Scottish in Celtic fandom. His acute awareness of the historical constitution of a combined identity seems to dislocate the ethnically exclusive ideas of culture. However, even Finn's proposition of the 'Irish-Scots' identity assumes a simple coordination of the essentialised units which enables contradictory elements to be apparently erased so that each category can exist as an indisputable origin.

Thus, while they may seem to acknowledge the unstable state of Celtic identity, they desire that the instability be finally dissolved in some ways by the rediscovery of where the identity is traced back. Furthermore, it is possible to see both approach share the view that the mutual difference between the communities are rooted in the pre-existing ethnicised origin that is external of the football public sphere. In their logic, the spectacle of identities in football grounds is the immediate, systematic and straight reflection of the society in which football is experienced. Culturally ethnicised and politically racialised, being a member of Celtic fandom is destined to a reified categorisation of nation, which is conceived outside the football universe.

However, what made Celtic so special among other Irish-Catholic origin football clubs was primarily because of the success on the pitch. Celtic quickly established itself as one of the strongest sides in the British Isles and enjoyed a successful campaign until the end of the First World War. That success largely depended on Celtic's recruitment strategy. Without a strong industrial background such as shipyards, docks, steel works or mines, where men's recreational associations facilitated the success of football clubs. Celtic instead relied on the

strong influence of Edinburgh Hibernian's earlier achievement as a Catholic charity-association-based sporting institution, inviting and signing established players from the established clubs like Renton, Cathcart, Dumbarton or Hibs. This tendency has caused some contractual problems with the clubs that had to give up some of their finest players to the newly founded Celtic.

Murray assumes that this 'ruthlessness' of Celtic was criticised by those clubs and regarded as the violation of the SFA code of conduct³⁵. It may have been the beginning of the anti-Irish, anti-Catholic environment in the football -related institutions in Scotland. Ironically, however, it was not other 'Scottish' clubs, but Hibs, supposedly the club on which Celtic was modeled, whose relationship with Celtic saw the worst contractual dispute³⁶. Murray also notes that the dispute with Hibs was created 'within its own community', that is, Irish Catholic community in Scotland³⁷. His observation contains two distinctively problematic accounts in terms of race thinking and nationalism. On the one hand, it is implied that the Irish Catholic community as an ethnic minority had their own, internal quarrel. On the other hand, because it was 'their own', the dominant majority social force of Scottish society, that is non-Catholic, had little to do with them. His static, ahistorical idea of community and his attribution of 'problem' to a defined root and origin seem to well represent the widely spread foundational thinking of sectarian sub-culture in Scottish football. Being the most informed writer in the field and beginning his argument with reference to football, Murray stands at the similar strand as Bradley and Finn, where the essentialised ethnic origin, which is supposed to exist outside the sociality of football, corresponds to the divide in football cultures without contradiction.

Murray confines the Irish in what is called 'white minority'³⁸. This idea evokes that because of the existence of the Irish as 'white ethnic minority' and the relatively smaller population of black people in Scotland, the politics in Scotland was slower being racialised. Being aware of the complex nature of 'race and ethnic relations' in Scotland, though, they assume a necessary correspondence between being a minority and being the target of racism. As a result, they come to endorse that the existence of racism is attributed its cause to the existence of a minority, which is consequently resemble to Murray's stance. The logic of number is used here as the empirical evidence of less racialised politics. It was in 1991 when Stuart Cosgrove published *Hampden Babylon: Sex and Scandals in*

Scottish Football that the racism in Scottish grounds was disclosed and came to be known as their own problem rather than as bad English import³⁹. In the academic domain, it was in 1995 when John Horne argued how sectarianism had been made to function to negate the problem of racism in Scotland⁴⁰.

Both Bradley and Finn addressed racism in their argument, but their focus on race is circumscribed around the sectarianised race thinking. They paralleled the experiences of Irish-Catholics to the historical traces of other ethnic minorities in the world as the legacy of the oppressed. This is more obvious in Bradley when he refers to the significance of Barcelona FC for the Catalans and the legacy of the black civil rights movements for the present African-Americans. Emphasising on the 'second citizen' history, none of them points out the possibility for Celtic fans to become the active agents of racial terror. The social position of Celtic fans is fixed on one side of the politics of racialisation prior to what actually take places.

Here, I propose that the negation of racism is sustained by the racialised quality shared by sectarianised cultures, i.e. whiteness. My approach is to see the ways in which, while the cultural richness of the fan communities is evaluated, the commonality in the fandom constructs whiteness through the inter-play between sectarianism and racism and then actively functions to make the straining tension between club identity and the sectarian resonance. As historically and socially constructed categories are always in the process of re-construction and in transition along with the outer-community environment, it is possible to imagine the moment when sectarianism may cease to function as it is expected by the sectarian imaginary. It may not be a total de-sectarianisation of the Old Firm cultures but certain rupture may occur. Therefore, it is important to note that despite the excessive attachment of Christianity to the Old Firm no single social category such as religion is sufficient to lay out the beginning of the transition of the fandom. Under the increasingly irresistible multicultural tendency promoted by the influx of foreign players, global flows of management capital and commercialisation, single categorisation of colour becomes insufficient to name someone's belonging to either side.

The situation is that racialised colour line has been added on to the colour of the club belonging in relation to the intersecting combination between blue and green, and black and white. The interwoven process of sectarianism, racism and club-belonging has recently become so complex that the binary oppositional

relationality of sectarian thinking cannot maintain the status quo as it used to. This can be called the crisis of sectarian thinking. This crisis can be double-marked by the recent transitional cosmopolitanism and the epistemological reflection on the way that sectarianism is represented.

3 The Centrality and the 'Positivity' of the Discourse on Sectarianism in Football

If sectarianism may seem to masquerade the active significance of race, it is not because of sectarianism but because of what I call the foundational thinking of sectarianism. Foundationalism legitimates the history in its own way, by forcefully thinking of profoundly different, potentially dislocated and syncretic social phenomenon as the off-spring of the fundamentally static, unmovable and rooted 'fact'. Whether 'social background', 'ethnic origin' or 'identity', the discourses on sectarianism in football depends on the 'matter-of-factness' for the principle of the Old Firm rivalry. In its highly dense social environment, the power relations of football rivalry and extra-football politics are intersected and then interlocked, socially, artificially and arbitrarily as a fact of truth under the specific temporal and spatial conditions. It is so dense that the sociality of football relations cannot clearly be differentiated from the politics. This density also defines who can claim that it is a truth, and what condition is required to make such a claim and to render the fixed foundation of the inter-relation of the Old Firm fandom.

I would argue that the reason why foundationalism has long been unquestioned is because there is a notable confusion among the discourses on sectarianism, the confusion that two different dimensions of the question are narrated in a single structure of the narrative. Thus, I need to stress that asking how much sectarianism has serious consequences is completely different from inquiring into how seriously sectarianism is taken into consideration.

This confusion is sustained by the centrality of religious languages, idioms and vocabulary. By centrality, I mean a linguistic power of religious modifications, which are perceived as seemingly unavoidable in talking about the Celtic-Rangers rivalry. It is as if the usage of religious connotations possesses a commonsensical inevitability and also as if one could not refer to the Old Firm without signifying

sectarian implications to the differences lying between the two clubs' cultures. This centrality is in fact supported by ways in which the things and the phenomena concerning the Old Firm are put into our frame of reference. This is an epistemological question. What Michel Foucault termed as 'positivity' may be a key to see how 'centrality' operates in the narrative of sectarianism⁴¹. By this positivity, the presupposition of the vocabularies, languages and symbols of sectarianism is introduced and then naturalised as if those presupposed conditions were so natural and unquestionable that no one attempts to investigate the symbolic and the material in the notion of sectarianism itself. Therefore, neither consensus nor contestation could be made without reference to the notion itself. Positivity, then, may be defined as a discursive formation without which the 'reality' of the specific topic of dispute would not be recognised.

This opens up the issue of sectarianism and makes it possible to yield 'diverse', not unified, modes of narratives on the constitution of the problem itself. I want to suggest that the rivalry between Celtic and Rangers be best understood as a field of discourse and embodied cultures within which what I call the sectarian cosmology is produced and negotiated. Consequently, sectarianism could be understood as something that has been existing as a truth and can be resolved. Something that has long been an enigma suddenly becomes a visible object of politics. It is as if exploring sectarianism as a truth requires the religious dichotomy as a pre-fixed, essential and indispensable component.

The idea of 'cosmology' refers to a particularly ordered, rigidly defined topography of existence, things, signs, images and representations, by and in which one is entitled to subjectively and voluntarily perceive how the external world is constructed and how the self is given a place in it. By a particular cosmology, one is enabled to differentiate and determine the position of 'self' in relation to the 'other' as well as to the external world in which both 'self' and 'other' live. It must be emphasized that I do not use this idea to implicate the deeply religious quality of the discourses and histories of sectarianism. Instead, I stress the analogy between what may be categorised as the religious, and other social and cultural spheres.

The unconditional faith and devotion may associate being a committed supporter with being a religious believer. This is where Richard Giulianotti and Gary Armstrong summon the metaphor of 'secular religion' to mark out the

football public sphere in the advanced (western) industrial society which lacks capability to fulfill the 'emotional needs' that are presumably effective before the experience of 'disenchantment'⁴². Giulianotti and Armstrong note that

the absence of identifications and arenas for public forms of self-validation can lead some to seek an alternative or compensatory activity, which may see them define themselves through some 'action or ordeal'⁴³.

However, their pseudo-Weberian understanding of religious metaphor as the counter-tendency to the notion of 'disenchantment' has a heavily anachronic problem. They seem to confine the irrational elements of football fandom, such as the Old Firm fanaticism, to the category of the religious, which appears to signify a cultural device that gives some people an opportunity to fulfill what seems to have been long lost. It is as if football 're-enchants' the long-lost essence of something backward in modern social formation. It has a resonance with the linear modernist sociological understanding of religion⁴⁴. Football in western industrial society is understood as the temporary revival of and the contemporary substitute of pre-modern, pre-rationalised forms of community bonding.

I have found that their application of the notion of religion to the football context is too casual to share with because it seems as if they assume that, once being de-masked of rationality, there is raw, pre-modern, direct, less anomic forms of human-bonding excavated. Furthermore, their view makes it difficult to understand sectarianism because, due to its over-estimated religious imagery, it is far easier for the observer to dismiss it as religious fanatic, cult or simply bigot. Also because of this difficulty, serious scholarly efforts may have been avoided in the field of football studies. Indeed, by the power web of that cosmology, someone's action, performance, outwardness as well as inwardness, and speech acts, are articulated to the ontological mapping of race, nation and gender, in which individuals are differentiated by the relationality between the already ethnicised religious dichotomy, and determined and classified their social positionality according to the probability of belonging to that dichotomy. However, I consider this cosmological power as the effect of positivity rather than as still-enchanted pre-modernity. It is that the positivity works effectively to ensure that the re-distribution of social beings to the relationality of the binary camps is already, unconditionally determined. The epistemological aim of the thesis has therefore to be presented here, not as an empiricist quest for the

relationality as unquestionable truth or 'fact', but to explore the moment of classification of individuals, different speech acts, performative rituals, narrations, and representations, by which sectarian dichotomy is constructed and then made to appear as if it is foundationally 'a matter of fact'. As the research goes along this line, both the crucial necessity of transitional view and the unquestionable currency of transitional cosmopolitanism will also become present.

4 The Fieldwork

The entire research has been conducted by looking at archival resources, previous academic as well as journalistic writings, and ethnographic interviews and participant observation. The latter two were arranged in order to provide the research with a combined, supplementary material by which a vernacular world of Celtic fandom could be better understood. None of those materials can be counted as a single component of the research. All the materials are so inevitably interwoven that a single or fixed theoretical clarity cannot be attached to the whole map of the research. It is rather important that, whatever forms the research sources take, from written materials to actions of 'informants' or narration of their experiences (oral history), all the interactions between them and myself can be defined as an 'ethnographic encounter'.

My participant observation began by placing my bodily presence in the experience of everyday life in the East End⁴⁵. Apart from the games, the appointed meetings and other occasions planned in advance, I placed myself in as many 'Celtic pubs' as possible. The geographical and spatial setting is important for both the people I talked to and myself, because sense of place is indispensably associated with sense of safety, pleasure and comfort, and with the sense of belonging to Celtic cultures, which are essentially central in the divided football fandom.

The direct and spatial encounter with people and place that I attempted to look into occurred between February 1996 and May 1998, during which time I also went to ten home and three away matches⁴⁶. Recorded interviews with selected interviewees and intensive participant observation began in March 1997 and ended in May 1998, which covered the entire 1997-1998 season when Celtic ended their campaign with the League Cup trophy and the first league victory in

ten years. When I made interviews I listened to the recorded tapes with reference to my fieldwork notes and marked out which part of each interview could be useful for the topics and subjects I was going to write. The necessary parts of the interviews were transcribed according to the writing process of the first draft. Both interviews and participant observation could not have been possible without the cooperation of a Glasgow based Celtic supporters club. My intention was to choose the supporters club that seemed to me to represent some changing aspects of Celtic fandom. The first encounter with some of the members was at their official annual general meeting where the main agenda was about the club's financial report of the previous season, the demands for the impartial allocation of away tickets and the confirmation of the annual calendar of the season.

There are three clear reasons why I chose this particular supporters' club among other contacted groups and people. Firstly, their gender composition was relatively equal in comparison to other clubs with which I made contact beforehand. The chair post, liaison work and accountant work were occupied by women. The chairperson showed her own strong interest in my project and generously offered substantial cooperation. Then, she acted for me as a gatekeeper, helping me contact other members. Secondly, their diverse views on the Old Firm rivalry appear to me useful to look into the current situation in transition. In fact, their regular meeting bar in the eastern edge of Glasgow city centre is owned and run by a keen Rangers fan. Their religious background and class backgrounds are also diverse partly because they do not ask 'private things' when a new comer applies to join them. Finally, they are unique in terms of their stance against the official politics of Celtic itself. Though they are not administratively registered as an 'official supporters club', they have a strong connection with Celtic club's PR section. Their critical approach to the handling of the club management by the board members, including the recruitment policy and budget administration, enables them to make broad connections with other Celtic related social circles, including fanzines, independent historians and writers, and other clubs' supporters associations. It means that the this supporters' club often functions as a crossing point of various interest groups and individuals. Most notably, their association with the most prominent and longest surviving football fanzine in the entire British football culture, *Not The View*, creates a substantially open-minded atmosphere around them.

For these reasons, I began meeting with my regular companion with the club and some voluntary members who offered me many opportunities to mix with self-proclaimed 'Celtic daft'. Subsequently, I tried to talk to more regular members of the meeting, apart from matches, than others, and suggested how different our conversation would be if it were recorded. My time with them afterwards was spent waiting for their responses to this suggestion. In this sense, recorded interviews totally depended on the possible interviewees' voluntary offer of cooperation. After more than forty brief unrecorded interviews with both the members and non-members, I selected ten interviewees, two females and eight males. Eventually I interviewed only one non-member who was a male fan. They were chosen according to how much they expressed their own interests in my research⁴⁷. Each interview was commenced by my intentionally rough questioning. I was prepared to put three general points. Firstly, I asked them how they came to support Celtic or how they found themselves supporting Celtic. Secondly, I attempted to discover how the Celtic game affected their ordinary lives. Lastly, I asked them directly if they had something explicitly to say about the recent situation around the Celtic-Rangers relationship and its social effect. I tried to avoid a linear question-answer exchange. Even when our topics of talk were likely to be taking different courses from what I had expected from the prepared questions, I let them talk and keep telling me what they wanted to talk about and I also let myself talk about what I wanted to talk about. In this sense, although the rough questions were designed, I have found interlocutors, not passive respondents, among the supporters.

5 Fanzine: The Textualisation of Fandom

I considerably rely on fanzines for their distinctive ways of conceiving the narratives of fandom⁴⁸. Fanzines are one of the most inventive genres through which the narratives of Celtic fandom are transmitted and accumulated. Apparently, narrating football requires a spectacle 'in which a disparate audience gazes on other more expert performers'⁴⁹. Among other political-economist cultural critics, David Rowe insists on a highly developed division of labour between player/performer and spectator/audience and suggests that 'the necessity

to talk and write about sport' and 'to talk about others' sports talk is a function of its industrialization, professionalisation and mass mediation'⁵⁰.

In comparison to the view of sport as an 'effect of spectacular consumption', there is another remarkable phenomena observed in the transforming situation in the division of labour around football industry. This means not only the division between professional players and the amateur, but also professional football journalists (and their practice of writing) and more grass roots discourse on football. Narrating the cultures constituted around a particular club and its history is not at all monopolised by the mass media, the official public relation section or the acclaiming autobiographers. The emergence of a great number of voluntary, grassroots and commercial-free discursive field yielded by non-professional football writing is challenging the power of media representation over sport, which is generated by a dichotomous model which coalesces around the misleadingly simple notion of passive versus participatory.

The previous decade saw a numerous number of fanzines appearing in the football cultures. The writers and editors are themselves committed 'fans'. The spectating body becomes simultaneously writing and documenting body. If 'participatory' or 'active' practices of football fan builds up the alternative discursive sphere to the official and mass media, fanzine is produced, circulated and read in specific situations in accordance with some common structure and characteristics, such as small scale of circulation, 'short lives', 'populism', overflowing irony and rhetoric, caricatured expression, political correctness especially relating 'race' issue. Glasgow's rivalry has, however, its own specific context to be explored. It is, therefore, important to see in detail the contextual, localised specificity in which fanzines are produced and consumed. Fanzine is not merely a channel of discourse but partly represents both the possibility and the limit of the public sphere of enunciation.

6 Structure of Thesis

The thesis is divided into two halves and each half consists of four chapters. Thus, including Introduction and Conclusion, the entire structure takes a 1-4-4-1 formation. The first half is dedicated to the anatomy of Celtic fandom. Chapter 1 is the description of the way in which the locally rooted, ethnicised and

ontologised love for 'us' and hate for 'them' are negotiated through the pull and push between the foundational model of sectarian thinking and transitional cosmopolitanism. Chapter 2 is the methodological and epistemological inquiry into the situation in which theory and ethnography are re-composed through the research experience. It is to seek for my own positionality as a researcher and as a fan within the transitional moment of Celtic fandom. Chapter 3 examines what it is to be a Celtic fan. I focus on the ways in which affect is sensed as popular pleasure and invested through the performative bodily rituals and the senses in what fans feel, watch, read, expect and are excited. The affect relates the fans' memory and knowledge to the construction of their imaginary. In turn, that imagery is converged with the club and the players so intimately that the community of affect is produced around Celtic. Chapter 4 explores the ways in which this imaginary is either articulated or dis-articulated with the rigid Old Firm cosmology by a series of performances in the spectacle of football. While affect empowers love and pleasure in being a part of the fandom, it can also activate terror and hate in a certain location. However, invoking the significance of football art, I suggest that the excessive sectarianisation can cease by the incorporating narrative of playing style with the spectacle of football itself.

De-sectarianised possibility of Celtic fandom does not envisage a homogenised community. It is rather a public sphere where a variety of cultural forces conciliate the expressive identity, belonging and entitlement. As I said earlier, 'race' as difference is powerfully affiliated to both the sectarian and the Old Firm cosmology. The second half explores how the fandom copes with the tension that 'race' creates. Chapter 5 exclusively focuses on the construction of one of the commonest racialised representations of Celtic cultures, namely 'Fenian bastard', from the genealogical point of view. Then, in Chapter 6, I address the 'sectarian racism' in the actual confrontation between two rival fandoms in the distinctively urban settings by which terror is articulated through sectarian narrative with urban mythology as cultural heritage. Chapter 7 examines the ways in which 'whiteness' works in the Old Firm fandom as a sub-text of difference, on which both the 'tradition' of the club and the fandom, and the sectarian thinking itself can rely for the commonality. Then, Chapter 8 maps out some problems of anti-sectarian, anti-racist, politically correct activity promoted among Celtic fans and seeks for the possibility to break through the allure of foundational purity in the fandom.

The conclusive chapter asserts what I have discussed through both halves and proposes the possible contribution of my research to critical ethnography. I expect that the thesis renders football a complex but culturally rich, politically significant public sphere. Football is not merely a leisure style, an ideological state apparatus, an embodiment of capital, an exploitation of body, or an authoritarian spectacle. Equally, it is not simply a popular contestation, a working class resistance or an exclusive identity. Football is not a representation but a process in which the possibility of those social forms negotiate over the moment of truth. I expect the chapters that follow to be the first step of a long, difficult winding road to seek for the truly diverse, empowering Celtic fandom.

Notes.

¹ Professionalism and commercial success made both clubs most popular in Scotland by the 1890s. When amateurism was still predominant, the profit and wealth gained by their successful campaigns made them distinguished from others. The name of the 'Old Firm' is said to be derived from those economic prospects of Celtic and Rangers.

² However, I do not attach the adjective 'religious' in the thesis. This is because, in my opinion, attributing what can be called 'sectarian' to the religious bigotry may over-simplify more complex and contradictory social and cultural phenomenon.

³ While Celtic side is less determined with the single combination of social categories, the Rangers' one is proclaimed even by their own fanzine. *The Rangers Historian* declared that Rangers 'will always remain the establishment, Unionist, Protestant club' (Volume 2, Number 5, August 1989, p. 12).

⁴ Lawlor was killed on 20 July 2002.

⁵ *The Observer*, 25 August 2002.

⁶ Boyle, 1994, p. 92.

⁷ *The Herald*, 13 November 1987, cited in Bradley, 1995., p140.

⁸ 'Orange' is obviously derived from popular support for Rangers by the members of the Orange Order.

⁹ Through the thesis, the difference between 'supporter' and 'fan' is drawn to refer to the former as those who regularly bring themselves to the stadium and occupy a certain space to experience the game. The latter's commitment to following the club is less direct than the former is.

¹⁰ The original source of the idea is Stuart Hall's classic summary of dominant/negotiating/oppositional 'encoding/decoding' practice of media representation: '(N)egotiated codes operate through what we might call particular or situated logics: and these logics are sustained by their differential and unequal relation to the discourses and logics of power' (Hall, 1980, p. 137).

¹¹ This shift is gradually materialised through Armstrong, G(1998), Armstrong and Giulianotti, R(1997), Readhead, S(1993), and Williams, J and Wagg, S(1991).

¹² The fundamental contribution to this currency is found in Giulianotti and Williams (1994) and Brown, A (1998).

¹³ Robson, 2000.

¹⁴ Bromberger, 1993., p. 118.

¹⁵ Robson, op. cit., p. 7.

¹⁶ Bromberger, op. cit.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Since the entry to the Symbolic requires sexual and gender differentiation as primal differentiation, those differentiations have to be determined prior to the moment of the Symbolic, namely the realm of language. Then, it is that the Symbolic is occupied, always-already, with as the archetype of one's subjective formation as hetero-sexual masculine.

¹⁹ I loosely rely upon Jacqueline Rose's reading of this Lacan's idea(1986). In the Lacanian formula, the imaginary is the plane of transformation which causes a mirror relation between the Symbolic and the Real in the constitutive process of subjectivisation. The imaginary makes it possible for the identical image to designate its imprint on the different material contents. It may predicate a relational sameness between subjects and between subjects and objects. But the sameness immediately discovers its own alienated image. This alienation leads to producing the traumatised system of the mirror phase that turns the transforming power of the imaginary into the discourse which may reconcile the epistemological tension between language and the material condition of being.

²⁰ Back, Crabbe and Solomos, 2001, p 30.

²¹ Back, 1996., p. 53.

²² Ibid.p. 54.

²³ Quoted in *The Daily Record*, 25 September 1999.

²⁴ Back, et al., op. cit. 2001., p. 32.

²⁵ Wilson, 1988.

²⁶ Campbell and Woods, 1996, pp. 9-18. *The Celt*, Issue 55, May 1997.

²⁷ Campbell and Woods, op. cit., p. 15.

²⁸ Bradley, 1998a, p. 11. GAA is still banning on those who work for the British institutions like policing authorities, particularly the Royal Ulster Constabulary, from obtaining the membership and playing Gaelic sports.

²⁹ The spread of Anglicised form of sport such as football and cricket was accelerated through the imperial jingoism. At the same time, once the game was played, the metaphor and rhetoric of war used in the game encouraged jingoistic expression of nationhood to bring the self-consciousness of a nation (Mandel, 1987, p. 154-5).

³⁰ Bradley, 1998b., p. 147

³¹ Bradley, 1998c.

³² Bradley, 1998b.

³³ Finn, 1991.

³⁴ Finn, 1994a, p. 50. This view is shared with Cliff Hanley in the German Film *The Big Teams*(Damer, 1990, p. 96).

³⁵ Murray, B., 1984, p. 21.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ The most prominent advocate of this thesis is Miles and Muirhead (1986).

³⁹ Cosgrove, 1991.

⁴⁰ Horne, 1995.

⁴¹ Foucault, 1997/1970., pp. 132-7.

⁴² Giulianotti and Armstrong, 1997, pp. 9-12

⁴³ Ibid., p. 12.

⁴⁴ I am thinking particularly of Robert Bellah's classic study on the religion in pre-industrial Japan (1957). It seems to me that, even after a half-century since Bellah's problematic work, the approach to the religious still 'models' the particular process of modern civilisation in the west and takes it for granted that the 'model' can be applied, rather than translated, into different popular cultural spheres.

⁴⁵ See Appendix 1 for the area of my field work in 'East End'.

⁴⁶ See Appendix 2 for the details of the matches I went to witness by myself.

⁴⁷ For the composition of the interviewees and the whole chronological procedures, see Appendix 3.

⁴⁸ The fanzines to which I make reference during the research are *Not The View*, *The Celts*, *Once A Tim*, *The Boyzone* and *Tiocfaidh Aa La* on the Celtic side, and *Follow Follow*, *The Rangers Historian*, *Number 1*, *The Blues Brothers* on the Rangers side.

⁴⁹ Rowe, 1995., p. 145.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

First Half

Anatomy of Fandom

The first half is dedicated to the analysis of organic components in Celtic fandom and their inter-links. I start with broadly defining the concrete, ongoing social and cultural condition in which Celtic and the fandom produces, nurtures and protects their distinctive but relational cultures. Then I will clarify some problems within the wider context of methodological and theoretical inquiry into the significant elements of ethnographic experience. Based on this preparatory work, I will move onto the cultural mechanism of fandom as a public sphere through which private affect is invested in what the fans follow or detest. Expressive identity, communal solidarity and the body are articulated with the spectacle of the football environment. I aim to describe this structural articulation of the components of fandom as an elastic plane where both pleasure and terror potentially co-exist and as a political moment when the fandom itself constantly proliferates the cultural power of negotiation over what it stands for.

Chapter 1

Love or ‘Pure Hatred’?: Foundational Sectarianism and Transitional Cosmopolitanism in the Old Firm Fandom

The final stage of the 1998-1999 season of the Scottish Premier League was an especially important period for the intimate relationship between football clubs, games and the fandom. In the previous decade, the pace of transition around the game and the management of the club have been hastened particularly since the 1997-1998 season when Celtic appointed ex-Dutch international player Wim Jansen as Head Coach and Jock Brown as General Manager of football. In terms of the scale and the effect, the transition that began with this season may be more remarkable than what Graeme Souness brought in for Rangers in the late 1980s. The appointment of Dick Advocaat as the new Rangers manager in the following season accelerated the phenomenal scale and scope of change in the entire football industry in Scotland. As far as the Old Firm are concerned, apparently most notable are the increasing number of foreign players and the growing weight of merchandising, with the help of broadcasting revenue from British Sky Broadcasting. With those transitions, public knowledge in Glasgow football vernacular¹ still tells us that the Catholic population support Celtic and Protestant Rangers.

If this recent transition is considered as a stepping-stone of cosmopolitanisation of the Old Firm cultures, what seems to be most affected is a foundational thinking of the history and cultures of sectarianism. Whether to detest or appreciate, the foundational thinking views sectarian cultures as certain, static and integrated social and cultural sources of antagonism embedded in geographical

locality. The foundational view of the transitional phenomenon makes it difficult to work on the complex cultural mechanism of the Old Firm fandom by embedding each moment of supporting activities in the ethnically and nationally essentialised dichotomous matrix of Catholic and Protestant or Irish minority and Scottish majority. However, my approach is to analyse historical sectarianism as performative, plural and temporal rather than ontologically substantial. In the following, I discuss the inadequacy of the foundational approach and the necessity of a transitional view of the actual changing environment in which sectarianism is experienced, narrated and constructed.

1.1 The Sectarian Sub-Cultural Residue: The Case of Donald Findlay

Under this changing environment, the resignation of Rangers vice-chairman QC Donald Findlay questions the conventional argument about sectarian elements of the Glasgow football cultures. Findlay resigned because he was caught on video camera singing, in karaoke style, anti-Catholic anthems, including the 'Billy Boys' and 'The Sash My Father Wore', at the celebration for their Scottish Cup victory over Celtic at Hampden Stadium in May 1999². His actions were revealed the next day by *The Sunday Mail* and the day after next by its sister paper *The Daily Record*. His resignation was accepted by Rangers chairman David Murray saying that 'he unfortunately crossed the line that he could not come back over'³. The media discourses after the revelation of Findlay's performance were keen to condemn him of his bigoted, hate-filled performance and to stress that his behaviour overshadowed the Treble which Rangers accomplished with that Cup triumph. Consequently, for the media the Findlay story was to be understood as the revival or continuation of the old bigotry, which is evidently backward. It is a confirmation of an inherited 'tradition'.

However, I suggest that in order to properly situate this incident within the contemporary contexts it is necessary to turn down both the view that sectarianism is the ancient bad element and has already practically become ineffective, and the view that the Old Firm game is full of sectarian political and religious hostility. In this latter view, football is just one example in which the former view might be justified. It is echoed by James MacMillan who denounced that religious hate and bigotry still exists 'as endemic as it is second nature' in Scotland⁴. MacMillan

was, however, quickly persecuted in his denouncement by the media, politicians and intellectuals whose reasoning for the disapproval of the Scottish composer's 'prickly', 'embarrassed', 'scornful' and 'underhand' remark was that sectarianism is the 'demon of the past' of 'Old Scotland'⁵. Both interpretations tend to simplify the complex and contradictory social ecology involving two of the biggest popular cultural institutions in Britain.

Whatever Findlay's critics say, I find that the incident provides a useful material for the discussion because it allows me to outline where the issues lie. The incident is also too significant for us to simply condemn. Findlay's performance should instead be addressed within a series of events that mark the clear transition of the sectarian public cultures. It is significant primarily because it proved clearly that what could be called sectarianism still matters. However, that significance demands a multiple approach in order to address more precisely how sectarianism is constituted in discursively and historically varied ways.

1.2 Socio-Pathology and Culturalism

When Findlay was forced to resign, the reference to the tradition was found in such sympathetic public reactions as 'The Sash is a folk song' and 'the words he (Findlay) used are just words, he didn't mean anything'⁶. A series of defensive opinions for Findlay has revealed that there still are some locations to conduct the old, decaying 'tradition' that may represent the sectarianisation of the Old Firm game. The concrete object of sectarianisation is specified as a person, as a phenomenon, as behaviour or as a word. This specific objectivisation makes two dominant foundational manners operate on the subject of sectarianism. The one would be called socio-pathology. This approach may be characterised as seeing any elements of what could be called sectarianism as a particular people's particularly deviant behaviour, which is represented predominantly as an object of policing by the authority. A possible consequence of employing this approach would be at best to omit the organic connection of the dominant social population to those who are thought to be 'sectarian' and to attribute sectarianism to the individual preference.

The other would be called culturalism. Its emphasis on the uniqueness of the local character frequently leads to the appreciation of Scottish nationalist

sentiment and the celebration of Scottish cultural heritage. The conclusion which might be drawn from this view is a claim that a bad habit of sectarian antagonism should be transformed into the unique cultural heritage as a property owned by the multi-cultural nation called Scotland.

What both culturalism and socio-pathology have in common is that they insist that the divided football cultures in Glasgow are a necessary consequence of the wider social and cultural history⁷. Religious hatred is a historically rooted phenomena in the end and it has very clearly once existed in every social aspects but is gradually disappearing thanks to the development of the welfare system and the modernisation of civic life. The fiercely competitive football rivalry re-fuels this decaying hostility. Both also assume a simple causality which ultimately attributes the antagonism to the Irish-Catholic migration and to the reactive social control by the Scottish Protestant majority. This view admits a dichotomous distinction between 'good' and 'evil'. Sectarianism becomes equivalent with incurable disease. Terms like 'bigot' represent the accusing tone toward this allegedly deviant behaviour.

They are, by definition, opposed to a class and economic reductionism, which finds the economic class elements proceeding to cultural, ethnic and racial components of the working class around western Scotland. According to this explanation, sectarianism was primarily sustained by the outcome of the social control of class friction in the Scottish social formation which was well manipulated by middle class industrial barons throughout the late Nineteenth century⁸. Due to the antagonism between the Irish Catholic immigrants and the Ulster Protestant immigrants, which was partly re-defined by the uncompromising relationship between the Catholic Church and the left wing parties, particularly the Communist Party, industrial relations would remain less explosive than those that the united mass revolutionary movements might have organised⁹. Catholic Irish immigrant workers were treated as the reserve labour force in the construction, shipbuilding, mining and textile industries. High unemployment among the Irish Catholic population was used by employers to keep wages low when industrial actions were initiated by predominantly Protestant organised workers¹⁰.

There is, however, a counter-account of working class football cultures in the same period. In April 17th of 1909 at Hampden Park, both Celtic and Rangers

fans invaded the pitch after the allegedly 'fixed' cup final replay ended in a draw. The crowds responded to the players' discontent at the referee's decision of not playing extra time. The spectators targeted any legitimate public authority from the police forces to the firemen to the ambulance staffs. A sociological account may suggest these 'riots' to be a symptomatic phenomenon of the visible emergence of the mass urban working class and of the increasingly influential effect of the unification of the working class against authority. However, there is a certain margin for populist sentiment to claim that the differences of ethnicity and religion are erased by the strong working class power. In contrast, as history writer Simon Craig wrote, even this otherwise appreciated event as the overcome of sectarianism could not avoid the socio-pathologist gaze when *The Scotsman* of April 19th described the 'rioters' as 'the most degraded section of the community'¹¹.

Craig poses a few questions both on sentimental nostalgia and on the view that assumes the simple economic disease of the working class. First, the majority of the crowds on the day were not the poorest population in the then most densely populated city in Britain. Second, as a result of the politicisation of the working class, this event could be understood as 'a less-obvious manifestation of working class militancy'¹². Class is not a pre-given, pre-existing element by which the unusual camaraderie between the Old Firm fans might have been explained.

Meanwhile, both culturalism and socio-pathology still have a mingled point. Their naive 'utopianism' assumes the existence of purely apolitical, non-sectarian essence of football cultures. Even bitter sectarian antagonism could be restored as cultural heritage if violent, physical and extremely political consequences were avoided. The combined effect of those two narratives can be found in the public commemorative image in Glasgow. For example, the 'People's Palace', a public museum situated in the east end of Glasgow, displayed a T-shirt showing an ex-Celtic and Catholic player Maurice Johnston, signed for Rangers by So uness from French club Nantes before the 1989-1990 season, begging a priest for mercy¹³. The caption reads, 'forgive me father, for I have signed'. The fact that Rangers signed a Catholic against its long-standing, so-called 'Protestant only policy' not least caused a variety of controversies among the fans of both sides¹⁴. It is more significant, however, that the image of the Johnston transfer is exhibited and commemorated in the public space of the museum. Though he was not a

practising religious personality, the religious category to which Johnston belonged was a central element of the issue.

There are a variety of interpretations possible. A conventional realism may explain that the display of the T-shirt showed a 'reality' of the divided cultures in Glasgow's public life. An aestheticism may appeal to those who believe in the purified space and practice of football as a sport by showing the inevitably interconnected but undesirable relationship between religious imagery and football. A cynic may make a joke with the printed picture itself by caricaturing the old, repeated image of the bigotry. Whatever stances it takes, however, the public appearance of the cartooned picture of Johnston may propose that religious distinction is still a part of Glasgow life. Furthermore, the fact of the display may show that what Johnston represents has to be a cultural property, one of the repertoire of public cultures in Glasgow. It can be possessed, observed, commemorated and memorised as something that actually happened.

The display may be considered as an elaboration of public memory, which insists on the 'peculiarity' of the context in which sectarian rituals can be examined. The proud tradition of football fanaticism is attributed to the place and space where it is supposed to be uniquely created as an unrivaled culture in the world. This peculiarity can be immediately linked with another component of the cultural closure of sectarianism, namely, 'unintelligibility'. The peculiarity and unintelligibility function to mythologise any symptomatic event as sectarianism. Meanwhile, the mythologisation itself is not questioned by mobilising the psychological vocabularies in terms of prejudice, bias and discrimination, and the legal idioms such as social justice and civil rights. In other words, the more empiricist approaches are taken by these positivist social and human sciences idioms, the more essentialised, rooted and embedded view of sectarianism remains approved. Recognition of problems turns out to be a reproduction of them. The mixture of pleasure of football and pain of divided public life, and the chaotic blend of celebrated worldly working class cultures and religious hatred, make it impossible to draw an absolutely clear sketch of what would have been the most appreciated popular cultural life in Glasgow.

Such idioms as prejudice, bias and discrimination can be packed away in a box with the irrational aspects of society. By occasionally introducing the logic of peculiarity and unintelligibility, both socio-pathology and culturalism attempt to

politically irrationalise those phenomenologically rational symptoms. Sociopathology may stress that, in reaction to the Protestant triumphalism, Celtic cultures are occupied with paranoia that often insists on the existence of conspiracy among the Scottish establishments from the SFA to Freemasons to mass media to police forces to the referees. In turn, Rangers' culture may become more sadistic, power-play oriented, with a belief that they are a majority and backed by the establishment, in that their defiant masculine tone may insult things concerning Celtic and provoke a reaction of 'paranoia' from them. Culturalism, then, assigns those exchanges to the historical uniqueness and its development. For culturalism, every aspect of sectarian hostility has to be written over by the indigenous essence of popular culture, which is expected to be completely separable from the political. Football and the fandom are a part of this cultural entity.

However, the recently growing concern with the significance of football culture in the contemporary cultural politics of difference requires us to reconsider the complex condition and context through which the narratives on sectarianism are articulated with the apparently extra-football elements of both the public and private spheres of social life.

1.3 'You shouldn't be here if you can't get yourself up for these games': The Rivalry in Transition

The sociality of the Old Firm game in this transitional era affects both supporters and players alike. Before their last league encounter with Celtic in the same year, Rangers mid-fielder Ian Ferguson reportedly made a critical comment concerning Rangers' foreign players' commitment and their ignorance about the significance of the game against Celtic. What he said was;

'You speak to the foreign boys but sometimes you feel as if you're banging your head against a brick wall'.

'I was so hyped up for that game [their defeat at 1-5 at Celtic Park back in November 1998], but I felt what I said and tried to do was a waste of time when you see the result.'

‘You shouldn’t be here if you can’t get yourself up for these games. If you’re going for a title which your closest rivals already have then that should be enough to spur anybody’¹⁵.

In response, former Swedish international captain Jonas Thern now playing for Rangers gave a rather calm reply:

‘as a foreigner it is impossible for you to feel exactly the same way as the Scottish players, but that doesn’t make you any less determined to win’.

‘There is the religious thing in Scotland - you can see the hate in some fans’ eyes at an Old Firm match’.

‘I gave everything I could in these games and fully understand the importance of winning. But I could never hate any of the Celtic players’¹⁶.

In contrast to Ferguson’s statement, Thern’s observation on the Old Firm game is worth a careful reading. For Thern, who is a veteran intelligent mid-fielder and was a dynamo for the success of the Swedish side in the 1994 America World Cup, the commitment to the game against Celtic is necessarily linked with the ‘hate in some fans’ eyes’. Understanding the significance of the local derby from his experience at Serie A side AS Rome, Thern maintained that ‘neither Rome nor Lazio had any chance of winning the league so the derby games had been more significance(sic)’ and ‘all that mattered to the fans was beating your local rivals’¹⁷. Obviously, as the Scottish League’s power relation in the past fifteen years shows, what Thern apparently has compared to the Italian league is quite different from the Scottish experience in that in Glasgow the local rival means the title contender.

It is hardly difficult to wonder how Ferguson’s feeling against his foreign colleagues really matters even if they could not ‘feel exactly the same way as the Scottish player’. When Donald Findlay was caught by a video camera, the captain of the club for which the ex-vice chairman sung with joy was flying on his way back home to Italy. Centre-back Lorenzo Amoruso did not join the celebration for their Cup victory over the arch-rival. That match saw only six Scottish players on the pitch out of twenty two in the starting line-ups of both sides. Previously, Celtic played only three Scots out of the eleven on the pitch when they played Rangers on the Ne’ear derby in January 1999 while Rangers played only two. Their regular first team members of the 1998-1999 season counted eleven different foreign nationalities¹⁸.

To 'feel exactly the same as Scottish players' is imposed among the players as a condition of seeing through the difference between affective inclusion, exclusion and contingent inclusion. The practical characters of the players are becoming nationally, racially and ethnically more diverse and are not automatically classified into an ontological dichotomy that is refined primarily by their national belonging and ethnicised religious locality. Solidarity among the players of the same team is no longer taken for granted when compared with the significance and allure of the Old Firm cosmology.

1.4 The Old Dichotomy Challenged by Cosmopolitanism?

What Ferguson thought his foreign colleagues did not get involved sufficiently is something that is not automatically intelligible for Them. It is the cause for 'hate' which seems to Them to appear in the eyes of Scottish Rangers players and the fans. The cause of this 'hate' became apparent with the Findlay incident. The fact that the Rangers chairman Murray announced that there was no other way for Findlay than resignation implies that the internal friction among the Rangers fandom may become sharper. His staunch Protestantism and anti-Catholicism made him an iconic figure among ordinary Rangers supporters. He could represent the tradition of Rangers' supporters. When Findlay claimed that he was proud of his 'Blue Nose', the staunch-Presbyterianism, Conservatism and Unionism, all of which are signified by this term, arouse a visible image of a typical Rangers fan. 'Blue Nose', 'Huns', 'Gers', 'Billy' and 'Bears' on the one hand, 'Fenians', 'Tims', 'Duns' and 'Bhoys' on the other, the Rangers-Celtic rivalry is enriched with a variety of totems. The tradition in the context of totemism may refer to an ensemble of sedimentation and accumulation of masculine working class habits and supporters' rituals, which may seem to be out of date, unfashionable or even unacceptable.

Whereas his performance might have been accepted or just made into a laughing matter before David Murray took over the club, it can be no longer dismissed under the entrepreneurship increasingly installed by Murray. As Stuart Cosgrove wrote, 'the rules of behaviour have changed'¹⁹. That tendency was in fact sometimes apparent in the past. In the late 1980s, Souness's managership attempted to transform what had been regarded as the club's tradition by signing

expensive English players such as Terry Butcher and Chris Woods and Catholic player Maurice Johnston. Souness eventually caused a series of debates among the supporters concerning the direction of the club's tradition²⁰.

Findlay's walkout may signify the advantage of the pro-capitalist, business-oriented direction of the club management, which prioritises their commercial success. Its clear indication appeared when an American-based cable television company NTL offered a twelve million pounds joint shirt-sponsorship for Celtic and Rangers. The deal was done and their corporate strategy saw them cross the Old Firm divide. If only in business and financial terms, it is the first time since 1984 when CR Smith sponsored both clubs for three years²¹. On the other hand, the expressed sympathy for Findlay made him a martyr for the tradition as some of Rangers players were also caught in the video camera. The tradition still maintains its coherent power. After the resignation, Findlay himself came back to Ibrox as a special guest for the testimonial game for Ian Ferguson and was greeted by many supporters.

It can be said that the negotiation between foundational sectarianism and transitional cosmopolitanism re-draws the boundary between the public sphere and the private life world. In other words, it becomes almost impossible to detach the private from the public where the apparently opposite currencies of sectarianism and cosmopolitanism matter. In fact, Findlay once declared that his support for Rangers was 'total irrationality' and 'probably the single most important thing in my life'²². There is indeed some sympathy expressed for Findlay. One of them insisted that 'the man is entitled to celebrate'²³. The point is, then, whether that celebration was a public event or a private party. If it was private, Findlay was carried away from his public status by the private matter. However, despite his public status as vice-chairman of Rangers FC, it is the fandom which made it impossible to distinguish private desire and pleasure, and public responsibility. To take football itself, the stadium is a public space where numerous forms of private desire, pleasure, frustration and even resentment are conceived and displayed. However, the cosmopolitan tendency no longer allows the private to be freely expressed in the public space of the celebration of Rangers' achievement. If Findlay's behaviour is regarded as being opposed to the recent transition, it can be said that when private affection is expressed in the

public sphere, there may be even a possibility of the dislocation of the powerful invasion made by the system world of capitalist social formation.

1.5 A Solitary Expression of the Residual Element of Celtic Supporting Cultures

In contrast to high-profile, media-hyped Findlay, most of the performative elements of the Old Firm fandom are realised at the pretty sensitive edge between the public sphere and private expression. I introduce an example that is this time from Celtic's point of view. When approaching Celtic Park from the western side, supporters have to go through Dalsersf Street, the final approach to one of the west stands of the stadium. On right hand side of the street towards the stadium there are old council flats. After walking several times to the stadium through the same route, I noticed a second floor terrace where an Irish tricolour flag and scarf were hung from the window cage. The left side flat of this terrace seemed empty, full of rubbish and broken windows. Below right was a burnt flat, which remains untouched. No one seems to live in the inside. Of all the 10 or so flats of this block of the building, perhaps half of them have been empty and untouched for some time. The scene creates a typical image of urban deprivation. Through the similar changing environment that Findlay had to negotiate, namely, the modernisation and renovation of the ground as well as of the managing environment²⁴, the growing wealth of the club sits aside the poverty and class divisions in Glasgow. I am suggesting, however, that this contrast is neither a pure distinction between the backward and the forward nor an uncompromising situation between tradition and innovation. The next flat to the one where I found an Irish flag had a couple of satellite dishes despite its entrance having been burned down and some windows broken.

The Irish colours displayed on the veranda could be a sign-post that evokes the territorial presence of Celtic cultures, being shown openly to the public, not to those who have already been qualified either to share the same sense of belonging or to see it as the sign of hatred. I saw nobody on the veranda or inside the flat. It was a match day. There were many burger vans, stalls, fanzine sellers and police officers on the street in front of this building, but I saw nobody inside. When I

made several other visits, those flags and scarf remained at the exactly same place, the window cage.

However, at the World Cup qualifier between Scotland and Austria in April 1997, on my way to a stand entrance by way of the usual Dalsersf Street, I spotted a middle age man standing at THAT terrace and looking down the streets where the crowd were approaching the stadium entrance. Even when the non-league match or international match is played, usually some supporters with Celtic colours can be seen on the site. I saw some of them. However, the vast majority of the crowd were wearing the Scotland kit, scarf, tartan kilt or the famous 'Bonny' hut. It is what Richard Giulianotti termed as the 'carnavalesque' of the Scottish fans' gathering²⁵. It is, however, unmistakable that the place is Celtic Park, the deep east of the east end of Glasgow. I was standing beside a burger van and watching the man on the terrace of the half-emptied building. He wrapped a Celtic scarf around his neck, and shouted towards the walking crowds, 'Bastard, you fucking bastard, fucking blue nose bastard'. Some of the crowd seemed to hear it. Some just laughed at him, others ignored him. Nobody seems to be bothered by his remark, which had been made just a few yards away from the ground entrance.

His solitary act of showing solidarity not with Scottish fans but with those who were virtually not there, the defined Celtic and Republic of Ireland fans, can be understood as a residue of Celtic fandom. It could be categorised as the traditional representation of anti-Scottish, more militant Celtic fan culture. The tradition is manifested, but in an ambivalent way. On the one hand, as his utterance of 'blue nose bastard' clearly shows, his manifestation of Celtic and Irish belonging is seen as against the Scottish and Rangers coupling which consists of the dominant pattern of football supporting cultures. On the other hand, however, his counter-dominant manifestation itself can be articulated through stereotyping that is deeply incorporated in the dominant culture. Raymond Williams was right to warn that there could be a clear distinction to be made between the potentially alternative relation to the dominant and the 'active manifestation of the residual...which has been wholly or largely incorporated into the dominant culture'²⁶.

1.6 Hegemony and Locality: Iconisation of the Hoops and the 'Imaginary Geography' of the 'East End'

This position of the residual shows how hegemony works in the description and evaluation of the Old Firm fandom. Antonio Gramsci's influential notion of hegemony is still relevant here if it can be interpreted as a moral basis of social relations which is neither reducible to the conscious interests of the ruling class nor to the material condition of production²⁷. As Michael Taussig notes, hegemony as the 'social basis of conviction' can be approached not by seeking the difference between true materiality and false ideology but by seeing the historical construction of a truth as an effect of discourse²⁸. Then, Taussig continues that 'we have to push the notion of hegemony into the lived space of realities in social relationships'²⁹. Taussig's suggestion is valuable to examine hegemony as what is diffused into the variety of experiences in Celtic fandom.

The dominant view on the cause and effect of the fanaticism of the Old Firm fandoms sees the local historical connection and continuity as being interlocked. One of the hegemonic views on the sectarian culture in Celtic fandom fabricated well its apparently inevitable local geo-political linkage between football tribalism and the on-going post-colonial politics. *The Guardian* writers Clouston and Traynor wrote their article on Michael Dickson, suspect of the IRA bomb campaign in Osnabruck Barracks in Germany, with a caption that 'this man is Scottish. ...Why is a man with no clear Irish links a suspect in an IRA bombing?'³⁰. On the front page is a portrait of Dickson wearing the Celtic green and white Hoops. The writers maintain that 'nobody in Scotland has been remotely surprised at the conjunction' when the German police has issued his photograph wearing the famous green-white hoops of Celtic FC³¹.

While they were visiting four 'Irish pubs' in Glasgow from the 'East End' to Govanhill, the writers asked themselves, not entirely convincingly, how the Scottish Catholic had turned himself into the suspect of the IRA bombing. Dickson's fandom for Celtic is described as 'at Port Glasgow, where he was given to rowdy parties and lashing Irish tricolour to lamp-posts after Celtic (FC) victory'³². While they pointed out the existing history of anti-Catholic prejudice in Glasgow as 'Glasgow's Protestant zealotry', their pub trail reached Castlemilk, a south-east outskirts suburb. The report is concluded by introducing the first academic research on the anti-Irish racial discrimination and bias which is carried

by the Commission for Racial Equality, and the passage that 'he [Dickson] is believed to have headed to Dundalk in the Irish Republic. Though Interpol officials should note that Celtic start a five game tour of the Netherlands on July 23'³³.

I do not attempt to blame the report for their oversimplification of every stereotypical understanding of the social condition of Celtic fandom. What matters, instead, is the fact that the writers' trail of 'Celtic pubs' may indicate that there could be a cultural homogeneity among those pubs, all of which are situated in the eastern half of the city. Their 'walk' from Govan to Castlemilk gave them a series of opportunities to re-trace, re-apply and re-confirm the cohesive principle of the inter-connectivity, that is, the arbitrary correspondence between the Hoops and the Catholic/Republican view of Irish politics. Politics, culture, geography, location, tradition, the individual and the visual image of the green and white Hoops, are interconnected without contradiction. Their knowledge is combined to the chain circulation of the previous events, the previously gained knowledge, including stereotypes, and the discovery of the comfortable similarity between those things of the past and the newly acquired knowledge and impression. This is a clear indication of the hegemonic, preferred interpretation of the place being associated with what Edward Said termed as the 'imaginal geography'.³⁴

The association of Celtic fandom with the 'East End' is so powerful that a particular community is made correspondent with geographical mapping. The territoriality of Celtic is often described as if geographical trails of Celtic colours signify the cultural and political heritage of a coherence of Celtic supporting cultures. This territorialisation of Celtic fandom becomes likely as no questions or suspicions are raised about its relevance. Such essentialism presupposed that cultural preference of a particular individual could be attributed to a specific culture, which this individual inherited from the external ecology. I term it as 'essentialism' because this assumption seems to hold an idea that any cultural practices can be possessed by the subject as his or her irremovable property. The 'imaginative geography' is employed here to rationalise the hierarchical order of social and cultural difference. Inscribed in 'geography, this imaginal boundarisation contributes to naturalising the power relations among those differences'³⁵. Its effect is to 'intensify its own sense of itself [the self] by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far

away'³⁶. It inscribes ethnic, racial and class characteristics into the geography of a particular urban space. This inscription sees its most rational outcome when urban deprivation, generic criminality, and ethnic segregation are essentialised through the narrative of the racially and ethnically designated map of perception. An individual's cultural belonging is recognised through the narratives which the mentioned urban imaginary constructs.

Hegemony creates a pseudo homology between what is represented and what is experienced. In particular, with a help of the Hoops imagery, the mimetic act of wearing a replica shirt and the locality of Celtic fandom are mutually articulated through an urban topography which privileges the East End of Glasgow as an imagined territory rather than a geographically and materially segregated area³⁷. The name of 'East End' has been used customarily and is sometimes taken for granted as interchangeable with the poor area in the central part of Glasgow. Although, formally and officially, no name 'East End' appears in terms of ward, parish or administrative region, the frequent usage of the name from numerous Celtic memorabilia to the city's local tourist pamphlets, caused the discursive segregation of the imagined territory. The question is, then, how the term became strongly associated with Celtic and how this association is articulated, or disarticulated, with ethnicity, race and class boundaries³⁸. For by the end of the Nineteenth century the most crowded Irish residential area was around the eastern edge of the current city centre, namely, the High Street, the Saltmarket and the Bridgegate. Despite this census fact, the east end has become talismanic as to how safety and danger is territorially distinguished by Celtic fandom. This distinction is nearly homologous to where those two Guardian correspondents took a walk to discover what Dickinson's love for Celtic seems to have done to him.

However, hegemony is primarily a cultural dynamism in which the dominant view and popular sensibility, what Raymond Williams described as the 'structure of feeling', ceaselessly negotiate over the cultural resources which are mobilised when the moral topography of the defined locality is determined. Although the place where I conducted most interviews and where the majority of the 'informants' most often frequented was a bar in High Street, I have found that their conception of the territory is not necessarily associated with the East End. By 'their territory', I refer to mainly pubs, bars and streets on their way to and from the stadium. It is a combination of various enclaves rather than a bordered area.

Those places were specified by the informants when I asked them to fix the place for interviews and to let me know where to be if I wanted to sense how people gather in specific places even if Celtic did not play. The geographical range of territory is far broader than the 'East End'. Outside the eastern part of the city, there are Celtic enclaves around the Queens Park area in the south of the River Clyde, and the Partick area. The latter is on the opposite side of the River Clyde from Govan, which is, at least in public knowledge, the notorious Rangers' territory. Partick used to be a shipyard workers' community. As this geography shows, Celtic fans' sense of spatial difference is far from homogenic or integrated.

It is crucial to stress that regional and local modes of articulation of different social boundaries show different patterns and modes to the nationalised cultural system³⁹. It is important not only to look through internal regional divisions in the British national order but also to address the ways in which those regional and local differences are mutually intersecting. This mode of differentiation of locality can be found in football supporting cultures. Manifestations of Scottish sub-nationalism and Irish counter-imperial nationalism at the Old Firm games can be contextualised simultaneously within the field of ethnic, therefore local, antagonism in British popular cultural life and within the field of marginalised, otherwise potentially nationalised, politics of identity. These two axes are not mutually exclusive but coexist and remain relational in complex ways. On the occasion of a pre-season friendly match between Birmingham City whose vernacular is the 'Blues' and Celtic, one Birmingham City and the Republic of Ireland fan expressed this complexity attached to Celtic fandom:

ask them who they'd support if Ireland was playing Scotland and it'll be Scotland, but they'll be singing Irish rebel songs up there all day'⁴⁰.

This statement suggests that the performing rites of Celtic fans are detached from the cultural politics of postcolonial nationalism. In this de-politicising effect of the national, it seems as if the 'Scottish club with proud Irish heritage' has achieved its identification with what it wants to be.

1.7 Conclusion: Problematizing 'Tradition'

As the entrance to the following argument, this chapter has addressed what is recognised as the tradition of both Celtic and Rangers fandom, which is under a

certain pressure of the changing environment of football. Sectarian aspects of the 'tradition' are certainly challenged by the increasingly diverse, cosmopolitan environment of football. Yet this acknowledgement does not mean the abandonment of the idea of tradition, but the usage of the idea itself has to be addressed in its own problematic. If it is used as a referent of static, timeless cultural continuity without changing and transforming itself according to social and historical context, it firmly collides with cultural essentialism. Instead, I approach the idea not as a sediment from which every element of culture draws the expressive forms but as a continuous, syncretic mode of expression, conception, narration, performance and embodiment. 'Tradition' can be expressed, conceived, narrated, performed and embodied at the various occasions when the fandom proliferates its dynamism as cultural power centre and negotiates with other socialities to sustain its own public sphere.

'Tradition' seems to be stemming from historical narrative and actual land-, sound- and human- scape of the supporting cultures. It is one of the facets of the idea when it is employed as a sort of bet to draw a line between inclusion and exclusion when someone could be identified with and accepted as 'one of us', and to refine the condition of becoming a Celtic fan under the recent multiculturalisation of the fandom. Wearing the same replica shirt and the same colour scarf, collective chanting, collective verbal expression with football tongue, and all the performative bodily rituals are specifically incorporated to the particular cultural and historical legacy and memory through which what is often regarded as the essence of Celtic fandom has been accumulated in its disposal of cultural repertoire.

Whatever may appear to be sectarian can be acceptable as far as it is derived from 'tradition' as eternal cultural property. However, this culturalist standpoint may endorse that the very notion of tradition turns on the endlessly repeated mutual accusation between the Old Firm. The 'Billy Boys' and 'the 'Sash' on the one hand, so called 'Irish rebel songs' as 'The Soldiers Song', the 'Nation Once Again' and even the 'Fields of Athenry' on the other hand⁴¹, both are equally offensive but equally traditional. It has been frequently repeated that if one side is to be blamed, the other has to also be to the same degree. Both chanting cultures are symmetrised as 'our' and 'their' culture. This symmetrisation constructs the internal, self-sustained cosmology of the Celtic and Rangers rivalry. Here,

culturalism and socio-pathology intervene together into the strategy of this containment of the Old Firm.

The Findlay case can be a good reminder of this long repeated situational definition. In pre-Findlay time, a Celtic fan Sean Murray expressed his resistance to being framed in the same container as Rangers culture. I quote a part of his lengthy letter because it is extremely useful material to consider the meaning of tradition and its pitfall, and the valuation of the subjective action from which a meaning of tradition is drawn.

...They[the media] have collected the wood for another anti-Celtic bonfire and instead hammered it out into a new N-reg 'What about bigoted Celtic fans' bandwagon; you can't miss this one as it's wheeled out annually after Celtic FC have had an idea totally wrong foot the rest of the Premier League...At LEAST CELTIC ARE TRYING TO DO SOMETHING...

The real problem I have with those who chastise Celtic's current attempt is that they have targeted the folk song 'The Fields of Athenry' as an example of the alleged bigotry expressed by Celtic fans...The fact that they only see it as such because, wait for it, it's an Irish folk song. As a recent correspondent to the Daily Rangers pointed out, 'To many people the Irish tricolor and Irish folk songs are symbols of Irish Republicanism and the PIRA'. How can I put this: how about, "Well that's your problem, mate". Wonder how "Whiskey in The Jar" would cope today then?...Celtic FC are proud of their Irish heritage, nothing more and nothing less. I feel the difference between us and Rangers FC and their fans is that we don't consider 'our' culture to be superior to anyone's, just different. I don't think I'm of a higher social/ethical/political worth than anyone who isn't a Celtic supporter...⁴²

The main agenda this letter has raised is that the nature, character and history of what Celtic fans sing and chant is on trial. Although it is a clear defense of the tradition of Celtic culture, a type of popular conceptualisation of 'cultural difference' is presented, which is far ahead of the confined sense of community within the Old Firm rivalry.

Murray's opinion touches upon the core mechanism of sectarian categorisation of cultures, which is the mutual interdependency in form and the mutual exclusivity in content. However, there is a desire among the discourses of Celtic fandom to turn towards cultural relativism. The recognition and valuation of

differences alone does not necessarily deconstruct the essentialism which may emphasize that the static, timeless and ahistorical cultural essences make the self and the other differentiated, make the differences emerge and make them relative to each other. The ironic consequence of cultural relativism is that the simultaneous equal co-existence of plural values, norms and forms of cultures without mutual interference is only given the recognition when a decisive contact and confrontation caused by the interference is made.

The claim for equal valuation of differences is enunciated by the twofold desire. On the one hand, there is a cultural relativism that tends to assure each other as 'just different'. On the other hand, this enunciation itself is actually made in order to criticise what the writer believes is held among Rangers fans as the sense of superiority. The assertion of differences without contact, negotiation and inter-connection collides with the way of thinking that the assertion could not be possible without positioning oneself as outside of the equally yet operationally placed differences. The writer is superior, contrary to his own opinion, because he knows that those Rangers fans are ignorant and thus inferior because they do not seem to know that 'their' culture and 'our' culture are equally 'just different'.

Then, it goes as if the tradition can remain unchanged, can maintain the naturalised ontological roots regardless of the more complex process of crystallisation and representation of tradition than the conventional usage of the term might implicate. It is also as if the tradition can be always traceable and accessible once the entitlement to do so is secured. When the correspondence to *The Daily Record* sectarianised the 'Irish tricolor and Irish folk songs' as the 'symbols of Irish Republicanism and the PIRA', the dominant mode of decoding Celtic as a homogenised cultural entity integrated politics and culture without contradiction. The anti-imperial militant tone of the 'Soldiers Song' encourages the sectarianisation approved of because of the fact that it is actually the current national anthem of the Republic of Ireland. It causes a questioning on the national belonging of Celtic imagery that the song invokes, whereas the foreign national anthem is ethnicised as a vernacular performative ritual.

Although the letter resisted this totalisation of Celtic imagery, its unrealised defense of cultural relativism fails to see Celtic emerge as the hub of the many, different imaginations. Through the accumulation of tellings and performing rites, 'tradition' can see its own new horizon negotiated and articulated with the

fundamentally heterogeneous cultural values rather than either realised as a medley of fragmented cultural boundaries and their pluralistic co-existence or as a unified, totalised mono-social community.

This negotiation and the articulation are crucial to comprehend the syncretic currency of 'tradition' as what Paul Gilroy appropriates from LeRoi Jones' idea of the 'changing same'⁴³. In the contemporary cultures that have experienced modernity, the reproduction of cultural traditions have to be understood 'not in the unproblematic transmission of a fixed essence through time but in the breaks and interruptions which suggest that the invocation of tradition may itself be a distinct, though covert, response to the destabilising flux of the post-contemporary world'⁴⁴. Therefore, it is possible to propose a framework of my argumentation by which the idea of tradition is exposed to the constant questioning without losing its powerful implication of cultural significance in the discussion of football fandom.

No matter how tentative it might be, the recent multi-racial and multi-national transitional cosmopolitanism in Celtic Park corresponds to the symptomatic sound-scape of the tradition as 'changing same'. They play 'Redemption Song' and 'No Woman No Cry' before the match and the interval time⁴⁵. The auditory appropriation of the music of Bob Marley, the 'hypermasculine' global icon of Third Worldism⁴⁶, may indicate the continuous line of the mythology of the 'tradition' of Celtic, which is the focal point of desire of the immigrant Irish Catholic working class minority. However, the song that calls for 'emancipation from mental slavery' partially and only temporarily takes over those 'rebel songs' and it is not in the form of spontaneous terrace chanting, but brought into the space of spectacle through stadium speakers. It was the dreadlocks and the increasingly influential performance of Henrik Larsson since his arrival in the 1997-8 season which may have created the imagined connection by which the figure of Marley and Celtic cultures are united through the power of the representation of the head of the ace striker⁴⁷. This connection can be considered as both the assimilating element of Larsson and the public gesture of the club. Celtic as a symbolic and recursive emblem shows in the stadium a tradition that makes the tradition as much embodied as inscribed in the connectivity between Marley, Larsson and the imaginary of Celtic.

Based on this general sketch, I pose a question about the extent to which the sectarianisation of cultural predicaments of Celtic fandom may strictly confine the 'tradition' within the rigid relationality which constitutively differentiates it from the one that Rangers fandom is supposed to represent. This is to ask whether what might be called the identities of Celtic fandom could be experienced as not necessarily being relationally constituted⁴⁸. It is not to seek for the totally independent, ahistorical or ontological tradition of the fandom as the reflection of an essence that may help the culture be owned, possessed and represented as a property rather than negotiating processes of a particularly constructed community. Instead, I would like to show that there can be a strong tension between the relational thinking and the possibility of the 'singularity' of Celtic fandom.

Here I refer to Giorgio Agamben's re-invention of the notion of 'singularity'. According to Agamben, 'singularity' is defined as 'being whose community is mediated...by belonging itself'⁴⁹ and expected to break through the tautology of universalism and particularism, in which particular being is conditioned by the universal transcendency of identity. For Agamben, the 'coming community' is realised not by an identity transcendentally possessed by members but the process and practice toward belonging. In the sectarian vernacular, a community which might have been produced by a singular belonging cannot be accomplished due to constant exposure of otherness, which prevents a synergetic relation from creating a continual, repetitious constitution of a community. It may be realised in the terrain of the commonness in differences rather than the one where an absolute alterity could enjoy its solitary social detachment.

To establish the 'singularity' in Celtic fandom is expected to propose the inter-connecting character of cultural being without essentialising it and without being entrapped by cultural relativism. Highlighting this tension does not diminish the significance of the self-other relation, which works extremely deep in the cosmology of the Old Firm. It rather questions as to whether that relationality is as rigidly binary as it appears to be, and whether there is an excess, something flowing out of this dichotomy. This excess may reconstruct Celtic as a recursive emblem by which the tradition is incorporated as a 'changing same' and embodied at various sites in and around the fandom. The following chapters attempt to discuss the on-going, actual symptoms of 'singularity' rather than to display its

grand design for the future. The next chapter explains the methodological stance and the actual sites to begin this discussion.

Notes.

¹ By 'vernacular', I refer to a spatial and material condition in which public discourse, knowledge and memories are specifically interpreted, inherited and transmitted.

² For the lyrics, see Appendix 4.

³ *The Daily Record*, 1 June 1999.

⁴ *The Guardian*, 14 August 1999. The composer's initial remark referred to anti-Catholicism in modern Scottish social life.

⁵ Among them were the SNP MSP Mike Russell (*The Guardian*, 14 August 1999), the latter Edinburgh University based sociologist Lindsay Patterson (*The Observer*, 15 August 1999). All the quoted phrases are used in the same paper.

⁶ *The Daily Record* and *The Scotsman*. 1 June 1999.

⁷ In order to maintain the integrity of this chapter and First Half, I leave the historical argument of Celtic fandom until Second Half which will begin with a genealogical analysis of the racialisation of the 'Fenians' and its relationship to Celtic cultures.

⁸ Damer, 1992.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 55. Meanwhile, Damer points out that the Irish immigrants' labour market was also diffused to the 'Paddy Market' since the early Nineteenth century. It is the market for second hand cloths and household-goods. This means that their social relations were not entirely regulated by the organised wage labour system. Though its historical continuity and transition has to be carefully examined, it seems true that regulated market forces do not necessarily determine the entire relations of production in the social formation.

¹¹ Craig, 1999, p. 35. This event is also accounted in the match programme of 20th of April 1997 against Aberdeen.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ This interesting museum in Glasgow Green displays the transformation of Glaswegians' way of life in terms of the conditions of clothing, eating and housing. It also exhibits a history of the shipyard workers' militant labour movements, the so-called 'Red Clyde', and the first protest demonstration by gays and lesbians in Britain.

¹⁴ In the late 1990s, with a handful of non-Protestant players in the squad and with the Italian's captaincy of the club, this Rangers' history is treated as merely a bad joke. However, it does not diminish the historical trace of the club and especially of the fandom. Gerry Finn has disclosed that then the Rangers chairman John Lawrence stated in 1969 that 'the policy of not signing Catholics has been with us since the club was formed...in the 96 years of the club's existence, the policy has always been the same' (*The Daily Express* 2 June, cited in Finn, 1994b, p. 18). Finn also introduced the words of James Smith, former Rangers player, trainer and chief scout; 'To my mind, the solution to having a good team is harmony, and you cannot have harmony if there is the possibility of Catholic players and Protestant players in the same team getting into critiques' (*The Daily Express*, 3 June, cited in Finn, op. cit.). Finn has carried out a series of study on anti-Irish Catholic prejudice in western Scotland. Though I do not entirely agree with him, I am much indebted to a series of his passionately critical but well-balanced accounts on the history of anti-Catholicism in Scotland.

¹⁵ *The Daily Record*, April 26 1999.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ They are: English (Alan Stubbs), Swedish(Henrik Larsson and Johan Mojlby), Slovenian(Lubo Moravcik), Dutch(Regi Blinker), Danes(Mark Rieper and Morten Weighorst), French(Stephane Mahe), Norwegian(Harald Brattbakk and Vidar Riseth), and Croat-Australian(Marco Viduka) for Celtic and English(Rod Wallace), Swedish(Jonas Thern), American(Claudio Reyna), Italian(Lorenzo Amoruso and Sergio Porrini), Argentinean(Gabrielle Amato), Fin(Anti Niemmmi and Jonathan Johansson), French(Lionel Charbonaire), Ducth(Giovanni van Bronkhorst and

Arthur Numan), German(Jorg Albertz) and Australian (Craig Moore and Tony Vidmar) for Rangers.

¹⁹ *The Daily Record*, 4 June 1999.

²⁰ Even Souness seems to have failed to wipe out completely the damaging image and practice of supposedly sectarian tradition when he signed Johnstone. That time, a certain amount of Rangers fans expressed their discontent and attempted ceasing to be a fan. However, the reason for their boycotting was rather more complicated than a single religious disbelief. One letter contributed to Rangers fanzine, *Follow Follow* issue 13 in 1991, was well aware of the rapidly changing atmosphere long associated with the club which the writer of the letter loved. The writer claimed that he had ceased to watch the match at Ibrox not because of the signing of the Catholic and ex-Celtic player. It was because the club's recent monetary, business-like tendency, especially raising ticket prices, was clearly revealed by his signing. For this writer, the club has become so wealthy that it could afford to buy less classy players like Johnstone with over-estimated prices. Bad enough was not only the signing of the Catholic but also the total transiting condition under which the club was seeking for the new direction that, to this writer, appeared to turn the club back on their tradition. This case seems to show that the economic and the cultural are inevitably interwoven in the public discourses.

²¹ Afterward, while Celtic has maintained the deal Rangers became sponsored by McEwan.

²² Quoted in *The Scotsman*, 1 June 1999.

²³ *The Daily Record*, 1 June 1999.

²⁴ It is interesting to see Celtic, despite the recent stadium re-construction and the merchandising campaign, still managing to keep the lowest price of a season ticket under 300 pounds(May 1998). This relatively lower price consequently encouraged the number of the registered holders to increase up to 53,000 in August of 1999. Another aspect of the popularisation of the club is accelerated when Fergus McCann officially announced that he would sell his 51 % share to the existing shareholders and the season ticket holders. Supporters' capability of controlling the club seems to be secured even financially.

²⁵ Giulianotti, 1991 and 1995.

²⁶ Williams, 1977., p.122.

²⁷ Gramsci, 1971.

²⁸ Taussig, 1991, p. 287-8.

²⁹ *ibid.* p. 288.

³⁰ *The Guardian* 2, 16 July 1996.

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 2.

³² *ibid.*, p. 3.

³³ *ibid.*

³⁴ Said, 1978, p. 55.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ By locality, I do not refer to a pre-existing geographical distinction or sub-national, more fragmented segregation, of territorial boundaries. Nor do I mean the body of given community memberships, whether official or unofficial, of the Celtic supporters. I rather suggest to loosely define it as a cultural boundary by which Celtic fandom is narrated and described as it is.

³⁸ The historical development of this interconnection will be discussed in Chapter 5.

³⁹ A recent study of local identity formation in Manchester and Sheffield by Taylor, Evans and Fraser Taylor, Evans and Fraser, suggest that local differences are often represented by those regional accents of English and that 'although the "meaning" of local accent may now be in the process of modification through television representation, the sense of accent and region remains a powerful sources of myth and stereotypes about the character of most major English cities' (1996, p. 7).

⁴⁰ Quoted in Free, 1998, p. 225.

⁴¹ 'Fields of Athenry' is also the sub-official anthem among the Irish Republic rugby supporters. It contains lyrics that 'Against the Famine and the Crown I rebelled, they cut me down'. See Appendix 4 for full lyrics.

⁴² Sean Murray, *Not The View* (I will describe this fanzine as *NTV* in the following), Issue 60, 1996, p. 16.

⁴³ Gilroy, 1993a, p. 101.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ This is not the regular music selection. I experienced the Bob Marley sound on 20th of April 1997 and on 29th of April 1998. According to some interview partners, it is 'quite a few'

occasions when Bob Marley is played. Also The Corner Shop and The Fugees were played occasionally during the 1997-8 and the 1998-99 seasons.

⁴⁶ Gilroy notes that 'Marley's global stature was founded on the hard, demanding labour of transcontinental touring as much as on the poetic qualities he invested in the universal language of "sufferation"' (Gilroy, 1997, p. 337). Also the notion of 'hypermasculinity' is employed by Gilroy to connect a primitive, savage portrayal of Marley with his work whose accentuation on the noble cause of the oppressed, colonised people made him a global popular cultural icon. 'Hypermasculinity' is not a simple representation of the uncivilised maleness. As Ashis Nandy addressed in the context of Indian colonisation, it is a reactive fictionalisation of the maleness of the colonised in response to the coloniser's, ruler's imposition of civilised but oppressive masculinity (Nandy, 1983). In the 'hypermasculinity' of the colonised, there is something more than dichotomy of the masculinity of sexual prowess and the self-controlled manliness that is sustained by maintaining sexual distance. In spite of withdrawal from sexuality, 'hypermasculinity' remains in the realm of the glamour of the primitive where a simple othering of, domestication or internalisation of otherness of the projected other is impossible.

⁴⁷ Before the 2000-1 season begun, Larsson cut short his dreadlocks. It is not clear whether his decision has something to do with the appointment of strict disciplinarian manager Martin O'Neill.

⁴⁸ I describe the notion of identity as plural because I have shown throughout the previous section that Celtic fandom is a locus where several different identities negotiate over the position of, for example, the 'real fan'.

⁴⁹ Agamben, 1993, p. 85. 'Singularity' is one of the key ideas of Agamben's political project, 'The Coming Community', which is a philosophical inquiry of a mode of existence of human being that maintains a tension between the universal condition of belonging and a particular being of identity at the irreducible terrain.

Chapter 2

Documenting Celtic Cultures: Methodological Considerations and Political Issues

In this chapter I discuss methodological linkages between theory, my positionality as a researcher and the objects of my research, that is, the cultures of the Celtic fandom. It is important for me to pursue the methodological issues because throughout the research experience I have constantly thought what it means methodologically and politically to engage myself as a researcher with the objects of different cultural, racial and national backgrounds. This general research environment is considered through two mutually related issues. On the one hand, I have to negotiate with some epistemological problems regarding the nature of documenting, writing and accounting. On the other hand, those academic practices are inevitably related to the politics and ethics of ethnography and representation. The grand purpose of this chapter is made clear by thinking of both issues, which is to think profoundly of the nature of research within the power relations and negotiation with what I want to know, to document and to present.

For this purpose, I do not attempt to simply 'apply' an already established theoretical framework to the objects of study. By methodology I do not mean a comprehensive and integrated formulation that produces a theoretical guidance to the end of the research. Instead of a schematic and empiricist application of theory, I intend to theorise a complex and often overlooked relationship between the researcher and the research materials. Thus, methodology does not refer to a

pre-fixed theoretical framework according to which research objects are supposed to be analysed. Methodology may be also considered as an interweaving process through which theories are crystallised according to concrete apprehension of actuality.

I therefore propose that the relationship between researcher and research materials should not be oversimplified in an abstract way, such as the dichotomy of objectivism and subjectivism. It should be addressed necessarily and concretely in relation to what is to be documented, written or 'analysed'. Method is not supposed to cover fully the whole process and practices of the analysis. Unpredictability and uncertainty remain throughout the research process. In this respect, the field of the research is not pre-existing but produced by the interactions between researcher's engagement with a specific object and objectified cultural practices. Therefore, whatever my preceding knowledge of the Celtic fandom and its politics of culture is, my commitment and engagement with the Celtic fandom through the research created an interactive sphere where methodology itself is an essential and constitutive element.

2.1 Problem of Category: Authenticity, Negativity, Recognition and 'Mis-recognition'

It was the very first time I went to Parkhead to watch Celtic play Raith Rovers in February 1996. On my way back to the city centre on foot, I was abused by a young white man who stood at a shop entrance near the Glasgow Cross traffic lights. Glancing at me, 'Fuck the Fenians', said he. Soon after he seemed to realise that I was not white although wearing a green and white Hoops, the next words he shouted at me was 'Damn. God. Chinese bastard's up for Celtic'. The point is how much my body was 'recognisable' for this anti-Celtic young white male person.

Obviously, his surprise does not entirely dislocate the rigid sectarian dichotomy. Instead of that, his racist utterance of 'Chinese bastard' illustrates his incapability of handling my body within his own recognisable ontological category. He perceived my presence but did not recognise it as what Celtic fan should be like. In this respect, his speech act referred to 'mis-recognition' or negative recognition of what did not seem to him as authentic as the category he

knew as 'Fenian bastard'. Mis-recognising my body as Chinese rose a double negativity. Firstly, wearing Celtic colour must be his target of verbal abuse. Secondly, when his standard of authenticity of Celtic fan was betrayed, his perception of racial and ethnic boundaries was more clearly expressed with a racist tone. However, his categorical capability about East Asian with yellow skin did not have any choice but 'Chinese'. This is a mis-recognition in terms of my own racial and national background¹. This is also a negative recognition in the sense that being an East Asian Celtic fan could not be properly situated in his 'ontology'² of the football culture in Glasgow.

I began with this incident because it shows well that in the Glasgow's football rivalry, there may be a presupposition that when someone is recognised as a Celtic fan, he or she becomes abjection of Rangers side, and vice versa. The practice of telling, with the visual and verbal effect, could be a vital evidence of this stereotypical presupposition. However, there is a pitfall in this schematic understanding of sectarianism. For this logic may tend to endorse that the recognition by the other is a pre-condition to become a target of sectarian antagonism. Indeed, if a Rangers fan did not recognise someone else as Celtic fan, this person would not abuse or insult him or her. This is to say that if this Celtic fan was abused, this person was recognised as a subject. This subjectivisation is enacted through 'hailing' or 'interpellation' in Althusser's term³. If the Celtic fan was called 'Fenian bastard' and responded, in whatever ways, to this interpellation, his or her body was given its identity as Celtic fan. Whether it is recognition of what the fan thinks is his or her self or simply the misrecognition, the ideological constitution of a subject takes place in the domain of the action. Judith Butler describes this relationship between language and the bodily action as follows:

Language sustains the body not by bringing it into being or feeding it in a literal way; rather, it is by being interpellated within the terms of language that a certain social existence of the body first becomes possible⁴.

Butler's insight is useful to co that the materiality of subject formation does not exist prior to the interpellation but is constructed through language in the bodily domain. It seems as if, borrowing Butler's words, since 'certain already constituted bodily subjects happen to be called this or that'⁵, the semiotic schema between the signified and the signifier traces a defined chain of connotations that

culminates in the sectarian dichotomy. When my body was recognised as a Celtic fan, it is situated in the sectarian cosmology through the anti-Celtic fan's use of language. At the next moment, however, his cognitive mapping shifted its object from sectarian order of identities to racialised differences. What this interaction between language, the body and my silence is not a simple mis-recognition of the defined type of Celtic supporters but another pattern of recognition of otherness through which sectarian differentiation and racialisation are interwoven.

Given this, it is possible to propose that there are some plural dimensions of the politics of recognition. Although current debates on multi-culturalism defy any simplification, there is no doubt that Charles Taylor's proposition of 'equal recognition' is suggestive of diverse ways for the purpose of consideration of my entrance to the ethnographic field⁶. I needed to be recognised among the predominantly white Scottish Celtic supporters. In particular, when I started several in-depth interviews and participant observation in several pubs and inside and outside Celtic Park, the exchange between myself and those who I tried to talk to first began with a struggle over this pattern of mutual recognition. This exchange was uneven from the beginning primarily because the knowledge, the experiences and the resources I wanted to document were provided and narrated from 'their' point of view though, basically, the initial approach was made by me.

By the anti-Celtic man, I was negatively 'recognised' as 'Fenian' but mis-recognised as 'Chinese'. For that moment and location, 'Fenian' was not supposed to be Chinese. It is also true that the body of yellow skin East Asian was supposed to be a Chinese body. The banal surprise of this young man reminded me how, despite the recent cosmopolitanisation in the once flourished 'Second City of Empire', the cosmology of the Old Firm might be pre-defined as racially monopolised and exclusive. My inclusion into the Old Firm fandom was made possible only when I became the target of sectarian name-calling. However, even this inclusion did not last long because of the man's recognition of my racial unlikelihood as a member of Celtic fandom.

Meanwhile, I, as academic researcher, was recognised as coming from the outside of the pre-defined fan community. It was not clear whether my self-declaration as Celtic fan would overarch language, racial and this cultural barrier. More accurately, I was not sure whether this barrier could be overcome or had to

be overcome. The relationship between the writing, documenting subject and the written, documented object has to be articulated through the negotiation itself.

If it was the best way for me to carry out the research that I was recognised equally as one of them, what Taylor proposes as a language of 'perspicuous contrast' can provide a good supplementary line to see the process of my inclusion. 'By 'perspicuous contrast', he attempts to create 'a language in which we could formulate both their way of life and ours as alternative possibilities in relation to some human constants at work in both'⁷. Taylor's challenge can be understood as constructing a theory of the non-ethnocentric interplay between 'ours' and 'theirs', or, in other words, between the self and the other. Noting that 'there are times where we cannot question the one properly without also questioning the other'⁸, Taylor stresses on the simultaneity of placing one's identity. However, since I want to see how recognition does not necessarily guarantee the affirmative 'being' of social and cultural 'others', Taylor's notion seems to me to presuppose that recognition can be made possible only when the other is recognisable sufficiently to be allowed to co-exist with the 'self'. There is, then, a clear expression of binaries, 'ours' and 'theirs', in which Taylor is dealing with a binary structure that seems to be a chief ontological element of the society where he lives. I emphasize his words 'our' and 'their' with a view to showing how he has ignored the historically and temporarily fragmented, but possibly emerging positionalities of the migrant minority in western societies⁹.

Although it may be harsh to accuse Taylor's clear-cut binarism of nearly resembling an epistemological principle by which anthropological nativism is invited to necessitate the oppression of the reified other, it is necessary to bear in mind that the 'negative contrast' still remains as possibly as 'perspicuous contrast'¹⁰. However, there is only one but extremely strong value in 'perspicuous contrast' particularly when the intertwined relationship between the written object and the writing subject matters.

2.2 Knowing, Not-knowing, Writing, Emotion in the Field of Research

Strength of 'perspicuous contrast' seems to be proved when it is regarded as having the similar rationale of the anthropological affirmation of self-reflexive accounts of the ethnographic encounter. Both believe a rationality which each

category of agency in ethnographic field might eventually enjoy. A loosely defined group of critical anthropologists has urged that the 'traditional' ethnography has ignored the uneven relationship between the researcher's subjectivity and the objective referents¹¹. James Clifford's idea of 'documenting cultures' and his profound distrust of colonial intervention of anthropologists may be a good starting point for the methodological clarification of my ethnographic encounter.

The effects of inevitably subjective choices, strategy and 'methods' for the researcher is twofold. On the one hand, an obsession with objectivity can be produced and maintained by asserting that every research cannot avoid the arbitrary nature of the researcher. The effort is made to minimise the intrusion of subjectivity by means of an initial confession of the inevitability of a subjective stance by researcher. The ironical consequence of this is that the reification of the object is justified. On the other hand, over-generalisation of the picture to which researchers are committed may happen. Anthropological portraits of cultures 'always involve simplification and exclusion, selection of a temporal focus, the construction of a self-other relationship, and the imposition or negotiation of a power relationship'¹². My purpose in documenting the cultures and history of Celtic fandom can easily slip into the invention of a culture without a place for myself. As Ien Ang has warned, the research of consumption in popular cultural field tends to

take communities of audiences, such as family, subcultural group and fans group, as an empirical target, treating them as sense-making cultural formation, just as anthropologists have for decades taken up the task of describing and interpreting other cultures as meaningful wholes'¹³.

Nevertheless, it is the final task of the researcher, that is writing, that enables him or her to exercise a power to transfer the other to something which he or she can make the objects represent what is supposed to be representational in whatever forms. The voices of researchers, the authors of writing, and their bodies become the focal point by which the very first actions of the research, whether questioning, asking or even showing his/her presence, are caused and then interactions between the objects and him/herself are made meaningful. This is what Clifford appreciates as 'a cultural poetics that is an interplay of voices, of

positioned utterances'¹⁴. Through this interplay, 'the writer's "voice" pervades and situates the analysis, and objective, distancing rhetoric is renounced'¹⁵.

Nevertheless, however deeply and intentionally this inter-play is performed, it should be remembered that the poetics of cultures is necessarily engaged with a form of politics that is created by the inter-play itself. Relationships produced by/in the fieldwork do not completely successfully prevent the researcher writing what has been done during his/her encounter with informants. In other words, whatever the interplay brought about in the fieldwork, the researcher can still enjoy his/her privileged position to record, write and analyse things. Thus, the position of the researcher is always so unstable that an awareness of this intersection is not only necessary but also an imperative part of 'writing'. Therefore, the shift in the emphasis from the intersection itself to the subjective as well as objective conditions in which such intersection occurs should be carefully considered.

There were two fronts I had to face. The first is the temporal aspect. As Fabian has revealed, one of the principles of modern anthropology has been a 'denial of coevalness' of the objects of writing¹⁶. While the writing subject, the researcher, is entitled to an 'ethnographic present', the written 'others' including interviewees are put in a very different temporal order. In many cases of modern ethnographic descriptions, the others are pictured as dwelling in delayed time. Such encounters also produce a temporary break between the writer's present and the others' accumulation of time difference. Therefore, the ethnographic self-other relationship is always opposed to be symmetrically equal.

In contrast, my case shows that this time difference seems to be reversible. It was me who was delayed. This sense of time is not only relating to the temporal sequences of the events but also referring to the pace and rhythm of a single action and performance of football. Listening to a variety of personal accounts, experiences and memories as to how Celtic had been playing, what the interviewees had been seeing or what they had done at the time of their direct experiences, always powerfully forced me to realise the necessary and unbearable delay which I felt I had to catch up sooner rather than later. Different kinds of memorabilia, legacy, self-narratives, remembrances, commemorative events and codes through which they understood their own history, seemed to push me behind their sense of 'present'.

By the same token, particularly invented temporal codes seemed to exist when a certain collective action took place. Among other habit rituals, applauding a particular player's performance with a selected rhythm and anthem is notable. It is not a regularly coded action. When a player scored a goal, dispatched a good pass or displaying a skillful performance, the applauding singing began. In the 1997-8 season, right wing back Jackie McNamara was awarded the 'Scottish Player's Player of the Year'. He played most of the games that season and became the favourite among the fans as well as the fellow players. His opportunities on the ball was a barometer of the performance of the whole team. His individual tune was the 'Maccarera'. It means that the more the fans sing this tune, the more the team performance is evaluated. However, sometimes they do not sing despite a good effort of the player. One informant told me that 'you read the tempo of the game', I need to 'watch' those people and sing'. I had to consciously learn the tempo, which my informants already embodied.

Different temporality is also found when off-the-pitch matters are discussed. On the one hand, when a sectarian incident is referred to during conversation and interview, that reference is based on this linear interpretation of integrated temporality. On the other hand, the continuity of an integrated temporal order is not necessarily taken for granted among some interview partners¹⁷ if they talked about a incident with which both Celtic and Rangers fans have been involved. In this case, three different orders of time observed. First, the private-life time or biological time is assumed. Second, the sectarian time is sensed as religious antagonism and violence relating to Celtic-Rangers relation is realised. Third, the commemorating time is concerned with some key moments of the historical development of Celtic and the fandom. Although it is important to notice that the temporal order is never a transcendent element over cultural agents, there were some moments at which I had to be aware of the danger in confusing those different temporality as the same temporal order as mine. In account of overcoming this temporal contradiction in the course of fieldwork, Renato Rosaldo, among others, has suggested that personal narratives, emotional feeling and a re-appropriation of normalising description of cultures can mediate, if not abolish, this contradiction in ethnographic encounters¹⁸.

Another front I had to negotiate initially was to find out and secure a mediating space of exchange between the writing subjects and the written objects. To be a

Celtic fan with approved quantity and quality of knowledge creates a bond, linkage and solidarity, and a shared sense of belonging with what the author is going to document. This sense of sharing is explained by what Les Back calls the 'native ethnographer's point of view'¹⁹. However, by way of Rosaldo, Back assumes a danger in the re-inscription of a privileged line of sight from such a position of the native ethnographer. He insists that the 'empathy, translation and understanding within ethnography do rely on an interplay between personal experience and the accounts given by others of their lives'²⁰. However, this does not necessarily mean that the 'native ethnographer' can avoid suppressing 'the multiple aspects and social features that affect fieldwork relationships'²¹. As a result of this suppression, a homogenising discourse of nativism may remain with its rigid centrality of the cultural and social background reductionism. By employing a variety of barriers, such as race, nationality, class, language, the logic of cultural differences, the nativism retains the researcher's 'self' within his/her nativity.

In my case, masculinity, yellow skin, Japaneseness, physically detached Japanese nationality but not a diasporic one, post-graduate research student aiming for PhD degree in sociology and cultural studies, economic resource which made me afford to live in Glasgow despite the studentship in University of London, knowledge about football and its cultural history, and, above all, doing the research on Celtic fans, all these were components of my 'nativity' which most of those who I was acquainted with through the research expected to see in myself.

During the fieldwork, being a Celtic fan and being a Japanese male consisted of the two poles by which my nativity was repeatedly interrogated. Between these two categories, my identity is differentiated and then determined. One of the 'Bhoys' is not always counted as an essential priority of my cultural belongings. I interpret this provisional involvement with the fandom not as a result of a simple fact that I am a 'foreigner' and they are 'foreigners' to me. Like Vincent Crapanzano's explanation of the paradox of ethnographer, I would like to apply to this marginality what Walter Benjamin called 'translation'. Benjamin noted that the translator needs to come to terms with the 'foreignness of language'²² but did not track down the ways in which translation could be pursued. Crapanzano has accurately fulfilled what Benjamin had missed.

He (translator) must also communicate the very foreignness that his interpretations deny, at least in their claim to universality. He must render the foreign familiar and preserve its very foreignness at one and the same time. The translator accomplishes this through style, the ethnographer through the coupling of a presentation that asserts the foreign and an interpretation that makes it all familiar²³.

It is the predominantly Scottish Celtic fans' 'foreignness' in Benjamin's sense, which has enabled me to be engaged with the fandom²⁴.

The personal and emotional tie with the fandom is so vulnerable that the dualism between the 'insider' and the 'outsider' remains breakable as categories. While the intersection between them is possible, the categories are maintained. This dualism spawns two apparently opposite but in fact colluded positions in which researcher's enunciative entitlements are supposed to be found. On the one hand, researchers would stand against the powerful rejection, which might be experienced in the course of encounter with the objects but eventually overcome by being recognised. On the other hand, to be recognisable does not guarantee the researchers to be involved in a shared communicative space. Researchers' subjectivities are positioned on the margin between the recognised, the recognisable but-yet-to-be recognised and the negatively recognised.

2.3 Coping with Anxiety, or the 'Nervous System': The Politics and Ethics of Ethnography

The dynamism that the reflexivity of 'perspicuous contrast' may generate contributes to the transforming process of narrativity through which analysed objects are turned into analysing subjects. It works particularly well in the direct encounter with informants in defined condition like interviews and planned participant observations. However, in fact there are many sites and locations where the rationalism of 'perspicuous contrast' may be exploited by the overwhelming power of anxiety, which was the very first ethnographic problem I had to deal with. It is the anxiety stemming from uneasiness of language, feeling of insecurity, perception of racial difference and perhaps fear of rejection.

Although it might be imaginative, the East End of Glasgow was the first place to stroll when to try to sense Celtic cultures. The central location, Celtic Park, is

the focal point where the love and hate for the club seems to be ultimately destined. The area looked totally deserted when no match was played. From the edge of Gallowgate, I can look over the council estate area in north-western side of the stadium. I see several kids around, chatting, footballing, just hanging around, riding mountain bikes and, sometimes, looking at me wandering, doing nothing. Since my first visit to the area on a no-match day, I have never encountered any hostile reactions. However, what I was feeling all the time was a nerve. It is the nervous excitement that made the landscape a monolithic environment and homologous elements among those who are walking, chatting and playing there.

Conventionally, the sense that I felt as homologous and monolithic could be called the 'white working class community'. The visibility of the difference between the colours I could see was the one generated by the combination of green, yellow and white. Those colours are visible on the scarf, Celtic shirt, or cap those kids wear. In fact, it was not only the Celtic colour. I saw a boy wearing a Liverpool shirt and several others having a Manchester United shirt and cap. However, what remains in my sight is not those tricolour or red, but the absence of non-white populations except myself. More accurately, it is impossible to state that the whiteness I have sensed can be interpreted as a racial difference from mine. Whether or not it is essentially a 'racialised colour', I did not have any other words to describe the homogeneous landscape of human gathering. I could not speak of any difference except the one between them and myself.

This environmental perception is a mode of the way in which 'race' emerges as the topic of subjective positioning rather than as the objectified, reified 'material' in the course of my fieldwork. At the same time, the constructing moment of this mono-sociality is in practice double-sustained by two simultaneous gains of a particular sense. On the one hand, I certainly feel 'fear' as a non-white person on the streets. It is not a physical intimidation or verbal abuse towards me. It is an inter-mingled gaze of curiosity with disinterest in my presence. That gaze is not exactly asking why a Japanese, or whoever Oriental, is there. The gaze is the approval not of me but of the matter of factness that even an Oriental can become a Celtic fan, that even someone who does not entirely 'fit in' can behave like 'us'. It is a connective line between the curious combination of glare and glance, and my body. For my part, it is a sense of incongruity perceived

through the ways in which the overwhelming homologous landscape of human beings ignites.

On the other hand, at one time I was strolling around the streets and alleys in the East End, I have found myself rather eagerly looking for non-white populations. I did not define any rigid requirement of non-whiteness. Black Scottish, African, Indian, Pakistani or Chinese, I was just keen to find out someone who could be clearly categorised as non-white. This is the same when I take my seat at the stand of Celtic Park, Ibrox, even at Firhill²⁵. This search is, in a way, not only motivated by my own anxiety, but also by my experience of being seen by the white population around Celtic Park. Needless to say, the experience lived in the town centre is not entirely compatible to the one at Celtic Park except when I joined the stadium tour as a tourist. It is no doubt that a certain kind of mono-sociality was operative to make me take those two simultaneous ways of seeing the outer environment. Alternatively, it might be safe to say that I was certainly looking for this mono-social cultural domain as my research field.

The vague conception of 'anxiety' is important to specify the mechanism of interaction happening there because the extent to which anxiety works as a nervous reaction is varied according to the ways in which I behave as if I am one of 'them'. Showing the same colour by covering a part of the body with a replica shirt or scarf, and behaving and singing like the fans, are definitely one option, though it may work in totally oppositional way when my racialised difference is naturalised and made conspicuous by the green and white chemical surface. If one similarity makes another difference stand out, and if the differences are recognised because of the similarity, then what Benjamin called the 'commonplace, sensuous area of similarity' gives way to the power of exclusive differentiation²⁶. Benjamin addressed the other pattern of 'mimetic faculty' when he emphasised the 'non-sensuous similarity' that

establishes the ties not only between the spoken and the signified but also between the written and the signified, and equally between the spoken and the written²⁷.

Ritualised, collective and onomatopoeic verbal expressions, textualised expressions of fandom and the unique football idioms that are exchanged and confirmed of its meaning during the conversations with informants, all the non-sensuous correspondence plays a principle part in making the boundary of the

fandom explicitly clear. However, because the boundary becomes clear both racially and culturally, the sense of inclusion and exclusion also becomes clear. Therefore, I could see which side of the boundary my own fandom was placed.

However, when to negotiate with sensuous similarity, the sense of inclusion and exclusion endlessly spring one after another. Through the visual, auditory and therefore sensuous perception of environment, anxiety requires the endless judgment of my own place and in turn this endless judgment causes anxiety. This interactive work can be understood as what Michael Taussig theorises as the 'nervous system'²⁸. The nervous system connects what I am now seeing, hearing and sensing, to what has been by now seen, heard and sensed by myself and back again to the present actuality that the nervous system gains its operational moment. The nervous system works because the situation in which I am is apparently an incomplete ambivalence between the nauseous, visceral reaction to being there and the affective sensibility of wanting to be there. Through the work of the nervous system, with no beginning and end but always in the middle of the operation, the never ending repetition of the continuous reshuffle of the phantasmagoric image 'swung into view once again'²⁹.

My previous experience of being racialised surely helps the nervous system conduct the images to the body knowing anxiety, silent pressure and the sensibility of being somehow different on the location. There is a similarity between this transmission of image to the body and one experience of having found myself being only non-white passenger in a small shopping bus. However, quantitative and statistical fact does not matter to the perception of the environment in which 'the nervous system's scrawling incompleteness'³⁰ does not simply look at myself from the internalised place of the other, but forces me to see myself who looks and senses not just my being but also my doing that is looked at by myself who sees from the other's place BOTH the doing AND myself who is seeing the doing. Because there is no finality in the work of the nervous system, the subjective position constituted by the latter mechanism constantly needs to be fixed.

It is now safe to say that anxiety is the evidence of my involvement in the self-other interrelation with the research object. Therefore, to understand 'anxiety' is not only to address the idea of the 'constitutive other', but also a more disempowering effect of the other, that is, what would be called the otherness of

the other prior to othering. If anxiety is understood as a lack of freedom, or, the unfulfilled desire of being the same as the other, this Hegelian phenomenological anxiety is not applicable in this case³¹. For, unlike Taylor's synthesis, the recognition as an establishment of inter-subjectivity is surely impossible and unexpected. As the practice of othering begins when the self is incorporated in the process of the mimetic interaction with the quality of otherness, the absorption of otherness is not a pre-given, somehow taken-for-granted phenomenon. The anxiety I am trying to address is not registered by self-consciousness that alarms a threatening possibility to the identity. Unless I show such iconised signs as, for example, the green and white shirt, my body is not seen from the other's place. My body without the Hoops might not have been even recognised as the 'other'. The moment I act upon those iconic signs, the differentiation and determination come to enact. The idea of the nervous system is useful to intervene into the complex intersection activated by both the similarity and the difference, and the anxiety and the pleasing affection. It is therefore not necessary to denounce the outsider-ness but rather productive to see it situated neither realm of rationality nor irrationality.

2.4 Stranger in 'Paradise': the Ambivalence of 'Outsider-ness'

Celtic Park is also known as the 'Paradise' among the fans.³² The name signifies not a mere alternative for the official naming of the stadium. 'Paradise' is rather a spatial and visual imagery that activates the fans' desire, pleasure, disappointment, and sense of being and of solidarity. Undoubtedly, to conduct an academic research and to be a foreigner has situated me on the margin of the already ontologised universe of 'Paradise'. The marginality of my outsider-ness is unavoidable both in the sectarian imagery and in the Old Firm fandom. Dwelling in a certain margin, the presence of strangers is, to use Zygmunt Bauman's words, 'constantly ante portas'³³. This is a description of ambiguous situation in which discursive subjects are initiated to construct from one moment to another the exclusive claim of a cultural, unchangeable essence of their distinctiveness. Being ever ambiguous between what Bauman has defined as 'proteophilia' and 'proteophobia', the position of researchers as strangers in the urban space of

Glasgow's east end, who is 'under-defined, under-determined others, neither neighbours nor aliens, yet potentially (incongruously) both'³⁴. Bauman notes that the stranger of the city stroller is the sedimentation of *proteophilia*, while the stranger of the home-defender is the precipitate of *proteophobia*. And the incurably protean world of contemporary cities breeds philic and phobic reactions in equal measure³⁵.

Proteophobia 'refers to the apprehension aroused by the presence of multiform, allotropic phenomena which stubbornly elide assignment and sap the familiar classificatory grids', and also 'to the dislike of situation in which one feels lost, confused, disempowered'³⁶. Dwelling in a certain specified space creates some unforeseen opportunities to reach the different, often antagonistic counterparts. The spatial and geographical aspect is important because this ambivalence generates 'the productive waste of social spacing'³⁷. When curiosity, interest, fear and anxiety become the elements of these ambivalent directions of sentiment, the sense of place is activated so as to delimit where it is safe or intimidated, where to be confident or reserved, or where to talk or be silent in the course of interaction.

While the space of margin allows outsiders to retain the moment of interaction, the same space may invite what Paul Gilroy terms as 'ethnic absolutism' to redraw the line of inclusion and exclusion. 'Ethnic absolutism' is a conceptualisation of the powerful claim of cultural distinctiveness which is 'capable of separating people off from each other and diverting them into social and historical locations are understood to be mutually impermeable and incommensurable'³⁸. Since 'ethnic absolutism' is not strictly associated with explicit, physical and material exclusion of outsiders from a specific ethnic community, I would prefer this notion to the more overtly registered idea of ethnocentrism³⁹.

2.5 Secrecy and Transpositionality

When being exposed to ethnic absolutism, the significance of the field of knowledge needs to be taken seriously because it is in the body of knowledge that may become a measure of the elastic strength of ethnically absolutist culture. It is therefore extremely important to look at the process through which my objects of analysis are transpositioned into reflexive subjects⁴⁰. This, once again,

problematizes the issue of 'recognition'. Issues regarding how they recognised the contemporary conditions under which they identify with Celtic can be observed by examining how different factors of the recent multi-cultural tendency of the players and the playing conditions are described and inscribed into their narrative construction.

There is a similarity, or overlapping emotional territoriality, between being a researcher attempting to establish the firm but flexible relationship with the informants, and being a fan who wishes to be included and recognised as equal entitlement with keeping social and cultural differences. I propose that this similarity can be conceived at the flash of knowing. One of the indispensable parameters that defines how to be a fan is specialised, technical and historical knowledge and passion. However, the significance of knowing, which is often measured by one's willingness to know and what one wishes to know rather than by exactly what one knows, is conditioned by the extent to which the knowledge and the sources of knowledge might be openly available. This availability is also conditioned by the secrecy which is in turn cultivated by the inter-relationship between the accessibility and the denial of the access. Although every football fandom may have particular communicative codes of secrecy among the members, a certain secrecy shows both the power of restriction of access and the thresholds especially when sectarianism and the football rivalry are articulated through the secrecy itself.

It must be emphasised that it is not an agenda how to disclose the content of secrecy, because I am not concerned with the empiricist assumption that there is truth behind the mask of secrecy. It is far more central for the methodological consideration of the thesis to think that a culture of secrecy operates as, in Allen Feldman's words, 'an assertion of identity and symbolic capital'⁴¹ of the colonised, subaltern culture inscribed in the variously fragmented groups of the fandom. Feldman's formulation of the function of secrecy addresses the problem in wider cultural and social context.

Pushed to the margins, subaltern groups construct their own margins as fragile insulations from the "centre". Secrecy is the creation of centres in peripheries deprived of stable anchorages. Cultural resistance inspires the production of fragments as a counterpractice to imperial agendas⁴².

Surrounded by such the 'otherwise oppressed Irish identity' as numerous numbers of Celtic memorabilia, the photographs and symbolic signs of Irish Republicanism and Nationalist movements, and the large picture of John F. Kennedy, a culture of secrecy in one of those working class 'hard-liner's graves' came up to me immediately when I confronted to the agency of that culture, the proprietor of the pub. The following short exchange was recorded by accident when I was taken there by one of my interview partners, Ian, who confessed afterwards that he was 'a wee bit scared'.

---Can I talk to you a little bit?

(silence) No. whit' can I tell you, you fucking student.

---I just want to talk about how do you see recent Celtic and...

I said no. How can I tell you with those buggers and that...

---(silence)

If you come back on Thursday, just come to me at the bar⁴³.

When I came back to the pub on Thursday as I was told, he was not there. Later I told this story to one of that interlocutors, he told me not to try to speak to him anymore because 'they may not welcome you whoever you are'. The researcher who is supposed to make a choice of what to be documented is actually chosen by that supposed object. The body of the looking is actually looked at. Ethical awareness of the power relations of ethnographic encounter is left aside by the politics of inclusion and exclusion. At this site of interaction, the positions of subject and object of research is turned over while the opportunity of accounting this interaction is still reserved for the researcher.

This is one of the extreme but usual example of barring the 'outsider-ness' from the circle of secrecy, by which the position change is achieved. Sharing historical knowledge and showing the willingness to know what the informants want me to know does not set myself free from the discourses of surveillance. Moving one location to another during the fieldwork, I heard many times my presence, research and conduct being discussed and murmured. It sometimes helps me get access to further productive information and acquaintance while at the same time the trace of my previous ethnographic experiences with the fandom is clearly under surveillance. My previous experiences with them are talked about, as to where I have been, how I have been treated, how I have seen the games, which player I have praised and so forth. This surveillance may turn to be a

practice of othering when secrecy collides with the exclusivity of ethnic absolutism. There is a division of what can be told and what cannot be, what can be offered and what cannot be.

2.6 Conclusion: The Exchange of Exoticism at the Edge between the West and the Rest

Despite all the practical difficulty and the emotional insecurity, I had to write, or I could still hold a position that made me a writing subject. This positionality is in fact protected by what is negatively appropriated in postcolonial studies, which is a concept of 'exoticism'. In dogmatic understanding of Orientalism, exoticism is merely a talisman of negativity. It implies the oppression of the other, the sexualisation of the colonised, or the target of fetishism and reification. However, I believe that there is an ambivalence in the exoticisation of the other. Exoticism could be something more productive for the qualification and entitlement than the simple alienation of the object in the process of consumption. Therefore, I suggest that neither myself nor the people whom I have explored and exploited for the purpose of research can monopolise the cultural boundaries to which we are both supposed to belong.

In my case, I have to admit that I had some exotic presuppositions about Scottish football cultures because the rivalry between Celtic and Rangers has always been at the centre of the world football narrative that I encountered as a Japanese fan. It is always-already more than mere football, more than leisure, more than popular consumption. Glasgow is a totally advanced place in terms of football cultures. For Glasgow's mature, but vernacular football psyche encourages the clubs and their fandom to become more globalised. Until now, in contrast, my native Japan is regarded as an underdeveloped place as far as the football cultures are concerned. This is partly because those who I have encountered here in Britain are ignorant about the Japanese football cultures and histories. In addition, because exoticism is at work here, the situation in Japan and my experience, knowledge about it, cannot be ontologically accepted by people in Britain, especially in Glasgow. Knowledge flow is strictly uneven. At the same time, the people I encountered during the fieldwork have also seen exoticism in myself. Here we are in the middle of the politics of exoticisation of the other. It is

that Taylor is right at this level that the language of 'perspicuous contrast' makes it possible for the interaction between different cultural agencies to take place. Ironically, exoticism helps this interaction occur at the actual site of ethnography.

The fundamentally uneven intellectual, imagined and discursive relations between 'the west and the rest'⁴⁴ is negotiated by the very principle of the politics of the uneven relations, that is, exoticism. The classical anthropologist's conceptualisation of 'native informants' is no longer adaptable to the interactive practices of documenting cultures. It is not because this concept is no longer relevant, out of use, but as my ethnographic experiences show, the interaction can begin when the researcher and the object mutually see the native informant in mutual existence. It is undeniable that my positionality remains to represent something which the informants and informers could not access, that is, the physical detachment from home in Japan, the academic motivation to document not only 'their' culture but also the intersection, interaction and interconnection between us. They do not sense the barrier when thrown among those who already had been enjoying their specific mode of pleasure by way of supporting Celtic. As a reverse effect, the distance and detachment may also refine the conditions for a possible 'recognition' of my 'self' by them.

I was very often talking about football in Japan, the J-League (the Japanese professional football league), Japan's world cup hopes and my pessimistic expectation, and the question as to why there had not been recent Celtic players who played for a J-League club while such Rangers players as Basil Bori and Pieter Huistra played for Urawa Reds and Sanfrecce Hiroshima respectively. This is not because I desire to show how Japanese football is underestimated in the world, or because I thought that I could be entitled to speak about it, but because I became aware that I had to give them some sorts of collateral goods, as a 'counter-gift', in reward for their information, by which further conversation and inter-communication could be effectively produced. This is the effect of 'perspicuous contrast' that is arbitrated by football as common knowledge. More accurately, knowing the trans-national human flow of football world made it possible for me to be engaged with the inter-communicative process with the informants.

However, this contrast is made by exhibiting my nativity to get their nativity out of our interaction and dialogue. 'Perspicuous contrast' is far from innocent,

non-boundary and universal golden rule. In my case, it endorses that the Japanese 'national subject' is imagined, regardless of my will. I have become a Japanese not inside a particular nation-state formulation but in the space of Glasgow's pubs which are spatially and geographically detached from where I have come and they imagined I would go back sooner rather than later. The following conversation with Chris was recorded after the interview had been finished.

I told my colleagues that a Japanese guy Hiroki's doing PhD in Celtic fan. Aye, full of curiosity. I think it's a thing that anyhow you never thought before. But ah, I think you're so natural, you know. You must have your team in J-League, aye ?

----Ya, Marinos, Yokohama Marinos, used to be Nissan.....

But you came across Scottish football a lot before. I don't know how much popular Scottish football is in Japan. So, ah ya, but, you're one of the Bhoys here.

----Do you think, ah this is a silly question but, do you think if I went to Horse Shoe can they appreciate me as you kindly did here in McChuills' ? Horse Shoe ? No, Huns never understand you.

----Why ?

Why ? They are Huns !

---- But I've got certain respect to some Rangers players and I can tell them what I want to (talk about).

No, never, they'd know where you're from.

---- Where am I from ?

Bhoys in green !

Horse Shoe is a pub situated in the central part of Glasgow city and used to be a well-known Rangers pub⁴⁵. 'Huns' are the common name calling of Rangers fans and players. I asked him about the possibility of my inclusion in the previously infamous Rangers pub because I wanted to know how the discourse of the rivalry would come out through the accentuation of my presence. The conversation came to an end in a simple conclusion, that is, the narrative of 'us' and 'them', whereas this recognition was made possible by another recognition of my Japanese nationality as 'not us'.

It seems as if knowing about Scottish football and being a Celtic fan have surpassed the significance of my Japanese nationality. For, not because I was a

Japanese but because ‘they’d know where’ I am from, ‘Huns never understand’ me since ‘they’re Huns’. This nominalist reasoning partly contributes to constructing the sectarian cosmology in which there are only two, mutually exclusive but inter-dependent possibility of belonging and being. However, the national boundary is not erased and does not have to be erased. The question is why I was described as ‘natural’ at the beginning of conversation while his colleagues showed their curiosity about what I was doing as a research. There is a thin line between this interview partner and his colleague in that the former described me as ‘natural’ while the latter was not convinced of the fact that a Japanese man is interested in the Celtic culture and pursuing the research for the doctoral degree. In this space of dialogue between us, with a certain amount of knowledge and enthusiasm I had been telling, the existence of a Japanese Celtic fan was hardly recognised but regarded neither as unusual or as surprising. With the arbitrarily branded phenomenon of globalisation, another interview partner even suggested seriously that ‘Japan money would save the club’ and he said that he would ‘see no problem. You have to do business and survive’⁴⁶.

While talking about Celtic and exchanging mutual views generate the sense of belonging and the inclusion and exclusion, the identities constructed through those interactions are centralised around football. Utterance of ‘natural’ may highlight on the terrain of fandom, where my inclusion, if tentative and temporal, characterises the border of ‘in’ and ‘out’. Here, I suggest that there is a tension between belonging to a particular fandom, and to particular racial and national categories. Because of the fact that they and I share the same space of fandom, that tension makes it possible for ‘their’ recognition of me and my recognition of them to be suspended except the mutual recognition as Celtic fans. Other elements of the components of cultural identity are suspended between what James Clifford distinguished as ‘essential agency and mobile positionality’⁴⁷. The reason for this suspension is, I would argue, because the fandom as a plane of affect have a potential that can adjust this suspension as it is without naturalising each positionality. Next chapter examines this elastic mechanism of affect as a principle of the construction of fandom.

Notes.

¹ I do not mean that my presence is nationally and racially pre-fixed prior to the encounter with the other. I would rather stress that the relationship between 'Japanese' and 'Chinese' adds another dimension of race politics.

² Throughout the thesis, I render the notion of ontology more social meaning than metaphysical restriction. Ontology in this manner may be defined as a cartography of being within a relationality of self with other, which is expected to sustain the indispensable value of the subject in a certain time and place configuration. There, the self is realised as a being that necessarily encapsulates the correspondence between the initially mutually detached dichotomy of mind and the body, or identity and the corporeality. Preserving this dichotomy of mind and the body, the modern ontological thinking assumes an apparently naturalised set up of a being within the constitution of self, other, time and place. Thus, ontologisation is a practice of making this cartography possible and, simultaneously, of attributing one's being to the cartography. This simultaneous practice makes it difficult to see the ways in which being appears to pre-exist and to be autonomically assumed as an unity of body and mind. Alternatively, every possible sociality of the subject position and formation could be explained by this assumption of being.

³ In Althusser's scheme, individuals are made to become subjects by 'hailing' from a temporarily preceding Other in concrete discursive situations (Althusser, 1984/1970).

⁴ Butler, 1997, p. 5.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ Taylor, 1994, pp. 25-73.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ Taylor, 1985, p. 125.

⁹ I want to note that political theorists who attempt to create an ethical and moral foundation of the recognition of cultural diversity at the level of constitutionalism often fail to pinpoint their accelerating Euro-centrism. For instance, James Tully (1995, pp. 30-52, 124-39 and 187-212) intends to re-make the constitutional principles of multi-culturalism by examining how the American Aboriginal people have been constitutionally excluded and included. However, the more he elaborates diverse possibilities of dislocating the European imperial thoughts on constitutionalism, the more he seems to become convinced of the technically purified and categorically defined 'western' political values such as 'treaty partners in an intercultural dialogue' (p. 192), 'civic dignity' (*ibid.*) or above all 'sovereignty'. I am not entirely persuaded by his confidence of institutionalised value of European modernity, which may be categorised as one of the 'Modernity-as-incomplete-project' school. Furthermore, his reference to the inter-relation between constitutionalism and cultural diversity is less convincing because he discussed nearly exclusively racially and institutionally Europeanised countries. Though he mentioned East Asian migration to the American continent, he has not remarked the distinctive differences among those migrated populations.

¹⁰ Taylor, though, has not acknowledged the theoretical regime in which in order to shape homogenised 'us', 'we' need to invent an equally homogenised 'them'. In consequence, Taylor seems to assume an internal coherence in each components of the differences whether that coherence is discursively constructed or empirically pre-exists. That is why, in Taylor's logic, the agents being engaged with a dichotomous relation can speak as themselves.

¹¹ Marcus and Cushman, 1982, Clifford, 1983, Marcus and Fischer, 1986

¹² Clifford, 1986, p. 10

¹³ Ang, 1996, p. 74

¹⁴ Clifford, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Fabian, 1983, p. 36

¹⁷ By 'interview partner' I mean the people with whom I conducted recorded depth interview. When I write 'informant', it includes both interview partners and those who I have come across and talked to during the participant observation. 'Interlocutor' is the person who has actually helped me access to internal information, intimate locations and specific individuals.

¹⁸ Pratt, 1986., Rosaldo, 1989., Back, 1996.

¹⁹ Back, *ibid.*, p. 23

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ *ibid.*

²² Crapanzano, 1986, p. 52., Benjamin, 1992/1973; 1955, p. 75.

²³ Crapanzano, *op. cit.*

²⁴ Of more than fifty memberships of this supporters club, there only two 'foreigners', a German male and a Norwegian girl. The German male fan is his mid-twenty and a former (and still) Borussia Dortmund fan. He joined the club when he was a visiting postgraduate student in Strathclyde University. The Norwegian is the girl friend of one of my interview partners. Both are students in Strathclyde University.

²⁵ Home ground of Partick Thistle Football Club.

²⁶ Benjamin, 1997/1979; 1970. , p. 161.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 162.

²⁸ Taussig, 1992.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 3.

³¹ Neither is it Heideggerian concept of existential anxiety. The simultaneous double-ness of the nervous system, which is ruling the doing as well as the subject of that doing who is constituted in relation to the other, is based on the negation of the ontological reductionism of the idea of *Dasein*, which denotes the inevitable, ontological consequence of Heideggerian anxiety.

³² Another common name of Celtic Park, 'Paradise', is said to have been named in 1892 when the ground was moved from the original site to the present place. A popular legend tells that the name was taken after an unknown spectator described the move as 'like leaving the graveyard to enter Paradise'. More likely source is the mentioned McLaughlin who is said to have remarked the new stadium as 'a desert that would become a Garden of Eden' (Campbell and Woods, 1992, p. 143).

³³ Bauman, 1995, p. 136.

³⁴ ibid., p.181.

³⁵ ibid., p.136.

³⁶ ibid.

³⁷ ibid., p.181.

³⁸ Gilroy, 1990, p. 115.

³⁹ I suggest that although this notion originally referred to the tendency of the 'nationalised language' displayed through post war Britain by both right and left intellectual discourses, the notion's valuable range can be used to examine the process through which how particular nationalised and ethnicised cultures become recognised as unchangeable essences of racial and ethnic distinctiveness.

⁴⁰ Rosaldo, op. cit., p. 147., Back, op. cit., p. 2.

⁴¹ Feldman, 1991, p. 11.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Exchanged at a pub in the east end where I was taken by Ian. 'Those buggers' seemed to mean several people around me, who were also not necessarily regular customers of this pub.

⁴⁴ The phrase of 'the west and the rest' is drawn from Hall (1992).

⁴⁵ I thank Professor Joe Sim for giving me this information.

⁴⁶ Conversation with Gerry before the interview was taken. About six months later of this interview, in September 8 in 1998, the *Daily Record* reported that Japanese financial firm Nomura Banking International brought a take-over bid to the Parkhead officials. Its lead said, 'Jap Bid for Celtic' and 'The Far East End'. Manfred Lurker in the next issue of *NTV* accused the *Record* (the *Retard* as it said) of its 'casual racism of the article' (No. 74, p. 4-7). However, his main point was that the 'takeover' must be initiated by the fan-based procedure because the fans were the next biggest shareholder to Fergus McCann.

⁴⁷ Clifford, 1992, p. 108.

Chapter 3

Fandom as a Plane of Affect

In this chapter, I want to discuss issues as to what it is to be a Celtic fan. It is true that the material relationships between the clubs, the fans and fandoms are deepened through their commodities, such as players, commercial products and the 'brand' values. Being a 'committed' Celtic fan demands us to be a part of the customer role. Among the most highly motivated fans, one of the practical reasons why they joined a supporters club was to obtain a ticket regularly, even if it was only the home game tickets that are automatically available to members. Purchasing retail goods, including kit, scarf and supporter's club membership itself is strongly associated with the phenomenal transformation of the football industry into a systematically commercialised, commodified and manipulative realm of regulation and mobilisation of popular pleasures accommodated with the force of capital and market.

However, thinking of football fandom, I suggest that the cosmology of Celtic and Rangers rivalry is considerably occupied with an economy of signs. Symbolic manifestations are activated by mobilising a variety of signs that create another level of economic dynamism. Wearing a replica shirt, face painting, flying the flag and keeping company with different symbolic icons and colours are the elements of this economic activity. The meaning of being a fan can be understood not as a fixed meaning that may be evoked by socio-economic reductionism. Instead, the birth of a fan is an effect of multiple power relations by which contradictory tendencies are set to co-exist and to negotiate over the moment of representation.

The distinction between a fan as an aesthetic subject, as a collective consumer, and as a category of active agency is de-constructed, so that the mechanisms of the production of this kind of typology itself can become an agenda. In the more ordinary occasion, fans deliberately tend to divide popular culture into 'authentic' popular culture and mere consumer culture. This is another moment of differentiation between 'high' and 'low'. This differentiation is made by what Joli Jenson has called the 'acknowledgeability' of popular texts¹. 'Acknowledgeability' is not strictly confined to the field of signification and signifying practices. Instead, as Lawrence Grossberg points out, a fandom can be composed of the 'system of differences that are *asignifying*'². This is not a simple return to libidinal reality but a challenge to the linguistic and semiotic reduction of social reality. This challenge is valuable because such extra-linguistic factors as action, voice, tone, rhythm, and sound are the primal object of observation of chanting, dancing, raising the scarf, and all these combinations as the narrativity of the Celtic fandom. This does not mean to dichotomise the signifying and the asignifying. Instead, the apparently asignifying expressive form of emotion is in fact oriented to the construction of representation. It encourages cultural practices to be mediated through narration and, in turn, the narration to be signified in specific spatial conditions.

Grossberg develops the significance of the asignifying system of differences to the formulation of an 'affective economy' or the 'economy of affect' of the popular cultural fandom³. The 'affective economy' is an extremely valuable conceptual device to theorise the system, order and formation of the fandom and its political dynamics through which the fandom is activated by its intersection with the human body and its spatial configuration.

3.1 Defining Fandom

I therefore propose that this interrelation constitutes a fandom as a material sphere in which the play and the players and those who watch them constitute a dialectic relationship as a socio-cultural space. Although in a historically and geographically detached context from Glasgow, the birth of this relationship is well observed by C.L.R. James in his native Trinidad, watching a cricket match

through a window of his house. James described the moment when a fan was brought into existence as follows;

‘Arthur Jones!’ The crowd was waiting for it, I at my window was waiting, and as soon as I began to play seriously I learnt that Arthur was waiting for it too⁴.

People’s expectation, desire, pleasure, and perhaps disappointment and anger are intersected across over the ground with the players themselves. For James, being merely a spectator, a scrap collector, or a keen cricket reader, watching the game by confirming the score board had little meaning. It was a quest for a concrete enactment of sharing and for a ceaseless accumulation of excitement that eventually has to be released as a form of expression of solidarity with the community. James notes that ‘I asked and asked until I was told what had happened. I knew that something out of the ordinary had happened to us who were watching’⁵. Each player’s actions, skills, and performances bring fantasy, which would have not been possible under other circumstances, into materialistic existence⁶.

This ‘dialectic of fandom’ is made into function by the perception and experience of, and the continuous emotional investment of, ‘something out of the ordinary’. The process of waiting to know ‘what had happened’ is based on the economy activated by certain power relations that are imposed on the body in a space, through which limited spatial resources and material scarcity are to be distributed, manipulated and categorised. The metaphor of ‘economy’ implies the exchange, intersection, distribution and orientation of power relations. The plane of this economy is sustained, constituted and regulated by the efficiency of the power relations themselves that create the possibility of the conflict among cultural forces.

3.2 ‘Affective Sensibility’ and the Modality of ‘Affect’

The ‘affective economy’ is energised by the ‘affective sensibility’⁷. ‘Affective sensibility’ is the capability of the subject to be affected and to affect others. Relying on Pierre Bourdieu for the exercise of sensibility in a certain space of fandom, Grossberg notes that

(S)ensibilities empower cultural practices to work in certain ways, and they empower individuals to enact them in certain places. Sensibilities define the dialectical production of active audiences, everyday practices, and productive contexts⁸.

However, affective sensibilities are not only a condition of the communal sense of being in a specific cultural space, nor a simple motif of doing a particular ritualised action in a specific moment. They are made operative through the economy by which different social and cultural forces and their practices are ‘mapped’ and then, quickly, are led to different vectors of energy that create another plane of affection. This continuous investment of affect relates individual cultural practices to the possibility of alliances, collective solidarity, perception of sameness, identity as well as to the political mobility of forms of those communities, without prioritising the practices of commodification, commercialisation and reification.

‘Affective sensibility’ is activated in certain spatial relationships where communications and negotiations among the agencies enacted by and through distribution of emotional investments. It is essential to examine the ways in which the fandom functions as an ambivalent location in which contradictory vectors of empowerment and disempowerment generate the ways in which ‘different cultural alliances operate on and produce different “mattering maps”’⁹. Empowerment may be defined here as ‘the reciprocal nature of affective investment’¹⁰. That is why ‘pleasure’, in contrast to a simple one-way power flow, ‘can be disempowering and displeasure can be empowering’¹¹. Boredom, dullness and displeasure can be generated as a result of empowerment. Furthermore, ‘something other than control, direction and meaning’¹² that can be articulated with the affect may empower the solidarity as an exterior condition of the economy. It seems possible and productive to look into two opposite vectors inscribed in the Celtic fandom.

One can be called the mentality of ‘do we care?’. Another would be the public and political consciousness. The former can represent the stereotype Celtic daft, who, whatever other people say, are chanting ‘Hail Hail, Celts are here, what the hell do we care, what the hell do we care’ along with the Irish rebel songs, wearing H-block T-shirts, flying the Irish tricolour, manifesting their political sympathy for Irish Republicanism and Nationalism, affirming violent measures

towards the goal of a united Ireland, and expressing hatred, if rationally and logically, against the Rangers cultures, denouncing them as 'Brits Protestantism'. By comparison, the latter does not express sectarian tones overtly, but attempts to repress those views on the ground that they are football fans, not political campaigners. Their consciousness of the fandom's public reputation, however, reflects the public, hegemonic and commonsensical discourses of the Old Firm mythology. This version of 'affective investment' depends on the negation of the political in the name of safety, pleasure, joy, and goodness of the game.

Interestingly, both tendencies share the sectarian imagery as the referent that is 'something other than control'. In this respect, both admit the significance of sectarian cosmology either as a part of fandom or as what must not be referred to. No matter how they try to turn off the overwhelmingly exaggerated imagery of the politics of sectarianism, there are certain discourses among the fans that they need to discipline their behaviour and reputation because they do not want to be regarded as equally bigoted sectarians. It is extremely important, though, to certify that passion, energy and emotion are not only invested in the game because, if not always, their affect orients to negating labels like 'bigot, racist, sectarian', who are, obviously, bad while 'we' are not like them. It is true that their sense of belonging to one particular football culture is activated through cultivating their sense of detachment from the other. The point is to analyse what is the principle by which the sense of belonging to Celtic and to non-sectarian identity are mutually made correspondent, and the sense of detachment from sectarianism is made to empower the further investment of affect.

It is as crucial as this referential mode of the self-other relationship, however, to look at a differentiated phase, the more singular site, of the operation of the imaginary. The community of Celtic fandom has the technologies through which the members can relate themselves to themselves in a variety of ways. One of those technologies, and the most powerful one, is the one that regulates the body and the senses as subjective truth. It is to incorporate specific bodily senses into the reasoning, motivation and self-affirmation of supporting Celtic and placing the body in a particular supporting space. This incorporating practice leads the fandom to another field of imagination where it is possible to discover the ways in which connecting, linking and binding idioms, ideas, narratives, and the body of the players and fans may entwine the description of football play with the

characteristics and representations of the fandom. This is to look for the shared currency of the imagery between the narratives concerning how Celtic has been playing, or should play, and how Celtic fandom has been or should act upon their own practice of identification with the club. It may be more accurate to suggest to re-invent, re-construct and re-activate the system of similarity between the 'play' and the fandom than to simply command an empiricist excavation of the deeply lying linkage.

This modality of 'affect' helps navigate the notion itself to modes of 'material attitude or orientation'. The materiality of affect is essentially associated with a cartographic position of the body in space. The gaze to rhythm, timing, tempo and improvisation of collective action may remind us that public cultural space is articulated with the temporality and the body in certain proportions of time. Football fandom is not exceptional.

3.3 The Body in the Space of Football

The interrelation of space, temporality and the body in sport is well explained by Pierre Bourdieu. The space of sport 'may be constructed on the basis of, on the one hand, the distribution of players according to their own position in social space', and 'of different federations' according to their scale of members, wealth and the characteristic of their leaders, or on the other hand, 'the type of relation to the body that it favours or requires' in playing¹³. Although Bourdieu's attention appears to be given to the performing side of sport, his formulation of sport as a spatial practice can be also applicable to the bodily practices of the spectator side.

If most organizations-the Church, the army, political parties, industrial concerns etc. -give such a big place to bodily disciplines, this is to a great extent because obedience is belief and belief is what the body grants even when the mind says no (one could, on the basis of this logic, reflect on the notion of discipline). It is perhaps by thinking about what is most specific about sport, that is, the regulated manipulation of the body, about the fact that sport, like all disciplines in all total or totalitarian institutions, convents, prisons, asylums, political parties, etc., is a way of obtaining from the body an adhesion that the mind might refuse, that one could reach a better understanding of the usage made by most authoritarian regimes of sport¹⁴.

Like the players who are disciplining and regulating the body, spectators and supporters are also obeying the specific codes of action and behaviour. By bringing their bodies to a particular space in a particular time, with a particular tempo and rhythm, they conduct their bodily practices. Those practices are inevitably associated and fundamentally linked with the industrial and capitalist nature of football clubs and the market in which they are involved. In addition to 'obtaining a ticket', 'going to the stadium', 'purchasing a kit', and other practices concerned with a collective notion of 'consuming' or 'consumer', 'taking a seat whose number is pre-fixed on the ticket', 'not throwing an obstacle to the pitch', 'not taunting players, referees and stadium stewards', 'not invading the pitch', 'not making racial and sectarian abuse and gestures', and above all 'not displaying any sectarian symbols and not singing any potentially sectarian songs' are the typical, sometimes approved but often overlooked bodily actions. They are not only unacceptable for safety reason but also undesirable from the clubs' economic's and PR's points of view.

However, emphasizing the aspects of commodification, consumer culture and reification of both footballers' and supporters' bodies does not always give the right way to understand the process and practice of constructing the fan as an effect of affective investment. There is always a tension between commodification-based consuming practices and the more complex, contradictory parallel effect of that process. 'The regulated manipulation of the body' can be simultaneously articulated with different instances of social relations. There is the emerging space in which 'popular knowledge' on cultural products are enunciated and articulated with the desire and pleasure through the practice of laying a claim to culture or talking about cultures in the political fields¹⁵. This space may be produced by listening to records, reading romance, watching football and above all enunciating, therefore, expressing and positioning themselves as listeners, readers, supporters or fans. These cultural practices entail a certain 'utopian' moment in which an absolute 'selfhood' may be lost and then the subjectivity is realised through a sense of involvement in those cultural spheres. The 'dialectic of fandom' emerges here, conceiving not a solitary practice but a communal, ritualistic and performative act as the essential component.

3.4 Learning to Do the Same: Performing Rites, Community-construction and Non-sensuous Mimesis

When C.L.R. James declared that '(T)o watch cricket critically you have to be in good form, you must have had a lot of practice, you must have played it'¹⁶, the 'form', a physical combination of art and skill, of play, becomes a focal point of what Walter Benjamin called the 'mimetic faculty'¹⁷ of the individual readers of the game. The quest for the similarity and imitating practice of necessary body movement is essential for commenting on and interpreting the play. This is not because to watch the play critically and profoundly necessitates doing exactly the same as players do. It is the pitfall of linear thinking of the causality, which is often inclined to claim, in a functionalist way, that mimetic power accordingly comes to the point where mimetic objects reflect on what the power demands it to do. The 'mimetic faculty' does not refer to simply producing correspondences, similarities or imitations between mimetic powers and mimetic objects. The relationality between the powers and the objects itself, and the external relation of this relationality to other relations, are the dynamic principles by which affect enacts bodily practices. Rather than characteristic form, habit and art of a player, what is reflected on is the pace, rhythm and timing to do the same. This is the moment at which specific actions are repeatedly taken, narrated and memorised so that those who share the moment of the same performing rites can connect with each other by that doing. This connection, at a specific location and at a specific time, may be the material basis for a fandom to be constructed.

The powerful, productive linkage between performing rites and community construction is described well by Benedict Anderson.

The Berber encountering the Malay before the Kaaba must, as it were, ask himself: 'Why is this man doing what I am doing, uttering the same words that I am uttering, even though we cannot talk to one another?' There is only one answer, once one has learnt it: 'Because *we ... are Muslims*'¹⁸.

This quotation tells a way that a growing communality is felt by mutually unknown people, performed for unisonality and embodied as the 'echoed physical realisation of the imagined community'¹⁹ through the mimetic faculty and the non-sensuous mimesis of language. Although the idea of 'imagined community' has become extremely popular in the field where a variety of forms of modern communities are analysed, it seems to be frequently forgotten that the

commonality of a community is imagined, *not* necessarily imaginary. The emphasis has to be put on the form and style of being imagined at each moment rather than on the direct correspondence of what is imagined with the corporeal imagery of the self. The significance of this distinction is explicit when in a footnote Anderson points out the 'educational linkage' between 'imagined' and 'imaginary' communities²⁰. Indeed, Anderson himself admits in the quotation that one has to learn what Muslims are, how to do what other people do, how to utter the same words as others utter and ultimately, how to recognise why and how those acts and speech acts can be those of Muslims.

The tautological consequence is that, without 'learning' the presumed commonality at some points, it is virtually impossible to see whether it is because of the pre-given knowledge about how to be a member of the community which is imagined that way, *or* is it because of the momentary act of performance and utterance that one can become a member of the imagined community. It is important that 'learning' interrupts the circle of this tautology. Once the 'learning' is accomplished, a particular bodily ritual is normalised and embodied into each individuals so that they conduct the ritual as a performative action that leads them to the consequence which they assume the performative ritual might result in²¹.

Although Nietzsche has asserted that there is no pre-existing 'being behind doing'²², there are locations where the doing is navigated and approved by the being. The captions such as 'Irish music' or 'Live Ballad' aside, the identity of the East End 'hard-line' pubs necessitates an overtly pro-Irish nationalist and pro-Republican tone, such as the Irish Tricolour, a copy of the murals displayed in the streets of west Belfast, and the Republican slogans. These pubs are restored spaces where, through the performance of chanting, dancing and shouting surrounded by the iconic objects of identification, the otherwise oppressed and lost emotions are released. The cultural codes are understood among those who have been already initiated into the knowledge and practices by which those codes are articulated. Those codes are mobilised in order to differentiate 'us' from 'them'. 'Being' at those places may not necessarily mean being identified, or wanting to be identified, with the stereotyped imagery of Celtic. While the sectarian cosmology may allow someone to just be there as an apparently neutral, innocent existence, 'doing' and 'performing' are different from just being there. While for some 'doing' is a manifestation of pleasure, for others it may be an

exposure to terror. This also means that 'doing' under a familiar, secular spatial condition emancipates the body so that the subject could claim to be identified with the sectarianised division of fandom.

Such 'doings' can be interpreted as the process and practice of commemoration through which the imaginary is mobilised and contributes, by taking over the realm of the real, to incorporating the moment of learning to the community that is imagined at each moment of the incorporation. At this instance, what Paul Connerton has termed 'incorporating practices' is a useful device.²³ By this, Connerton means to imply that the priority of content to rituals should be reversed when it comes to analysis of communicative ritualisation through which 'social habit-memory' can make codes and rules successfully and convincingly essential to those who accommodate them²⁴. This is to suggest that we look at each moment of ritualisation as an element in a process of articulation of existing memories with the acceleration of excitement.

When the legitimacy of raising and flying the Irish Tricolour flag both at home and at other away games becomes the issue of a long-standing dispute²⁵, the national belonging and entitlement of Celtic fandom is on trial over the formalised invention of 'incorporating practices'. Through the ritualised, formalised and even expected performance²⁶, the body of those who raise the flag and those who watch the flag are integrated to commemorate what they think they commonly share as the root of exiled Irish cultural and political tradition. While some are still eager to keep this 'tradition' as the symbolic manifestation of Celtic's unique position, others have begun to address a sort of transitional thinking of tradition. A letter to *The Celts* sees a 'national identity crisis' among 'Celtic's present day supporters' who 'would seem to be both pseudo-Irish and pseudo-Scots, perhaps a new Celtic nationality has sprung up from the stubborn refusal of Celtic supporters to leave the nationality of their forefathers in its proper place and have some sense of perspective²⁷'. Celtic writer Tom Campbell wrote:

Perhaps the time has come for Celtic to review the matter of the Eire flag on its own, free from outside pressures...Several times over the years, in *The Celtic View* and elsewhere, the club has indicated its displeasure at the sight of the tricolour waving on the terracing, pointing out the club's colours are green-and-white; however, this facile explanation surely begs the question. As long as Celtic continue to fly the Eire flag on the ground, the supporters

have a semi-official endorsement of their 'right' to adopt it as a symbol despite the club's disapproval...The time may have come to withdraw the tricolour, not under the misguided pressure of outsiders but as a step and a desire to correct historical inaccuracy²⁸...By withdrawing the Eire flag, and perhaps displaying it privately in the Boardroom, Celtic could take a giant step in reducing the amount of overt sectarianism in Scottish football²⁹.

The keen, liberal groping of new Celtic identity detached from direct association of Irish national imagery is proposed as a resolution in the field of the political economy of signs. However, this groping seems to fail to hold a view that it is through affective economy rather than through the one-dimensional symbolic economy which the instant explosion of performative rituals surpasses the temporal difference between the two time-codes of the past and the present, and intersect across the two different affective spaces of the public and the private. What is to be stressed here is neither a simple reflection that the Irish past can be taken over by something new nor a domestication and a cancellation of private affection that should not be expressed in public.

Instead, I argue that this apparently practical solution of the dispute misses a crucial point. The debate of commemorating practices among Celtic fans tends to assume the cultural repertoire of recollections of ethnicised nationalism prior to the play of football itself. The affection for ethnicised cultural symbols is presumed before the affective sensibility of football fandom in sporting space is seriously discussed. It is true that the football stadium is not an empty case to be fulfilled with the equally available resources of cultural forces. However, as long as the stadium is considered as an unconditional venue where the signs of particular politicised icons can be manifested in relative ease, there would be a pitfall in thinking of football as an obvious, almost automatic medium of extra football sentiment and imagination.

What is essential is not to regard supporting Celtic as the inscribing practice of a pre-existing, given object of identification, but to think profoundly of the ways in which originally separated locations and practices become correspondent through the bodily actions and the emotional investment of senses. In order to pursue this thinking, the similarity between what Anderson describes in the quotation and the community of Celtic fandom may draw a good starting-line of the examination of the cultural politics of football and football fandom. Celtic

fandom can be interpreted as an affective community particularly when the stadium is understood as the centre of affective pilgrimage by the supporters. Important is not the firm objectivisation of worship, faith and devotion, but the fact that pilgrimage is realised by moving the body and placing it in a certain location through a series of bodily rituals³⁰. By bringing the body to the terminal of pilgrimage in order to watch the players play may prepare the material basis of beginning the affective investment. Football, the body, and the certain spatial setting find the field of convergence of affect in football grounds.

3.5 'Smell of the Real Crowd': Moral Economy of the Fandom

Fans invest their energy in joining the supporter's club, participating in the events, going regularly to the matches with particular companions, having a pint or two and talking about the previous occasions and the prospects for upcoming events, as well as 'telling' their stories to me. This affective investment 'returns some interests on the investment through a variety of empowering relations'³¹. Watching, chanting, dancing, drinking and 'doing something together' may lead to a further production of energy that makes a fan feel, control and regulate his/her life³². On those occasions, the fans often feel themselves re-gaining a selfhood.

A female fan, Mairi, told me that she could live without Celtic but couldn't without supporting Celtic and going to Celtic Park. Through her narrative, I want to show how 'affective sensibility' empowers a person in her actual, real ordinary life, and still keeps her recalling her affection not as past but as part of the present. I also intend to disclose the fundamental sociability of affective sensibility. This sociability makes a person realise that her or his social existence is necessarily articulated through the sensibility itself with such social boundaries as class and gender. An asignifying sensibility gave her the first moment to 'feel I'm here'. Being asked what she could remember of the first time she went to the stadium to watch Celtic play, her memory was quite clear from a train in which her father took her, to her first impression of being on a terrace at Hampden at the Scottish Cup final. Although it was not at Celtic Park, she sees a sort of universal sense that has been making her affective investment last to the present time.

She was six or seven years old then and she recalled that she felt no danger at all among the totally male dominated crowds. Although she could not recall the date and who Celtic played, her memory of the train and of the terrace is kept in a firm position as a sensuous recollection;

Mairi: The thing I remember most was the smell. Let's say, the smell of the crowd. I mean the smell of alcohol, smoke, sweat and perhaps, yes, pee. The thing I can't tell you actually is, what was that smell? It's really difficult to tell you this is cigarette, or that is alcohol. It was very very complicated but I can still tell you that was really a special thing I'd never experienced before. Aye, I got excited and still feel the same excitement when I go down to the 'Jungle', even now. That was the first thing that comes into my mind when you asked me about memory. As long as I remain here³³, I know I can recall exactly the same thing I felt that first time I went to see the Bhoys.

---That smell ?

Mairi: Aye, aye, everything, everything that makes me work hard to do something more, better for Celtic. That smell is not the thing of the past. It's no nostalgia. It's what I clearly remember the most and I can still feel that. You count that, probably, for what you said, 'fanaticism' of a Celtic fan. I don't know whether or not I'm 'fanatic'. I know far more determined, crazy lads a lot around me but if I hadn't been to that match with my dad, I would've been a Rangers supporter (laugh). No, just joking, never ever, that never happens. Don't worry about that.

Notably, the 'smell' is transformed into the most vivid memory of her first visit to see Celtic playing the cup final. It seems that Hampden in the early sixties was full of what Nick Hornby called the 'overwhelming maleness' of the crowd³⁴. What Hornby is writing about is not only 'cigar and pipe smoke, foul language' but also the volume of the language shouted and the fact that those words were articulated by adults. While Hornby noticed the rather quantitative aspect of the football crowd in late Sixties Highbury, Mairi's memory tends to crystallise more qualitative aspects, especially, the smell of the crowd.

It seems possible to suggest that, in her narrative, the smell is the determinant of her affection for Celtic. Beer, cigarettes, and the sweaty smell of the crowd still determine her to feel the 'self' as a devoted Celtic fan. It is likely that because in those days little girls were rarely seen around the football ground she was looked

after particularly well by surrounding anonymous adults. Nevertheless, the presence of her father as a strong guardian, the symbolic figure of strength and safety, seemed to create a certain space where she was given an object in which to invest her affection. Therefore, her sense of 'self' at that moment was, in fact, over-determined through the articulation between class and gender identities. In the middle of the crowd, the 'self' was squeezed out by the combined gaze of the manliness of working class male adults and of her father's paternal love. It was over-determined because the affect might not have empowered her without one or the other. Even in the highly sanitised circumstances of the re-built stadium, she noticed that she could still smell the same scent she noticed more than thirty years ago. It motivated her to be one of the leading figures of the supporters' club³⁵.

In a sense, 'maleness' and the real elements of the masculine working-class culture were discovered by her and reconstructed as the imagery formulated not around the club but in relation to the practices of supporting the club. Supporting activities need to be constantly revitalised by the investment of affection. While for George Orwell the smell of the 'repulsive working class body' is the real distinctive physical marker of the British class system³⁶, Mairi's sensibility of the smell encourages her investment of affection to maintain this recovery, particularly, in the 'Jungle', which is the common name of the Janefield Street side of the stadium³⁷.

Apart from smell, a wider range of senses can be added on to the common experience that must be pursued with the crowd of football fans. Noise, shouting, the sound of the 'Jungle' is inscribed in Mairi's memory when she recalls the noise of the stand as 'noisy, loudly, as if big speakers are on your head'. Also for interview partners James and Frannie, who are close friends off the club activity, the sound of the Jungle they hear on their way to the stadium is the main reason why they cannot stop going to Celtic Park.

James: I get so excited. Meet'em here and get out there, and walk on London Road. And you meet your friends singing on the way there. You hear the sound come from far, from the Jungle.

Frannie: Ya, it gets me so excited and nothing fills me other than that 'woooooo, woooooo'.

When James gets in the stand eventually, 'at the Jungle, I'd sing with tremendous voice, say the least'.

Chairs on the stand in Celtic Park are painted green and some chairs on the north stand are painted white so as to bring the word of 'CELTIC' into relief. Visibility of the affective community is constructed around green and white. Celtic Park becomes a meeting place of the otherwise disseminated green and white colours. Some hang the scarf from car windows. Some drape a big flag around the front part of their coach when they travel in the Parkhead area. Green and white colours, sound and noise, and the smell, these invite a person to feel the same and invest the affection in that sameness so that belonging and inclusion are achieved through the kind of mimetic effect among the crowd. It is important that the crowd is not a quantitative feature of the mass.

While being a target of the market as the mass, the crowd is prone to be regarded as a target of controls and regulations that are imposed by the clubs, the policing authorities and the state, with the discourses of hooliganism and 'moral panic' being engaged with the existence of 'a small number of bigots'. However, according to Mairi's narrative, the football fandom seems to have the codes of a 'moral economy' among the crowd. Edward P. Thompson used this concept to refer to the contradictory components of the norms and practices of 'paternalist control and crowd rebellion'³⁸. I believe that it effectively can supplement the affective economy through the non-reductionist view on culture.

This moral economy makes possible its moment of empowerment when it faces the otherness, namely, the opponents of the match, the policing authorities, monetarist directorship of the club board, or state regulation. The realisation of this empowerment may be found when Celtic fans were acting against the board of the club. They conducted a campaign called 'Back the Team, Sack the Board' in the 1993-1994 season. Eventually, all the board members, who were linked together on the basis of family and kinship relation, resigned and a more de-traditionalised, modernised, and therefore more overtly capitalist-oriented millionaire was invited to take over the club.³⁹ One could argue that because of the spontaneous action of the fans the force of capitalism and the market has penetrated more deeply into the popular cultural sphere. However, it is important to emphasize that the emotional investment by the fans materialises the transformation of the structure of the club. Moral economy of Celtic fandom in this respect is not equivalent to a simple power relation built by imposition and contestation. It is a theoretical device that is embossing the limits of the

negotiation between obedience and disobedience, which is 'sustained by concession and patronage (in good times), by at least the gestures of protection in bad'.⁴⁰

Although I admit the exceptional influence of 'moral economy' to building the theoretical and political basis of popular movements, its relevance on the analysis of a community has rarely been questioned in terms of its national and racial composition. As I have discussed in the previous chapter, the visibility of whiteness as a racial marker may surpass the green and white Celtic colours. While green and white invite someone to feel the same as other fellow fans, the same colour may supplement the exclusivity of the community for those who want to be part of it but cannot. There may be a person who could feel anxious and unable to cross the border of the affective community not because of green and white but because of the combination of green and white with racialised whiteness. It is not that green and white are taken over by whiteness, but the green and white is overwhelmingly colonised by whiteness. This is related to asking whether such thing as the 'smell of the crowds' universalises and neutralises the contradictory co-existence of social forces, and generates the mono-racial view of working class culture.

I am not suggesting an anachronism that may criticise what Mairi has sensed and described of the affirmation of the exclusive racialised solidarity. 'Friendly', 'easy-going' and 'inclusive' are what the members of the supporter club are most proud of for their community and that is exactly what I felt during the research. However, those humanist idioms are not sufficient to explain invisible barriers of the visible source of excitement. Someone's affective excitement may produce others' fear. The roar and noise that excited James and Frannie may have been the collective sound of disrespect to the opponent players or of the racist abuse against black players. What remains to be asked is a more analytical, epistemological question as to whether the 'smell of the crowds', the sound of the 'Jungle' and the green and white Hoops may pre-empt the pre-existing, ontologised social categories at present time.

This is not an untouched field of the politics of affect, though. At the point of autumn 1999, it is the black body of Regi Blinker's wax replica which is covered by the new season's strip and displayed at the main entrance of Celtic Park. Although suffice to say this is the evidence of the club's anti-racist, multi-cultural

stance, the green and white Hoops is de-colonised from whiteness at least in the official representation of the colour. However, a gesture of political correctness is not necessarily infused to the fandom straightforwardly. This question should not be treated outside of the terrain of fandom. I mean to suggest that although fandom is not a purified, innocent cultural sphere, or because it is impossible to presuppose such an innocence, it can dislocate the ontological foundationalism of community construction at the very moment of construction.

It is James who has well observed the significance of the similar temporal momentum of fandom. One day, James could not see what had happened to Arthur Jones when he suddenly walked out of the pitch. That is why;

We had been lifted to the heights and cast down into the depths in much less than a fraction of a second. Countless as are the times that this experience has been repeated, most often in the company of tens of thousands of people, have never lost the zest of wondering at it and pondering over it⁴¹.

'A fraction of a second' does not refer to the duration of clock time. It is a qualitative change of the crowd experience that can be shared through smell, sound and visibility. A commonality is now born among the mutually unknown crowds not as the recollection of something that had existed but as a combination of the prescribed knowledge and memory of Jones and his play WITH the instant mutual recognition of communal experience. This is the birth of a ritualistic moment and action which engage senses with the spectating location, emancipating the body from the fixed, regulated and disciplined categorical positions. This is the closest moment of mutual emotional and bodily attachment between the fans and those who the fans watch.

3.6 Conclusion: Towards the Spectacle

Bearing in mind this current actuality, however, it is still safe to say that the inevitable consequence of wearing the team shirt on the pitch is that, despite the decreed diversity of the players' racial, national and ethnic differences, those differences are temporarily taken off so that two fictional, imagined units are represented according to the binary principle and partially articulated through that principle to the sectarian imagery. This is not the entire disappearance of the co-existence of the social categories. It is important to see how this original diversity

is surpassed and transformed to differences in a commonness, and at the same time the space of negotiation is opened up between the centrality of the dichotomy and the anti-dichotomic forces.

The significance of spectacle emerges here as the spatial and temporal confinement by which the effects of collectively visual and oral performative rituals are accelerated to make solidarity with others. Genetics of solidarity among a particular group of the fans and the players are not defined by their presupposed ontological positions with racialised, ethnicised and nationalised associations. This ontologisation has long imposed sectarian logic on what they 'are' and what they 'do'. Instead, I take a perspective that even banal performances such as wearing a team jersey, attaching emblems on the body and clothes, waving flag and scarf, chanting songs make a connectivity between individuals and the crowd, and function as the decisive device to activate the process of recognising the similarity of what 'I' do and what 'they' do. In short, I am suggesting that the wearings associated with rituals and their affect are more open and unstable than they might appear at first sight.

Under the spectacular display of the club belonging, the similarity makes the difference from the other appear to be visible, powerful and irretrievable. The striking contrast of green and blue may be merely a trivial fact that players on the same side wear the same strip of which replica the fans can also buy and wear, but this banality is, I would suggest, the key to understand the power of spectacle because, as I have shown through the chapter, the affective community it creates functions to refine a belonging, draw a line between inclusion and exclusion, and above all establish an alternative public sphere. It multiplies opportunity of one's investment of affect and reconfirms the rightness of the investment in the concrete cultural forms and styles.

It seems to have been widely acknowledged that the Old Firm game provides the fans with an arena where the articulation of popular culture and its politics certainly takes place. As Mairi's case shows, affect operates at the fields of articulation of culture with the politics of class and gender. This articulation of culture and politics is not regarded as the automatically patterned inflow of politics and the ideology from the extra football affairs to the football public sphere, but as the spatial and temporal configuration of cultures and politics, in which the residue of sectarianised politics flashes up at a site of spectacle. It is not

that the legacy of the old antagonistic dichotomy is hiding underneath the apparently re-gentrified football environment. It is always temporarily constructed and re-activated through the spectacular rituals at a moment of danger, the moment when both determination of and negotiation with sectarian imagery begin to work at the public sphere of fandom.

Notes.

¹ Jonsen, 1992.

² Grossberg, 1997, p. 160

³ Grossberg, op. cit., and 1994.

⁴ James., 1996/1963, p. 5.

⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

⁶ When in a rural Trinidad village a fan of a famous cricketer Wilton St. Hill told to James '(Y)ou know what I waitin' for ? When he (St.Hill) go to Lord's and the Oval and make his century there That's what I want to see'. Because this man had never seen St. Hill himself, James wrote that 'it was the instinct of an oppressed man that spoke'(Ibid., p. 91). The materiality of St. Hill's performance is crystallised here in this fan's enunciation of his own fantasy.

⁷ Grossberg acknowledges at least three theoretical resources of the notion of 'affect': Freud's 'libido economy', Nietzsche's 'will to power' and Deleuze and Guattari's 'the plane' of affect.

⁸ Grossberg, op. cit., p.12

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁰ Grossberg, 1994., p. 64.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Bourdieu, 1990, p. 157.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 167.

¹⁵ Here I refer to Gilroy, 1993b, p. 246 and McRobbie, 1996, p.259.

¹⁶ James, op. cit., p. 35.

¹⁷ Benjamin wrote that '(N)ature creates similarities. One need only think of mimicry. The highest capacity for producing similarities, however, is man's. His gift of seeing resemblance is nothing other than a rudiment of the powerful compulsion in former times to become and behave like something else. Perhaps there is none of his higher functions in which his mimetic faculty does not play a decisive role(1997/1979, pp.160-3).

¹⁸ Anderson, B. 1991, p. 54.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

²¹ For the embodiment of norms, both Marcel Mauss (1973) and Norbert Elias (1978) provided a valuable framework for understanding as to how norms are realised in concrete bodily actions. Mauss attempted at elaborating cultural specificity of bodily action as 'body techniques'. Techniques of body are culturally determined. However, in turn, it is not yet fully explained by Mauss how each bodily practices produce or at least transform the norms. By contrast, Elias's historical and spatial analysis of codes of conduct took into account self-conscious behaviours of manners and etiquette. This self-monitoring diffuses the civilised norms into social subjects. It is therefore possible to say that the 'civilizing process' can be accounted as a process of interiorisation of social values. It needs to be noted that the Eliasian account of the embodiment of civility has been critically discussed in terms of its assumption that subjectivity can be considered something-substantial entity.

²² Nietzsche, 1989, p. 45 quoted in Butler, 1990, p. 25

²³ Connerton, 1989, pp. 72-88.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

²⁵ Alexander Ratcliff's comment in 1933 shows the most extreme but still prototypical attack on the Irish colour in Celtic Park: 'when Rangers are due to meet the Celtic in Celtic Park they should refuse to play until the Free State Flags comes down....as the 'Free State' is anti-British, surely the footballers in Glasgow who profess to be loyalists can do something to put an end to the flying of an anti-British Flag over a football field' (*Vanguard* 1 October, 1933, cited in Finn, 1994b: 52). The most recent case is when the dispute between Celtic managing director Fergus MaCann and the SFA chief executive Jim Farry was made public. When Celtic was ordered by the SFA to use Hampden as their temporal home ground while Celtic Park was being refurbished, McCann revealed that Celtic was told not to fly any national flags that were not approved by Queen's Park, the original team of the ground (*The Dairy Record*, 21 January 1999). A compact summary of the history of the dispute about the Irish flag can be obtained from Campbell(2001).

²⁶ Connerton termed this kind of commemorating ritual as 'inscribing practices'(Connerton, op. cit.).

²⁷ *The Celts*, Issue 7, 1985.

²⁸ This means that there is no direct sequence between the adoption of the tricolour flag by the Celtic fandom and the commemoration of the Republic of Ireland because the flag itself had not been invented as a national symbol at the time of establishment of the club.

²⁹ *The Celts*, Issue 17, 1987.

³⁰ My disagreement with the direct metaphor of football as religion will be explained in the next chapter.

³¹ Grossberg, op. cit.

³² An interviewee Ian appreciates most of the 'togetherness' of the supporters club and describes their regular gathering place as his 'spiritual home'.

³³ She was acting as chairperson of the supporters' club with which I carried out ethnography.

³⁴ Hornby, 1992, p. 19.

³⁵ As the chairperson of the supporter's club, her job is diverse from calling for a regular meeting to assuring the number of tickets of away games to keeping the latest information about the board and players circulated among the members.

³⁶ Orwell, 1962, pp. 119-21.

³⁷ The origin of the naming is said to be the 'unkempt condition' and the 'ironic description of the primitive standard of comfort' of Celtic Park after the Second World War. Returning from the rain forest regions, ex-servicemen among the fans made 'sarcastic comparisons'(Campbell and Woods, 1992, p. 92).

³⁸ Thompson, E. P., 1993, p. 339.

³⁹ In consequence, a Bermuda-based exiled Irish entrepreneur Fergus McCann became a major shareholder and was appointed Management Director. Before this event, there was a more controversial dispute among the fans and the board members when it was discussed whether the club should go public to the stock exchange market. See for the details, McGrone (1995, pp. 121-173). He himself was one of the main campaigners and afterward became the editor of the club's official newsletter, the *Celtic View*.

⁴⁰ Thompson, op. cit., p. 345.

⁴¹ James, op. cit., p. 7.

Chapter 4

The Spectacle of Affect: Love and Hate in the Stadium

Developing the issues of affect, this chapter is concerned with the way in which the football stadium becomes a spectacle where Celtic fandom is constructed and empowered as an affective community. The spectacle of football consists of the combined phenomenon of the actual play displayed on the pitch, its pace, flow and rhythm, and the collective rituals, actions and responses of the supporters. The dynamics of spectacle principally erase a variety of social and cultural differences among the crowds and the players, and temporarily cover those differences beneath the two emblematic camps. While at the same time these dynamics assure that there is the minimum heterogeneity of human classifications in form of 'friend and enemy', it also overarches those two camps in terms of style, form and pattern of supporting activity and of denseness of the emotional excitement.

Wearing the replica shirt is the most visible component of the spectacle in the recent football environment. Within one club community, this practice of inter-recognition of the same team colour may dismantle the possible social and cultural diversity among the people who wear them. It may also be capable of temporarily subduing the possible tension among diverse social backgrounds of supporters, and of unifying and re-integrating the diversity around the assumed identity as a member of a particularly imagined club community. By wearing the team shirt, the surface of the body is also chained to the colours that are supposed to stand for those who wear it. It could be the culture, the 'tradition', the imagery or even the stereotypes.

Sectarianism finds out its operating field in this attachment of the colour to the body by transforming the football rivalry to ethnicised religious categories. In the tense and dense environment of Celtic Park, the simultaneous practices of recognising similarity and differentiating those who are not accustomed to the similarity including the opponents also yields the moment by which one is invited to where terror and pleasure are experienced, at the same time in some occasions, or as mutually remote realities in others. While pleasure might be proliferated through the gained sense of solidarity and identity, the same solidarity and identity may become a threat for the opponent and lead to the realm of terror of physical as well as mental intimidation and violence.

Both pleasure and terror are experienced in the terrain of fandom, but some might suggest this as being two sides of the same coin. This metaphor of the coin is superficial but helpful to understand the complexity of the mechanism which generates both terror and pleasure. On some occasions the terror can be the obverse of pleasure but in other times fundamentally separate, remote phenomena. There is no mathematical equation between those two facets of affection. It is not that the pleasure of one side can automatically become the terror of the other.

The divide of club belonging is not correspondent to the affective distinction of pleasure and terror unless there is such a thing as 'pure-hatred'. The hegemonic, socio-pathological view, which I have introduced in chapter 1, might say that, either pleasure or terror, the source of the problem is football fans. In this view, whether public disorder, social disturbance or carnivalesque, both the explosion of pleasure and the phenomenon of terror are interpreted as the extreme outcome of affective investment.

The task of this chapter is to unpack the logic of this 'same coin' metaphor and to show the complexity of the inter-mingling realities of terror and pleasure at the site of the football spectacle. While being aware of the strongly interlocking, closed relationality of the Old Firm cosmology, I still want to look for the possibility of popular pleasure without terror from the football itself, from the imagination, narration and description of the play and the style of play, which cannot be reduced to the sectarian cosmology of fanatical atmosphere. This work aims to challenge the reduction of Celtic fandom to sectarian foundations and

open up the possibility that their cultures and affect be represented within a wider spectrum of meanings and experiences.

4.1 The Theatre of Power

A football game has its own ecology, pace and temporality. Although those factors make a game create a relatively autonomous public sphere inside the stadium, the autonomy tends to be provisional. My point is that while sectarian power and pressure might be enacted toward players on the pitch, the fans on the stand, and the referees beside the pitch, it is not determined by a pre-given, well-prepared ideological penetration. What is called sectarianism in the Old Firm is neither the functional linear flow of ideology from the outside to the inside of the stadium nor the spectacle of mass hysteria in the packed stadium. Sectarian cultures are activated by what I call the 'theatre of power', that is, the power and power relations that exist within this particular setting.

I am not suggesting that the noisy, exciting and ecstatic spectacle inside the stadium generates collective fanaticism by oppressing individual reasons. Instead, the notion of the 'theatre of power' also generates the sporting fandom as a public sphere. C.L.R. James was aware of the significance of spatial condition of affective community when he noted that 'the cricket field was a stage on which selected individuals played representative roles which were charged with social significance'¹. Following this viewpoint, Grant Farred notes that the tempos, rhythms and forms of the games and the plays are 'inseparable from its political-cultural spaces'². These spatial settings can be the theatrical stage.

'Theatre of power' is also a resonance of Foucault's formulation of 'power'. Foucault attempted to conceptualise the power that disciplines and rationalises the interior as well as the body of the individual person. Visible appearance and personhood are made to be analogous not by the external operation of power but by his or her own subjection. Subjection is not a passive acceptance of the exterior regulation. Foucault notes that

he who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in

which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection³.

In the stadium, wearing a team shirt as a spontaneous action means to visibly identify with a particular team and also to clearly display the identity to the anonymous public audiences. To which team a person belongs allocates him or her a defined role as a carrier of the emblem of the club and the fandom. The football stadium becomes a theatrical setting where both individual players and supporters simultaneously control the power and make it run through themselves by running, dribbling, showing his commitment, wearing a shirt, performing bodily rituals, chanting, shouting, talking to each other and just being there as a part of the spectacle.

Referring to Foucault's insight, I consider that this theatre of power most vividly emerged on a collective scale on the 3rd of May 1999 at Celtic Park. Powers act on players' individual bodies when they are watched by the crowd in the stadium. As discussed in the previous chapter, the 'Jungle' of the visibility of green and white is counted as a resource of affective investment. There, the distinction between rational and irrational becomes extremely blurred like the one between public and private. The rational and the irrational is intersected rather than clearly distinguished. Nevertheless, there are the codes of meaning, behaviour and practices, which can be signified as 'sectarian' and those agencies act as such subjectively rather than manipulatively.

4.2 'Mayhem in Paradise'

The sending-off of Celtic's French left-back Stephane Mahe at the decisive league encounter against Rangers indicates the operation of this theatrical power. It was the match in which if Rangers won they would regain the Scottish league title. The following series of incidents happened when the home side was nil-one down. The dismissal of Mahe in the 41st minute was followed by an incident in which a real terror, that is, the vulnerability and insecurity of being a person with a specific identity, suddenly emerged. The referee Hugh Dallas was hit by a coin thrown from the crowd and injured with four stitches because he had been identified as the object of the hatred. The concrete statistics aside, the match eventually saw three players, Mahe and Norwegian right wing-back Vidar Riseth

of Celtic and English winger Rod Wallace of Rangers, sent off by Dallas. The atmosphere inside the ground was at the highest when Mahe refused to go off the pitch trying to talk to referee Dallas. Eventually Mahe went off with tears in his eye. Afterward, when Riseth and Wallace got sent-off after they collided and tackled each other, off the ball, Wallace, a black Englishman, re-traced what Walters did ten years ago, that is, a black English martyr. The fact that all the sent-off players were foreign nationalities does not seem to justify Ferguson's frustration which I introduced in last chapter. It appears that the ontological depth which, at least for Ferguson, the Scottish players are supposed to have, has rather regulated them not to be involved with the spectacle which the Old Firm was expected to display.

The day after, ex-Rangers and England captain Terry Butcher described the Old Firm games as 'the most volatile'⁴. Butcher admitted that the theatre of power got him 'sucked into the whirlpool' when he became one of the protagonists of the incident in which three English players, Butcher himself, Chris Woods and Graham Roberts of Rangers, and a Scottish player Frank McVennie of Celtic, were involved. Out of them, Woods, McVennie and Butcher were sent-off and this led to a court case involving all four players. In the same article, another ex-Rangers and England player Trevor Stevens said that the players should be blamed first. Stevens denounced that 'there are now a lot of foreigners in the Scottish game and I don't think all of them understand just how important it is'⁵. For Ferguson, foreigners' lack of understanding would mean lack of commitment. In contrast, Stevens thought that foreigners' lack of understanding led them to the unnecessarily aggressive result. This contrast shows that the players are affected by what is happening during the game both on the pitch and at the stand rather than by what has been said prior to the game. It is the theatre of power, which determines what ignites players' bodies, what leads their bodies to the limits by which rationality of the game was maintained. Once the limits were transgressed, the language of violence, madness or bigotry is introduced to secure the expected authenticity of sectarianism.

When Dallas was hit by a thrown coin, the crowds ceased to be spectators in the actual bodily sense. The line between actors and audiences was proved so vulnerable and easily blurred that their mutual positions become transferable. It was that coin-thrower, described as a 'hooligan' by several papers, who

transgressed the boundary by which the actual position of the fighting agency of the game is secured for the players. Although the 'hooligan' fought a slightly different game from football, he performed along the same friend and enemy distinction as the game displayed and took the sending-off of Mahe as the right moment to express his view that the referee stood for his enemy's side. Whether his action was generated by the sense of injustice done to Celtic or the simple release of his frustration in watching Celtic completely beaten, it can be viewed as a substituting act for Mahe who had been ordered off, and as his resentment or frustration might seem to the coin-thrower to echo the resentment or frustration of the player himself⁶.

It has to be noted, though, that the 'hooliganisation' and criminalisation of that action would help little in interpreting what this terrorising act might have meant in terms of the way that the private affection was shown in the public space. Although the coin-missile incident should not have happened, the incident is only a symptomatic realisation of the empowered affection generated and possessed by the crowds of Celtic supporters. To fight for actual players, instead of the players themselves, is not a simple identification with the players. If identification is understood as the accomplishment of the process that begins from seeing from the other's place or looking through the other's eye, the coin-thrower did not position himself at the place of the other, namely Celtic players. Instead of domesticating the positionality of the players, the thrower performed his own part, seeing the players as fighting instead of himself. It is a performative action in the sense that it might have led him to the same realm, not the same place, as the players are positioned. On that realm, both players and crowds become entitled to be the agent, acting as substitute for the club.

Constituting the equivalence not only between the self and other, but also at the same time between the self and the self-other relation, the coin-thrower's own corporeal imagery, at the expense of the elimination from the space and the criminalisation, might have forced himself, players and those who take a similar positioning to his own, to perceive and live in what Walter Benjamin called the 'state of emergency'⁷. The throwing of the coin was neither a revival nor a continuous historical fact of what is known as sectarian violence. To paraphrase Benjamin, the perception that such a thing as sectarianism is still enacted 'is not the beginning of knowledge - unless it is the knowledge that the view of history

which gives rise to it is untenable'⁸. Michael Taussig comprehensively succeeds to Benjamin's allegorical implication as to how to situate terror not in the prescribed schema of normal or abnormal opposition, or extreme or ordinary dichotomy but in the powerful 'complicity between terror and narrative order'⁹.

Terror is what keeps these extremes in apposition, just as that apposition maintains the irregular rhythm of numbing and shock that constitute the apparent normality of the abnormal created by the state of emergency¹⁰.

However, although the body of the coin-thrower occupied a certain space and his action carved a mark on Dallas's forehead, it is the distinctive phase of mass spectacle which prevents his corporeality being specified and individualised. Instead, his single action makes the total environment seem as if everybody on the collective scale with the Celtic shirt felt the same resentment and frustration and may take the same action as the coin-thrower had done. It was as if the whole crowd threw the coin, not one person.

In terms of the regulated, modernised and gentrified form of football as mass entertainment, the coin-thrower represents the excess, bodily as well as discursively, and the coin as a thing symbolised the vehicle that makes the coin-throwing action represented as excess. The excess is destructive, disturbing and a vulgar reverberation to the ecology in which the effect of identification is conditioned. A part of the reason why the excess is conceived as excess is because it convects various elements of what are conventionally regarded as extra-football affairs. When the action is signified as a physical hostility, which means unnecessary and unacceptable, towards Rangers and the officials, the meaning of the action is articulated with the excessively religious sectarian dichotomy of Christianity and the hatred that is narrated as the off-spring of the dichotomy. What Butcher summarised as the 'volatility' of the Old Firm game is generated by the sudden, but commonly anticipated re-discovery and re-vitalisation of what this excess acts upon. Thus, the excess works as commemoration of the past, not as the recycling, but as the phantasmagoric projection of what has never existed in purified form but is secretly expected to be revealed as well as concealed.

The following flow of events of pitch invasion, more controversial penalty decision for Rangers just a few minutes later and the police escort for Dallas are counted as other symptoms of the Old Firm mayhem, labeled as 'another hateful

and violent atmosphere'¹¹ and finally added on to the archival accumulation of the Old Firm history. After the match, Celtic chief executive Allan MacDonald endorsed the historical accumulation of the potentiality of terror but denied the continuous sequence of the history.

You always hope that scenes like we saw on Sunday are things of the past, but they keep on happening again...Celtic-Rangers matches are always billed as being much more than just a game. I think it is time everybody involved in these games took a long hard look at themselves....Perhaps the problems are deep-rooted and involve issues which football can't solve and which shouldn't be football issues. But we cannot shirk from this¹².

However, what has ignited the magnitude of the spectacle chaos is not merely a phantasmagoric recovery of the 'things of the past' or the enslavement of football by the 'issues which football can't solve'. Because of the popular, vernacular understanding of the archival knowledge, all the previously accumulated knowledge about various elements that have produced the chaotic scene are mobilised and applied to re-confirm the likeliness of the terror.

The Old Firm game has its own historical temporality by which the knowledge concerning the previously happened similar incident is re-arranged to create its own narrative order. What is wrong with MacDonald's public statement is his deliberate, public assertion that the football public sphere should and could remain as a purified sporting term without any interaction with other socialities. However, the 'scenes like we saw on Sunday' can be comprehended as offsprings from the inside of the discursive as well as historical universe of the Old Firm football cultures. For example, the referee Dallas is regarded by Celtic fans as the most prominent 'Mason in black' figure. Being called 'Scotland's top whistler' and taking part in the major UEFA and FIFA competitions as Scottish representative, Dallas is seen as being biased against Celtic whenever he takes a game on. Mahe's own account that 'he (Dallas) ignored many tackles put in by Rangers players' works to reassure the myth of a 'conspiracy theory' against Celtic. The action of Dallas, the consecutive incidents ignited by the players' mutual physical contact, the space and time, are united and set into the narrative of the notorious Old Firm fanaticism.

This kind of re-discovery of a particular knowledge and its instant application is combined with contingency of the game itself so powerfully that the mass

spectacle of the game becomes a field where the rationality of the rational gives way to the irrational application of rationality. Consequently, the positionality of the main protagonists of the play is negotiated by both the players and the spectators so that the line as to which side is seeing and which side is seen becomes extremely unstable, if not completely overtaken by the seeing supporters. Due to the unstable nature of the spectacle, the conventional cliché that the crowds are the twelfth player does not do justice to this Old Firm encounter. It is rather likely that the players could turn to be the mimetic substitutes of the anonymous crowds, the crowds who have their own affective economy and who have their own cause to conduct the fighting. If this logic is correct, the coin-thrower did not fight for the players but for the club because the players might have been dismissed as cowards, insufficient as the properly shaped soldiers of the club.

In this sense, the coin-thrower and the four pitch invaders fought a proxy war of the players' proxy war for the club. When they battled as the substitutes for the players who are supposed to battle for the club as the primal agents, the position of the substitutes for the club is taken over by the warriors emerging from the crowds. This mimetic dynamism empowers the football played on the pitch and simultaneously is empowered by it.

4.3 'Jungle Fever!': Faith and War in Celtic Park

The 'mayhem' in May 1999 seems to have reminded sport columnist Kevin Mitchell that contemporary sports, especially football, is a residue of the lost spiritual royalty. The observation that the passion of football is analogous to religious faith may look rather routine but what is most interesting about Mitchell's view is that he sees the flow of incidents at Celtic Park not as the consequence of worship or the realisation of spiritual devotion, but as the crisis of the spirituality, as the gradually fading sense of attachment to the football club. In his assertion that 'what is undeniable is that the innocence of the village green long ago gave way to global exploitation, and that whatever spirituality resided in sport has been seriously eroded'¹³, Mitchell reads that there is a growing detachment between the crowds and their objects of affective investment, namely players, rather than the mutual identification. The coin-throwing and pitch

invasion is not the manifesto of solidarity with players but the manifestation of the anger at the exploited, alienated state of the fans. If Mitchell is right, the simple assertion of the proxy war is not straightforwardly applicable.

The view of this kind can be considered as re-introducing the class friction as the contemporary problem in football's public sphere. What Mitchell points out is the friction and reification rather than the absorbing unity and homogeneity inside the stadium. The unity and homogeneity are never recovered and reproduced. Moreover, it is even uncertain that such things as unity and homogeneity of fandom have ever existed. Needless to say, there are several different objects of desire, such as player, club or what the player is thought of, or what the club is supposed to represent.

The recent global flow of players and commodification of football seem partly to contribute to reifying the mutual affective link between players and crowds, preventing the spectator from becoming the twelfth player. However, rituals may be able to reactivate this apparently lost linkage. The moment of mimesis is not always captured only by the crowds. Players also codify themselves to represent what they are expected to represent. Once the coding of the defined rituals is disturbed or displaced, the effect of mimetic faculty may lead to reinforcing the existing divides. When Rangers regained the Championship at the final game of the Old Firm crush in 1999, some Celtic players expressed their anger of the post-match 'cuddle' which Rangers players displayed in front of them and the tormented crowds at Celtic Park. The reason for the anger was because it was supposed to be the Celtic ritual, which they would do before the kick-off at every home game.

The similar movement from Celtic to Rangers can be found in the singing of one of the most common current Rangers anthems, 'Follow Follow'. It used to be a Celtic anthem in the 1950s containing such lyrics as 'Follow follow we will follow Celtic'. However, the song has now been transferred to the Rangers side. Singing loudly that 'Follow follow we will follow Rangers' proves not only that there is a mimetic moment between Celtic and Rangers, but also that the passage of the ritualistic exchange is interlocked. Despite the supposed sharp contrast, the content of the ritual can be transferable while the form maintains the efficiency by which the tension between their cultures is accelerated. This mechanism is found when Celtic crowds chant 'IRA all the way, Fuck the Queen and the UDA' while

Rangers crowds respond 'UDA all the way, Fuck the Pope and the IRA', or vice versa. Through this contrast, their rivalry is simplified by the sectarian vocabularies.

Mitchell is well aware that the authenticity of players as the agent of what they are supposed to be 'up for', that is, the football club, becomes increasingly insecure. As the supporters have realised that the players are no longer automatically considered as the loyal agent of what they worship and pray for, it is impossible to presume any pre-given, unconditional faith, loyalty or moral code to a particular football club and its cultural affiliation as the coherence of its specific cosmology. Indeed, the fanatic fans may appear as if their dedication, obsession, fear and desire to a certain object of affection is driven straight towards the certainly codified mode of worship and prayer. The stadium can be transformed to a shrine that can be a miniature of the specific cosmology. However, 'affect' has the elastically diverse effects on the modes of identification, negating a totalisation of one-dimensional, one-way structure of emotional investment.

The totalising view of the coin-throwing incident easily collides with the linear modernist anachronism of religion when it signifies 'hooliganism' as a re-appearance of the thing of the past. A series of 'hooligan discourses' are activated when the highly tensed atmosphere created by the crowd was attributed to their pre-match drink. Like Trevor Stevens, Charlie Whelan of the *Observer* is among those who blamed the authorities for giving the fans more time to drink before the kick-off⁴. What is to be blamed is, firstly, the time schedule of the match which was kicked-off at 6 o'clock p.m. rather than normal 3 o'clock p.m.. It means that the crowd had much time to get drunk. The second target of the blaming was the SFA, the clubs and the BSkyB for fixing the late kick-off and thirdly, the crowds themselves. The essential components of hooligan discourses, such as drink, crowd and violence, appeared once again. Thus, the supposedly pre-modern, therefore criminalised backwardness of sectarianism is combined with the very hyper-modern phenomenon of the TV money-oriented football through the familiar description of football crowds. One single set of violence is placed in the powerful narrative order from which sectarianism is expected to come out as the real.

When the idea of devotion and unconditional loyalty leads a religious faith and belonging to a more fundamentalist distinction of friends and enemy, the zeal compounded with the competitive essence of football is transformed into another analogue form of battle, that of war. In particular, the physical, violent confrontation between rival fans and between fans and security officials appears to be seen as a war spectacle. However, the growing alienation of the crowds from the game itself casts some doubts on the relevancy of the analogy of war in talking about football spectacle.

English hooligans arrested at the 1982 World Cup in Spain were shocked to hear they had been condemned by Mrs. Thatcher. They thought they were fighting the same war she had fought in the Falklands. It is the great blight on sport, one that has manifested itself most recently in the attack on the referee Hugh Dallas in the Celtic-Rangers match at Parkhead, and is exacerbated by the boorish behaviour of rich footballers and outraged managers¹⁵.

Bearing in mind such realities as the class friction and nationalist patriotism, it is worthwhile to consider the metaphor of war in the history and culture of Celtic. Undoubtedly, the Old Firm spectacle is full of allegories of war. Although flying flags and banners are one of the most common feature of every football stadium all over the world, the contest between the Union Jack and the Irish flag and the written messages on those flags such as 'No Surrender' and 'Our Day Will Come' make the Old Firm appear to be the war between two imagined national communities. While 'Soldiers Song' arose at the Celtic end, Rangers crowds tried to violate it by singing 'Derry's Wall'.

Despite a certain analogy of the Old Firm game to a sort of 'jihad', a religious holy war, alienation of the supporters makes it difficult to apply directly the allegory of warfare. This may implicate that the spectacle of the game increasingly comes closer to Guy Debord's grand notion of the 'spectacle' that roughly defines the mass life in modern capitalist class society as an irretrievable alienation of emotional, psychological and material experiences. The 'riot' of some Celtic supporters may be seen as a desperate gesture to mark a rupture on the surface of what this frequently abused situationists' catchword assumes¹⁶. Those supporters have rejected being the spectators of their own situation. However, unlike the alienated anonymous mass, they are clearly specified of their

belonging to the one-side of the Old Firm and they seem to know who they are and what they are doing.

4.4 Wearing the Shirt, or the Minimum Gesture of Affect

What marks out the supporters' being visibly and instantly is the Celtic replica shirt they wear. With the fact that the replica shirt is a commodity, a product symbolising the recent rapid expansion of merchandising, it may be tempting to reduce supporters to merely consumers. However, it is not only wrong to presume that purchasing the shirt is the same as the act of wearing it. Wearing it does not always contribute to the accumulation of petit-capital and its profitable re-investment. As I am now working not on the Economy but on the 'affective economy', I stress that attaching the synthetic surface to the body can be the most effective mode of identification with the object into which the fans' affect is subjectively and voluntarily invested.

While this act of wearing the shirt affixes the terror to the representation of Celtic as one of the main protagonists of spectacular sectarianism, Celtic at the same time emerges as the 'good name', which, no matter how ironic, the supporters' ritualistic chants function as the oath and blessing which demand them 'to voluntarily, subjectively and solemnly swear to uphold'¹⁷. When they sing 'Hail, hail Celtic, sing we proudly, Hail, hail Celtic, sing we all', or 'Hail hail, the Celts are here' or 'Over and over, we will follow you, over and over we will see you through', the imaginary of Celtic fandom is activated by what Connerton calls the 'performative utterance'¹⁸. This notion specifies the moment of the 'utterance of the "we"' in rites performed among the liturgical community. The verbal utterances, such as curses, blessings and oaths, initiate an ideal space determined by speech acts. One of the specificities of the speech act can be found in the repetitive pronunciation of solidarity. However, this 'community' is not a pre-existing entity. As Connerton notes,

Their speech does not describe what such a community might look like, nor does it express a community constituted before and apart from it; performative utterances are as it were the place in which the community is constituted and recalls to itself the fact of its constitution¹⁹.

In addition to those chants, verbal abuse with sticking two fingers against a Rangers player or the same action toward a Rangers fan in the stand can be considered curses. The collective salute for each Celtic player, with a special tune pre-arranged for individual players when starting members are announced before kick-off can also be defined as a form of blessing.

Moreover, the 'performative utterance' is not an isolated practice made possible by an agent's single, monolithic intent of action. Connerton insists that 'performatives are encoded in set postures, gestures and movements'²⁰. Connerton's emphasis on 'set' is echoed by what J. L. Austin defined as 'illocutionary speech act', by which Austin meant to do what they say with saying in the moment of saying²¹. Chanting is a ritual that is composed of consecutive, repetitive actions on a collective scale with certain individual bodily movements and a clear visualised effect of wearing the shirt, which specifies who is doing what.

The performativity of the ritualistic utterance of 'we' and 'Celts' structures Celtic as a community and at the same time Celtic fandom is structured through the utterance of the equivalence of 'we' and 'Celts'. Judith Butler is right to suggest that 'the illocutionary speech act is itself the deed that it effects'²². As a result of this simultaneous structuring and being structured, those two different practices can be considered as analogous. This is the moment when Celtic, the players and the supporters are mutually articulated and made correspondent through the green and white Hoops, the shamrock emblem and the name of Celtic, all of which appears on the surface of the shirt. In the theatrical spectacle, combined with sound, those icons can be the sub-stage property of the objectivity of Celtic as the object of the subjective investment of affect.

Due to the release of the affect, the war-torn mass spectacle may generate an environment in which a unified order of time, space and action seems to be enjoyed by both players and spectators. This apparent unity is sustained and radiated by the co-existence of pleasure and terror. The assertion that they co-exist may be proved when a small amount of Rangers fans actually cheered for Mahe when he was sent off, when some pitch invaders were taken away by police officers and above all when the final whistle was blown and they saw the entire stadium dispatching resignation and disapproval of the fact that Rangers has just re-gained the championship. Each moment seems to show that the mutually

oppositional effects of affective investment constructs the interlocking relationship between terror and pleasure. Unless this relationship is dislocated in some ways, it appears that the spectacle of the dialectic of fandom in Celtic Park only results in the phenomenon of what is surely totalised and then labeled as sectarianism.

4.5 'This Attacking Play!': Emergence of a Football Identity

I propose that the task of dislocating the sectarianisation of Celtic cultures is to look beyond the pleasure and terror dualism in the football spectacle. It is to look for the base on which every football fandom depends for their *raison d'être*, that is, football itself. The actual play of football provides the possible means to discover the rupture of the unitary entitlement to the sectarianised cultural distinction. I want to focus on the actual play from the angle of the constructive process of the idea of 'attacking football' in the narrative of Celtic fandom. This description is often attributed to the desired playing style of Celtic. I also suggest that, as a particular knowledge, it entails the basis on which what may be conceived as a characteristic of Celtic fandom equates with the one of Celtic as a whole imagery containing the club, the fandom and all the possible associated cultural belonging. By this I mean the possibility of the connectivity between football itself and the collective imaginary of the people and cultures associated with the style of play.

It is wrong to presume a single defined meaning which might attune the echo of the words of 'attacking football' to the ideal style of play which successive Celtic sides are supposed to have attempted to display. The following conversation shows that, within the field of the practice of knowing, the inconsistency of the meaning of 'attacking football' is revealed as a confession of a personal view of the recent form of Celtic, which sees genderisation, cosmopolitanisation, globalisation, identification and the practice of 'telling' as being inter-connected.

Jim: Fitba is men's game, you know, wee boy.

---But women are also playing and...

Jim: Nye, I'm saying the style of play. Celtic's playing style. Attacking style, you know. Get forward, get the goal, aye, you can say long ball is boring but it's our style.

--I don't think so. Look at the midfield, Lambert. Last season you had Di Canio, Cadete, both are typical continental players.

Jim: Aye, I'm nae saying individual players. Style of the club...

--Not the club's, it's a British style, so-called. Not especially Celtic, is it? Do you think the more foreign players are coming from Italy, Spain wherever, the more the playing style of Celtic will change?

Jim: Well, nowadays, those things change, you must adapt yourself to it, but the tradition is still out there. You also must adapt yourself. How that wee Donnelly plays like that? He's brilliant, very physical but beautiful. I think Wim Jansen should play him more and more. Jackie McNamara²³ and Donnelly. Two of the best young players. Especially Donnelly, he's a local kid, got through the youth system, the Bhoy's Club...

Football is gendered here, for the meaning of 'attacking' becomes equivalent with masculinity. This masculinity is localised too. It is a common feature of football knowledge production. There is a detailed description of players, playing styles, match scores, historical incidents, all of which seems very difficult for an 'outsider' to catch up with. The simple exchange of words like the above symptomatically indicates the threshold of a free floating and active practice of signification and commitment to Celtic. This is associated with a particular mode of interpretation as to how to participate in the match, how to evaluate each player's condition, how to look back at the previous record and so forth. It seems that these aspects of the fan culture are more than a so-called 'pub talk' that is widely regarded as a form of the re-confirmation as to the extent to which one is committed to the cause of supporting a particular team. Those subjects are frequently narrated with reference to what is perceived as the 'tradition' which at the same time circumscribes a boundary around 'us'.

However, the extracted narrative is interesting in the sense that the same characterisation of the playing style, namely the 'attacking side', is decoded in an opposite direction in some recollecting narratives as to how Celtic should play. While Jim seemed to understand that the 'attacking' meant a long ball, direct and fast-pace style, he also appreciated Donnelly's 'good anticipation of where a pass

comes', of his style as a 'good finisher even under a heavy pressure in a tight space', and as a 'quick dribbler' ability²⁴. Donnelly, to him, seems to represent what is opposite to his interpretation of 'attacking'.

Moreover, the contemporary style of Celtic's attacking character is said to have been accomplished by the late 1960s by Jock Stein who is renowned to have produced the greatest side of the club's history by adopting the playing strategy which Celtic displayed half a century ago, that is, Celtic as a 'passing side'. Among many known as well as less known stories of his mythology, the most compact appreciation of Stein's team is introduced by Hugh McIlvanney, describing one scene just after Celtic became the European champions in Lisbon in 1967.

An elderly Portuguese official cornered Stein and delivered ecstatic praise of Celtic's adventurous approach. 'This attacking play, this is the real meaning of football. This is the true game'. Stein slapped him on the shoulder. 'Go on, I could listen to you all night'. Then, turning to the rest of us, 'Fancy anybody saying that about a Scottish team'²⁵.

This praise can be understood as a confession of a particular affective sensibility that interrupts the moment when what is narrated as 'this attacking play' is experienced. This phrase does not refer to the whole 90 minutes of play simply because Celtic could not afford to play forward, get the neat pass through or take the offensive strategy all the time. Each individual moment of 'attacking play' makes this Portuguese official experience his bodily excitement and the ecstasy of watching Celtic display a certain quality of play and being a part of the spectacle. Then, he enunciated his praise by recalling, perhaps unconsciously, what he thought he had experienced in the spectacle environment. It is a singular, absolute moment when one can be connected to the process of identification without extra-football contradictions. I would like to call the combined effect of this moment of enunciation with his discourse and his bodily expression the aestheticisation of football play because there is, under the theatrical ecology of the stadium, a direct correspondence between the play Celtic committed and the 'true football'. The actual play that has originally contained some fragmented, irrational moments and scenes is led directly to the ideal form of football as the truth, at least for the person who mobilises his affective sensibility as a deeply embodied sensibility

and then invests it in his direct encounter with the man who has conducted what is memorised as 'true football'.

In this game against Internazionale, Celtic came from behind to win by the two second half goals. The first goal is worth recalling to describe how 'attacking' it was. The scorer Tommy Gemmel is a left back player. It was a result of the continuous forwarding play from the both fullbacks, Gemmel and Jim Craig, to make spaces around the middle part of the penalty area through the packed 'catenaccio' Inter defense. It was after several similar attempts from both the right and left sides when Craig dispatched a short pass from the right corner of the penalty area to Gemmel who was around just outside the area. At that moment, two full-back players were involved in the front line attack while Bobby Murdoch, whose positioning would have been described as 'volancci' in the present understanding of the formation, was holding and distributing the ball to the wide players. It was a well-combined effort of the fullback's overlapping play with a few quick successive passes from the back-line and a lot of off-the-ball movements of two strikers²⁶.

This is one of the actual constructions of the moment at which 'attacking football' is conceived, which for some unclear reason, is different from the conception provided by the extracted interview. It is not right to simply dismiss the interviewee's narrative as misunderstanding or ignorance precisely because those two different meanings of 'attacking football' may also signify the different quality of the 'men's game'. Aggressive, physical and primitive masculinity embodied in a direct style of play is transformed to manliness through the managership of Jock Stein whose reputation as strong disciplinarian is too well known to quote. If the organised, disciplined and corporative team-play of the passing game in Lisbon is the culmination of the mythology of attacking football, the genealogical concern with the specification of the narrative of this particular playing style still remains to be examined in terms of what content is produced, retained and narrated to describe what Celtic signifies.

4.6 Activating ‘Diasporic Imagination’ through the Memorisation of ‘Attacking’ Football

The strong connectivity is created by affective investment between those who watch the play, the body of the players and the scene that the players exhibit on the pitch. Excitement and sensation are invested in remembering the previous image of play, mobilising the knowledge of play, expecting the ideal outcome of the play, and waiting for the moment of release of the sensible energy. Ceaseless repetition of pleasure and disappointment accumulates the affect to be invested in further resources of emotional as well as bodily empowerment. When the displayed art of football is made correspondent with the imaginary of Celtic, the ordinary but powerful correspondence between what the crowds watch and what is watched is accomplished.

This artificial correspondence can be apolitical because the politics of social differences are temporarily cancelled and excluded in the name of ‘pure’ football. Therefore, aestheticisation needs a careful inception of meaning because it could easily slide to the apolitical, de-socialised value and return to the rational mobilisation of irrationality by confining history and difference to the authoritarian order of time and space. However, the imagery of Celtic’s ‘attacking football’ could not be possible without a route-work through the politics of social differences. It is not my intention to trace back the origin of ‘attacking football’ in a diachronic as well as empirical way. Instead, I want to show how this apparently incoherent conceptualisation of a playing style has come to represent a component not only of Celtic’s playing style but also of one of the most powerful descriptions of what Celtic is supposed to identify with. For this purpose, it is necessary to clarify the nucleus of what may be shared between the narratives of football that are narrated to be displayed and embodied by successive Celtic sides, and the historically transitional description of the fandom.

It may be what Mathew Frye Jacobson describes as the ‘diasporic imagination’ which can link the aesthetic of playing style with the imagery of Celtic as ‘Scottish club with proud Irish heritage’²⁷. ‘Diasporic imagination’ is expected to show the intersecting connectivity and linkage between the identity of the club, the playing style and the aesthetic aspect of football imagination. However, it is necessary to stress that this adjective ‘diasporic’ does not strictly imply the most conventional understanding of the cross-national characteristics of Celtic, that is,

the trans-border formulation of the history and culture between the Irish and the Scottish-British. It is not difficult to get carried away with the idea of 'Irish diaspora' when it comes to the cultures of Celtic. This allure of 'Irish diaspora' may be even dangerous in the sense that it could simplify the complexity of imagined as well as actual networking processes of a particular sense of national belonging and reduce it to the linear relationality.

I propose that the 'diasporic imagination' not only characterises a cultural appeal of the fandom but also may open up a historical moment when the fandom is produced and experienced at the terrain of singularity. I suggest that the 'diasporic imagination' may be activated through the narratives by which the mimetic approximation of the playing style and the identity of the fandom is so well forged that what Celtic may represent can be described from either standpoints as the same. Making those originally separated narrative orders look mutually correspondent is made possible by an effect of the power that makes a disposition of particular knowledge available. This comes out of the repertoire of the accumulated historical memory as a result of the memorisation of the past as the continuity of cultural 'tradition'.

Then, with the help of theorisation of 'tradition' as the 'changing same', I would like to ask whether Celtic fandom could possibly re-create its own 'imaginary' by re-drawing their boundaries rather than abolishing and eliminating their historical traces. Combined with the manifestation of the colours of green, white and orange, the sound-scape of the inside of Celtic Park and some of those Celtic pubs in the East End provides the best opportunity to think about apparently mutually opposing but inevitably inter-dependent vectors of the diasporic imagery of Celtic. On the one hand, it is Irish nationalism, manifested in Scotland as well as wherever they travel to play, which centralises a variety of verbal and bodily rites to the aspiration for the nationalised cultural resources to which they assume they should belong. On the other hand, however, those rites simultaneously show that by the explicitly ethnically nationalised manifest of their belonging those who perform the rites navigate the inner, imaginal geography of cross-national displacement, migration and movement²⁸. Highlighting on this navigation may be able to create the perspective on the fandom not as being rooted in a particular, already defined national body and imagination, but as holding the split elements inside its own imagery. This is to say that the never

satisfied, never fulfilled desire and longing for Ireland is expressed in transnational locations.

I let the notion of 'diaspora' refer to the negation of the absolute finality of the nationalised belonging and non-belonging. At the same time, diaspora produces the realm of the powerful mobilisation of and engagement with the 'shared currency of cultural imagery' that may evoke both the indeterminacy of the cross-national geography of migrancy and the strong determinacy of the simultaneous plurality of desires, aspirations and beings²⁹.

'Diaspora' can be given a far richer meaning by this point of view than the casual, careless appreciation of cross-national transfer of cultures, which is supposed to be produced, circulated and consumed by the movements of migrancy, exile, deportation and slavery. It is however hardly difficult to see this richness getting diminished among recent inferior imitators and misguided critiques of the far more powerful and theoretically nurtured originals³⁰. In particular, the several recent attempts to re-contextualise the notion from the Black Atlantic paradigm to the possible Green Atlantic one seems to have a serious political as well as epistemological problem³¹.

My appropriation of the notion resists to assumption that the catastrophe, displacement and dislocation of migrancy are repairable experiences. The logic that sees a correspondence between the characteristic of Celtic fandom and the dissemination of Irish diaspora seems to fail to grasp the actuality that the Irishness that may be experienced among Celtic fans is not necessarily embedded in the sameness among the ethnically and racially categorised Irish. Even though migrancy may have generated the unconditional sameness wherever they come and go, if they remain at the colour of the same green, it is doubtful whether the diaspora is a politically appropriate idea to be applied in the case of Celtic fandom. The currency by which the green and white Hoops is made to be the icon of fan solidarity is far more complex than it appears to be. That complexity stages a simultaneous process of diffusion and fixation, dissemination and condensation, which implicates both the nationalisation of a particular culture and its diasporic moment.

In order to see how Celtic fandom can be described as 'diasporic', I would like to think of football not as something that could be a medium, vehicle or vessel of the pre-given thought or ideology, but as a cultural and social device through

which particular histories are constructed and experienced. One of the first possible accounts of the potential linkage between attacking football and outernational constructive processes of identity appears in one of the Celtic memoirs presented by Tom Campbell and Pat Woods. They claim that Celtic's pre-First World War European Continent tour saw them appreciated as 'football of a kind never before seen' by a Budapest newspaper³². Their short, controlled, 'mastery' of the passing game became a legend as 'the seeds of future greatness'³³. The style of Celtic, in a sense, was appreciated and established outside the country where it officially belonged.

Around the years of the First World War, Celtic posed themselves at a rather twisting position through their European Continent tours. Their frequent visits to the continent before the war escalated was explained as a 'touch of imperial mission' that is 'corresponding to the power and prestige of Britain in that era'³⁴. Then, after the war, Celtic became the first British club to re-visit Germany, despite the opposition from the British government. On that occasion, it is said that one Celtic official explained that 'the war is over and it is against the character of British people to express feelings of political revenge through boycotting sports'³⁵. Celtic was supposed to represent what would belong to the 'British'.

However, this Hungarian episode shows another twisting phase of Celtic in terms of its belonging to a national imagination. One of the players who played in Hungary before the war, Johnny Madden, stayed there for three decades, one time as coach of SK Slavia. Campbell and Woods wrote that he spread 'the gospel of Celtic's short-passing game'³⁶. Decades later, claimed Campbell and Woods, the passing strategy had been inherited by the Hungarian international side who destroyed the 'myth of English invincibility' in 1953. Jock Stein was among the spectators at that match at Wembley and later, he reportedly said that 'his Celtic sides were modeled on the fluid, attacking style of those 'magical Magyars'³⁷. The seeds which Celtic had sown during their 'British mission' came to reality as a threat to 'English' football's ability. In a sense, the playing style of Celtic routed from Scotland to Hungary returned to British soil once again. Through this route work, the specific style of play could be articulated with the counter-imperial nationalism that the Irish imagery of Celtic might have represented as against the English.

The early 1950s was also a period when the myth of the attacking side was rejuvenated. The appointment of Jimmy Hogan as first team coach in 1948 was an initial step towards scrapping the 'uncharacteristically "physical" approach' that had been employed for a past few seasons³⁸. Hogan, Lancastrian, first encountered 'the distinctive, short-passing style of play' which his Scottish teammates displayed when he was a player at Fulham. With his own conception of how the game was to be played, which was learnt from his experiences with those Scottish players, he took a coaching job in Holland, Austria and Hungary before he was appointed as Celtic manager. His continental roaming, however, came to an end at Glasgow with Celtic who at that time were lacking 'the trickery and craft for which the Celtic name had in former days been renowned'³⁹. He, then, renovated the attacking style which is described in one of the recollections of that era as 'defenders trying to pass the ball, the use of the goalkeeper to start attack, innovations at free kicks'⁴⁰.

These patterns of historical recollections can work as the practice of memorisation and symptomatically, if not comprehensively, be incorporated into the part of the larger narrative of Celtic cultures, through which the prototype of attacking football is conceived as a result of the 'route-work' of the trans-border, trans-national characterisation of the particular football idiom. Then, this dimension of the narrativity of 'diasporic imagination' is allocated to a certain realm in the tradition of Celtic. However, this pattern of outer-national cultural and imaginal flow of a particular playing style is actively articulated with the cultural power relations. The tale of the defeat of the England side by the 'attacking' Hungarian national team and Hogan's fascination with the 'Scottish' players clearly shows that, despite the outer-national fabricating process of the narrative of attacking football, nationalisms still play some crucial parts as anti-colonial imagination in one case, and as sub-imperial belonging in another case.

Although this 'attacking' is not explicitly described as a specific national characteristic, this is the case that the national is articulated with playing style, not as the achieved, accomplished inwardness, but as what Etienne Balibar calls the 'nation form'⁴¹. According to Balibar, the national as local particularity has to be endorsed by the universalism in which each specificity of nations should be overarched by the transcendent singularity of modern nationalism. This is not to affirm that national imagination completely and conformably co-exists with

diasporic imagination in any cultural representations. Instead, following Balibar's basic claim, I suggest that although the national is always associated with a particular place and time order, it simultaneously constitutes a supralocal, transnational cultural meaning, expression, form, style and embodiment. In a way, the national always keeps ambivalence in its inner content.

4.7 Conclusion: Attacking, Passing and the Style of the 'Changing Same'

Bearing in mind the contradictory existence of Celtic as a Scottish-British club with an Irish tradition, I argue that the 'attacking football' has been developed through the ambivalence of the national, the narrative of manufacturing the attacking football, and its diasporic narrativity and its connectivity to Irish imagery. All these aspects are articulated so powerfully that neither complete correspondence between them nor absolute differentiation can be assumed. The reason for the uncertain but still apparently coherent notion of tradition lies here. In terms of what the word signifies, it scarcely matters whether the meaning of the 'attacking' told by the aforementioned interview partner is likely to correspond to the culturally inherited imagery of what Celtic's playing style stands for. Even though Celtic has recently been renovated as a passing side by the strong installment of several international mid-field players, it is important that his knowledge and evaluation of the 'attacking' seems opposed to both the more cosmopolitanised and apparently less localised character of the team. In order to express his own objection against the increasingly 'out-of-hand' circumstances surrounding Celtic, he brought what seemed to be an element of the 'traditions' into the club, which in fact was not completely different from the currently undergoing direction as far as the playing style was concerned. I argue that this defensive logic shows, in a twisting way, another sign of the significance of the tradition as 'the changing same'⁴².

In-between the built-up passing play and the more direct open style may be swinging the meaning of 'attacking'. While, at a glance, the narratives of the passing play seem to represent the tradition which is lined with the routing process of the crystallisation of the 'style', the strong insistence on 'attacking' in terms of the more direct, physical option is told as 'our' style. However, even the latter stresses on 'skill' and 'beautiful', both of which were employed to describe

the then promising young players. What is clear is that what could be called 'tradition' is not simply a repetition of the memory of the past or of 'some invariant essence that gets enclosed in a shape-shifting exterior'⁴³. What matters is not merely how to describe a cultural phenomenon but how to see the ways in which the description itself is produced in relation to the phenomenon because 'the phrase names the problem'⁴⁴. As Gilroy notes,

The same is retained but not reified. It is recombinant, ceaselessly reprocessed in the glow of its own dying embers. It is maintained and modified in what becomes a determinedly non-traditional tradition, for this is not tradition as mere repetition. Invariably promiscuous and unsystematically profane, this is a mutable hetero-culture orchestrated by the historic injunction to keep on moving. It suggests the complex, dynamic potency of living memory: more incorporated than inscribed⁴⁵.

In a certain form of telling, the symptom of the 'mutable hetero-culture' can be found in the gradually appreciated cosmopolitan transition through the following conversation between the same interview partner, another interview partner and myself:

Jim: Passing? Pass the ball well? Aye, we're passing side, aren't we? Gers are more physical and direct, I mean...

---No no, I mean, you said earlier Celtic play more, should play more direct style, get the ball forward quickly and keep the pace high, tempo, that is what you mean by 'attacking', isn't it?

Jim: Aye, right, man, dae ye appreciate two centre-halves just passing the ball to each other well behind the half-line? Dae you like it, in your own half, defenders just pass the ball square, like, play 4-a-side with full backs in your own half, dae you appreciate that? Ah wouldn't.

---- No, certainly not, I don't...

Jim: To pass the ball, you must get the ball forward, accurately, at the right time, at the right target. That's passing, y'know whit I mean? I don't...

Jo: I agree with Jim that just exchange the ball on the ground is not the passing game. When you pass, you're always searching the next move. You need a lot of movements, on the ball, and off the ball as well. The aim of passing is to score the goal, isn't it? I mean, you can pass the ball square,

it's OK, unless meaningless dull, long ball ended at Big Duncan Ferguson's head in the air.

Jim: Or somebody else's fucking legs...it's all about skill, y'know, skill. Your skill is always tested, so you need fitness so physical play isn't always a bad thing really. You need fitness and strength to play with skill, to play the passing game.

This typically trivial exchange shows that the meaning of 'attacking' is always constructed slightly differently while its conceptualisation is conducted through the strong framework of 'tradition'. Whatever they actually meant in their own vocabulary, what is termed as 'attacking' style maintains its signifying power by which 'non-traditional tradition' might be squeezed out of the fans' affective practice of telling their own narratives.

What enables this conversation to be as precise as if the interview partners are actually controlling the play is the pleasure that makes possible their continuous investment of affect in a rather private environment. At the same time, the pleasure connects this frank conversation to the actual field of play, and the play that has been displayed spectacularly, memorised and accumulated as knowledge, comes back to this narrating space. Although the presence of Rangers is still a referential point as 'more physical and direct', there seems to be composure at the midst of normally intensified narratives of the Old Firm relation.

Through the written and telling narratives of 'attacking play' and its 'route-work' crystallisation, the 'tradition' may be articulated with the 'diasporic imagination' that could underline the playing style of Celtic, and further with a mode of belonging to Celtic fandom. Needless to say, it is not that the 'diasporic imagination' completely deconstructs the monolithic imagery of Celtic fandom or the interlocked relationality between the Old Firm. It is impossible for the 'diasporic imagination' alone to disaggregate the mono-racial assumption of the moral economy of the crowds, disperse the theatrical power of spectacle, transform the fixed value of tradition or decompose the sectarian dichotomy. However, it may be appropriate to conclude that as far as the play, the description of play and the evaluation of play are concerned, there is no place for such a terror as the 'Mayhem in Paradise' to share the plane of affective investment.

Those evaluations of the playing style are not identical but still powerful enough to empower the process and practice toward belonging to a particular affective community where the 'attacking' style is repeatedly appreciated. I want to propose that this is symptomatically the beginning of the 'singularity' of what Celtic represents. If the 'attacking' style has come to existence through the 'diasporic imagination', the foundational, ethnically absolute identification with Celtic can be denied by the football Celtic display on the pitch. The potential of the 'singularity' can be seen here through the combination of the material condition of play with the active accumulation of narratives.

Notes.

¹ James, 1996/1963., p. 66.

² Farred, 1996, p. 194.

³ Foucault, 1979, pp. 202-3.

⁴ *The Sun*, 4 May 1999.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ Mahe complained that Dallas's injustice and unfairness in refereeing was due to 'a lot of pressure' and because 'if he (Dallas) was sending me off he should have sent the guilty Rangers players off as well', but 'he ignored many of the tackles put in by Rangers players' (*The Daily Record*, 4 May 1999)

⁷ Benjamin, 1992/1972, p. 248.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

⁹ Taussig, 1992, p. 13.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *The Daily Record*, 4 May 1999.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *The Observer, LIFE*, 23 May 1999, p. 17.

¹⁴ *The Observer* 10 May 1999. Whelan provided the worst but most useful view among those who expressed their disgust against the match. It is precisely because his discourse is a perfect picture in which socio-pathology, culturalism, racism, ethnicised nationalism and hypocritical intellectualism are well mixed together in a short column.

¹⁵ *The Observer, LIFE*, 23 May 1999, p. 17.

¹⁶ Sadie Plant introduces Debord's own words of caution: 'the critical concept of the spectacle is susceptible of being turned into just another empty formula of sociologico-political rhetoric designed to explain and denounce everything in the abstract- so serving to buttress the spectacular system itself' (Debord, 1990, p. 203. cited in Plant, 1992, p. 151).

¹⁷ Cited from a postcard size souvenir, 'A True Supporter's Oath'.

¹⁸ Connerton, 1989., p. 59

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Austin., 1976/1962, pp. 94-131. The antonym of 'illocutionary speech act' is the 'perlocutionary speech act' which produces certain consequences by saying something.

²² Butler, 1997, p.3

²³ McNamara's father, also named Jackie, played for Celtic before being transferred to Hibernian in 1976 by an exchange deal for Pat Stanton. *The Celt*, number 49 in November 1996, listed the family and kinship connections among the previous Celtic players, including Paul McStay and his brother Willie and his grand uncle, also called Willie.

²⁴ In contrast to his expectation, Donnelly has failed to establish himself as a regular first team striker and he was eventually transferred to Sheffield Wednesday before the 1999-2000 season.

²⁵ McIlvanney, H. 1997, p. 19.

²⁶ I refereed two video archives; *Celtic: The Celtic Story* and *Celtic: The Great Celtic Actions from the 60s*. In particular, the former is extremely useful because of its 25 minute colour coverage of all the goals both teams scored.

²⁷ By 'diasporic imagination', Jacobson 'refers precisely to this realm (cultural production of narratives and representations) of ideologies and engagement of minds: both the shared currency of cultural imagery, and the mindset of the individual as he or she navigates the inner geography of international migration' (Jacobson, 1995, p. 7).

²⁸ Jacobson, op. cit., p. 7.

²⁹ Needless to say, it may be historically the case that this indeterminacy can be concealed behind the deliberate gesture of the promotion of ethnicised nationalism. On tour of the USA in 1931, the hosts of the club requested that Celtic play under the flag of the Irish Republic and be introduced to the sound of the Irish National Anthem. Such was its association with Ireland (Bradley, 1998b: 129).

³⁰ I am especially thinking of Paul Gilroy's original introduction of the notion (1993a) and James Clifford's well thought summary of the relevancy of the notion on contemporary cultural studies (1997).

³¹ For example, one of the recent collections of essays on Irish diaspora begins with an essay that evokes that Irish emigrants increasingly lived in a 'Green Atlantic' (Mac Laughlin, 1997, p. 25). Discussing the location and dislocation of 'Irish identity', this collection could not manage to address two fundamental questions as to how the notion of diaspora could be essential to understand the increasing irresistibility of cosmopolitanisation of the world. On the one hand, it fails to theorise the complex feature of the sameness and its changeability. On the other hand, paying almost exclusive attention to 'emigration', it fails to acknowledge properly the 'immigration' to the Irish cultural milieu. Although it talks about how Irish immigrants have suffered, it does not explore how the Irish can be the subject of discrimination, racism and ethnic absolutism. In contrast, Luke Gibbons' collection of essays is much more aware of the danger of the casual imitation of the Black Atlantic paradigm to the history of Irish exile. Gibbons refers to Gilroy's work in order to think of the traumatic experiences of Irish people as one of the first waves of the modern experience rather than to point out the simple similarity between black experiences and Irish experiences (Gibbons, 1996, p. 6).

³² Campbell and Woods, 1996, p. 71.

³³ *ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

³⁷ *ibid.*

³⁸ Burns and Woods, 1997, p. 36.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Balibar, 1990., pp. 86-106.

⁴² See Chapter 1 for this idea in relation to the theorisation of 'tradition'.

⁴³ Gilroy, 1996a., p. 23.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

Summary of First Half

What I have discussed through the previous four chapters may be summarised as an attempt to analyse the moment when what C.L.R. James described as ‘a fraction of a second’¹ of the birth of fandom may overlap Benjamin’s idea of the ‘state of emergency’² in which the otherwise impossible emotions are embodied under the spectacle. The fandom as a constructed affective community can co-exist with the vulnerable situation of a normalised public sphere as seen in ‘Mayhem in Paradise’. In Celtic fandom there is no necessary correspondence between the boundary of the affective community and the populist intervention into the gradually controlled public sphere. In fact, it is impossible that a whole crowd could identify with the coin-thrower. Outrageous reactions and critique to the ‘Mayhem’ in May 1999 were clearly expressed in the ‘good name’ of Celtic so that a boundary is drawn between real Celtic fans and the hatred of the bigot. Both excited affection and disgust were invested at the same time as the stadium became a theatre of terror.

This does not mean that the play of football has been forgotten and the extra-football phenomenon colonises football. It is rather appropriate to suggest that neither the total autonomy of football nor the inevitable manipulation of football by extra-football factors be taken for granted. The sociality of football is not defined by the one-way injection of ideology and power to the otherwise apparently autonomous form of popular culture. The pleasure of supporting Celtic is produced through either the identification or the dis-identification with sectarian foundationalism. The pleasure is also consumed when the sense of belonging and difference touches upon the potential terror that may be realised through the articulation with the pre-empted sectarian dualism. In turn, this divide becomes the resource of the investment of affective pleasure when the

increasingly cosmopolitanised composition of players and the fandom is reshuffled into the binary camps of Catholics and Protestants.

In short, this complex mechanism of the current state of Celtic fandom consists of four quadrants that are divided by two axes. One axis is made of foundational sectarianism and transitional cosmopolitanism. The other is the one of affect along which love and hate are articulated with pleasure and terror through the experience and participation in the spectacle. My argument here is subtle and difficult to express in simple terms. I am not suggesting that each quadrant is somehow composed of the same elements and where all that exists is a superficial contrast that masks what is 'really there'. Equally, I do not see these relationships as dualistic and composed mutually exclusive or neat oppositions in which foundationalism is separated from cosmopolitanism and love is divided from hate. Rather, I am suggesting that love and hate are interwoven into each other producing complex and unstable combination of inclusion and exclusion. It seems more appropriate to think that one axis operates as a modality in which another is experienced than put it simple that each folds into the other. This is not the fixed lineal permutation or progressive combination of good forces over bad forces or vice versa. Rather, understanding the nature of this pattern of folding and its articulation is required here in order to comprehend the social construction of Celtic fandom.

The idea of folding is valuable to avoid a simple but powerful assumption that cosmopolitanism is merely the antinomy of sectarianism and that one's pleasure of love is the other's terror of hate. The 'folding' implies a dynamism that consists of diagonal movements by those quadrants. It is true that both sectarian foundationalism and transitional cosmopolitanism could be realised by either love or hate and be experienced and narrated as if they are as mutually opposite as pleasure and terror. In the modality of pleasure and terror, sectarian thinking and cosmopolitan thinking may sharpen their mutual contrast. However, the location where the two axes give fandom the opportunity to negotiate over its identity is so volatile that, while each quadrant can contain others in its realm, it never fully erases the possibility of the activation of other elements.

Diagram 1 shows that while foundational sectarian terror folds in cosmopolitan pleasure in the cases of sectarian murders, the latter could fold in the former in the appreciation of the increasing diversity of multicultural ecology of the fandom.

The other arrow indicates that the pleasure of more cosmopolitan cultures may fold in the intolerance of terrorising the target of hatred. Sectarian foundationalism contains both moments of pleasure and terror in its cosmology and accumulates the affect, through bodily rituals and such senses as sound and smell, in accordance with the encounter with transitional cosmopolitanism.



[Diagram 1]

Therefore, as diagram 2 displays, there may also be the point when, as the spectacle of 'Mayhem in Paradise' showed, those who are not necessarily enslaved by the sectarian dichotomy have become the agents of hate. In this way, the terror in cosmopolitan condition folds in the pleasure of doing the sectarian. This may indicate the possibility of cosmopolitan sectarianism.



[Diagram 2]

Then, the apparently diverse elements have become so binary that it is as if there is sectarianism as a unquestionable fact that is observed as the authentic scene that may be regarded as out of date from the 'multicultural reality' of the Old Firm cultures.

While one can be sectarian because of the love for 'us' and hate towards 'them', the same affect can make someone appreciate the more cosmopolitan reality. The fact is that while the constituting elements of sectarian cosmology become more diverse and multicultural, the sectarian cosmology tends to regain the binary principle as a coping strategy of what has been conceived as 'tradition'. While socio-pathology takes it as a case of the essentialised cause of social deviance and instability, culturalism sees it as a heritage.

It may seem as if the metaphor of the 'two sides of the same coin' works well on the ground that too much love for 'us' leads to too much hate towards 'them'. Mutual accusation as to which is more sectarian than the other functions as if they play a seesaw game in order to lighten the burden of sectarian cultures by putting weight on the irresistible currency of cosmopolitanisation. The interlocking relationality of the Old Firm cosmology may seem to be accomplished through this cultural mechanism.

However, I have also suggested the necessity of developing the anti-thesis of this relational thinking and of the homologous quality of the Old Firm cosmology on which the conventional notion of 'tradition' depends for its common reliability. This attempt has begun by thinking of a fandom as a material sphere in which the play and the players, and those who watch them constitute a dialectical relationship in the space of cultural politics. Thus, I have proposed to seek for the singularity of Celtic fandom. The opposite vectors of an axis can only be as opposite as it shows as long as one axis remains a modality in which another axis operates. In other words, unless the axes activate each other as mutual modality, foundational sectarianism and transitional cosmopolitanism could be experienced as mutually detached phenomena, and also pleasure and terror could be experienced as mutually remote affective consequence.

Since I have described the cultural mechanism of Celtic fandom not as simple coordinate but as folding movements, what appears to be sitting back to back can be considered as a consequence of folding rather than the pre-existing condition. While, at some points, pleasure and terror are folded in either by sectarianism or

by cosmopolitanism, they can become remote at other occasions. The binary way of thinking, or the dichotomy that is used in explaining the Celtic culture, is itself a product of the dynamics of folding, by which the fandom is represented. The validity of the idea of folding can be seen when the moral economy of the fandom, in which many senses are mobilised to make someone become a fan as an essential part of the crowd, does not need hate in order to identify itself with the object of love. The attempt to introduce the narratives of 'attacking play' and its articulation with 'diasporic imagination' has also to be understood as a stepping-stone to exploring this possibility of singularity of the fandom by going beyond the dualism that appears to be powerfully embedded in the Celtic imaginary.

The next task begins, however, by acknowledging 'diasporic imagination' as by no means a principle of the future blue print of non-sectarian utopia. Although it may be embedded in the fandom as a potential beginning of the heterogeneity, the possible components of this heterogeneity is still to be specified and examined in the process of heterogenisation. I bring in the issues of 'race' and racism as the key for this examination not only because 'race' is powerfully affiliated to both sectarian cosmology and the Old Firm fandom, but also racism is central to understand the politics of sectarian culture around the Old Firm. In Part 2, I wish to explore this affiliation of 'race' to the Old Firm cosmology that features several sites of the practices of negotiation over the position of 'race' and its meaning in relation to the powerful dichotomous relation.

Notes.

¹ I introduced the idea in Chapter 3. See Note 41, Chapter 3.

² I introduced the idea in Chapter 4. See Note 7, Chapter 4.

Second Half

Affiliation of 'Race' to Celtic Fandom

The grand aim of the second half is to look into the ways in which 'race' is historically and socially constructed as an essential category that plays a significant role in constituting the culture of the Old Firm fandom. In comparison to the category of nation, 'race' has been given little attention or treated in a misleading way when it is raised as a resultant matter of sectarianism. Racism has been subsided by sectarianism. However, my angle is that neither the destined combination of racism and sectarianism nor the destined detachment of them can be assumed. I think of the ways in which a variety of representations of sectarian idioms, images and the bodily practices displayed by the fans and the players are articulated with 'race' by the cultural mechanism of connecting, re-connecting and dis-connecting 'race' with the ways in which sectarianism is performed. In the Old Firm cultures, 'race' operates through the two phases of racialisation. By 'racialisation', I refer to the modes by which a hierarchical relationship between 'us', the self, and 'them', the other, can be built up through a specific typology, classification and differentiation of human beings. One phase of this is the anti-Irish Catholic context, the other consists of the racism that sees skin colour as the naturalised cultural heritage which animates the hierarchical human relations. While the former is confined to sectarian foundationalism, the latter is made to re-emerge according to the recent cosmopolitanisation of the football environment. With this structural view, I develop the perspective of the ways in which 'whiteness' is constructed as the internally linking quality of sectarianism and negotiated with other socially constructed differences. I look into the ways in which the ethical awareness of the fandom values 'race' in different ways.

Chapter 5

Genealogy of 'Fenian Bastard': Formation of Sectarian Racism

This chapter deals with a cultural history of a particularly powerful figuration of the significant part of sectarianisation of particular people, culture and the representation. It is a genealogical study of 'Fenian bastard'. The 'Fenian bastard' works as the marker of the hierarchical power relation between Celtic and Rangers, of their fans, of the players, of its imagery, and of their respective imaginary. 'Fenian bastard' is a type of name-calling, which is racialised as well as even nationalised according to the hatred, the despising or the attempt to belittle the object of the calling.

The sectarian ontology as a cultural predicament of public life in Glasgow is composed not only of the explicitly religiously defined belongings to Catholic and Protestant. There are also idioms complied with the specific historicity, such as 'Fenian', 'Tim' or 'Dan' and 'Blue Nose', 'Huns' or 'Billy'. Historicity is not only the trajectory of a particular name and its usage. This trajectory is installed into these names as the internal composure of what the names signify in the contemporary context. To be interpellated with those names means to be associated with more overtly political idioms like Republican, Nationalist, Loyalist or Unionist, which are interpreted as offensive or 'political' through the echo of an already encoded memory and trauma. In sectarian idioms, it is the form and pattern of repetition of the word 'Fenian', rather than 'Paddy', which has been merged into the categorically signified masculine 'Irish' race, that overwhelmingly appears in the imagery, constructed around Celtic. This militant

tone of 'Fenian', relegated to the idiom of insult when being combined with 'bastard', has to be addressed not only in the historical narrative of the war in Northern Ireland and its connection with Scotland, but also within the regimental structure of football discourses, images and body symbolism.

5.1 'Bad People with Bad Blood'

I was reminded of the casual conventionality of calling someone 'Fenian bastard' when my own first experience of Ibrox, the home ground of Rangers, led me to the concrete encounter with a narrative of racialisation of Celtic fandom. It was what Glaswegians call the 'Nea'day derby' of Rangers and Celtic on the 2nd of January 1997. The match itself ended with a realisation that everything I had known before was materialised as if someone forced me to accept all the stereotypes held in common with those who were familiar with the 'Old Firm'. There were fascination and excitement on the one hand, but bitterness and confusion on the other. It was at the very beginning of my fieldwork. For some reason, I was among the Rangers supporters on the Copland Street stand where most seats are pre-arranged for the season ticket holders¹. The fans of the both sides filling the stands were conducting the pre-match ritual as usual, flying the Union Jack on the one hand, flying the Irish tricolour on the other. I was, perhaps subconsciously, looking at the away stand where I saw a large Irish national flag covering one - third of the Celtic end. 'Don't look at them, they are bad people, have bad blood, bloody violent people', suddenly said the elder man next to me. A teenage boy accompanied him. I asked him, 'Why? Why you don't like that?' His answer was, 'Their history. I hate it. You can't be their friend'.

He seemed to me to be trying to speak easier Glaswegian patter in order for a foreigner to comprehend what he was saying. The most notable incident happened during the half time. We watched over one of the Celtic supporters, who was taking his seat in the very front row, throwing a cigarette to the pitch end. Until then the score was still nil-nil. For me, even though Rangers was the home side, the game had the typical tone of the Old Firm encounter. Celtic was always attacking powerfully but could not deliver a single goal. On the contrary, Rangers were patient enough to look for a good opportunity of counter attack, hoping that Celtic would loose their concentration. Both sides' fans had good reason to

express their frustration but no handy objects had yet been found. However, that tobacco throwing was enough, at least for the man next to me. He shouted to the opposite end, showing two fingers, and ran down to the groundside and talked to a steward. Five minutes later, the Celtic fan was taken away by three policemen.

This Rangers fan seemed to be satisfied with the result he saw, saying to me that 'we've got rid of one of the Fenians, ye' know?' 'You see, good thing you have to do, bad thing you shouldn't. His was a very bad behaviour, dangerous, ye' know. They use weapons like that'. By then, he had consumed more than a handful of cigarettes that were thrown down around our seats. 'I told them (stewards), then they took him (that Celtic fan) off', 'I knew him, he's one of the bastards'. That Celtic fan was, according to this man, always behaving badly, deliberately to destroy the game. That is why justice is on Rangers' side. Just before half time ended, the final keyword came out. 'They support IRA. Do you know that? Bloody Irish bastards'. A historically specific, socio-political and cultural name, such as Fenian, is de-contextualised so that all the once suppressed signifiers can be attached to this word. The vocabularies associated with this nominal such as 'terrorist', 'Mafia', or 'Provos' almost automatically become interchangeable with the fanatic Celtic supporters whether the signified are individuals or collectives.

The utterance of 'Fenian bastard' may activate, as Judith Butler notes, 'the sedimentation of its usage as they have become part of the very name, a sedimentation, a repetition that congeals, that gives the name its force'². When it is enunciated, race, nation and, as I will show later, gender are the most powerful categories through which each category is mutually articulated with the binary oppositional cosmology of self and other.

Undoubtedly, the negative inscription of the other in his statement penetrated into a deeper place than skin, namely, 'bad blood'. What matters is how the historicity of the 'Fenian bastard' is contextualised when this speech act was projected toward Celtic fans, individually or collectively, regardless of their ethnic, racial and national backgrounds. Frantz Fanon once observed that the narrative of a particular 'quality of otherness'³, which may be equivalent to the 'scheme' in Fanon's own words, becomes a constitutive force of the body by animating 'legends, stories, history and above all *historicity*'⁴. Therefore, I would like to look at the ways in which the narrativity of the specific word of naming is

articulated through their racialisation with history. The utterance of 'bad blood' indicates that the stereotype has its functional domain deep inside the body and beyond the simple field of vision of appearance and skin colour. Something that is approximate to what Fanon called the 'epidermalisation' is at work here not only on the skin but on the 'corporeality' of the body⁵. This is not to say that the body is understood as a whole, totalised object of racialisation. For an 'atmosphere of certain uncertainty' functions to compose the self as a body and simultaneously to crumble the corporeal self into its epidermalised, racialised taxonomic components⁶. Although the automatic equivalence cannot be established between anti-Irish Catholic racism, the racialisation of Celtic fan cultures and the racism against the non-white population, the categories of blacks, Irish, or Catholics may have a homology among them in that all the qualities of otherness they entail can become the means of defining the differences in public life in Scotland.

The dialectic relationship between the body, the self and the world is considered through the spatial and temporal condition of contemporary football. Football has to be counted as an important variance which makes the dichotomy of friend and enemy more active and inevitable. The location of the story of the 'bad blood Fenian' was inside a football stadium during the half time, when the play was suspended on the pitch. What is important is to discuss how the 'epidermalisation' can be appropriated into the field where the racialisation is not primarily carried out according to the differences of skin colour and its epidermalisation. Alternatively, the 'corporeality' Fanon observed on the black body may not be as established and, then, crumbled on the removed Celtic fan's body. The colour that matters is not the skin but the closed semantic system of the green of Celtic and the blue of Rangers. The effect of 'epidermalisation' could be observed not on the skin but on the top. The meaning of embodiment has to be different if this is the case. Anti-Irish Catholic racism and anti-non-white racism cannot be understood at the same level. It is primarily because it is impossible to find out a specific pattern of bodily action toward the Celtic end except singing 'anti-Catholic' songs. It is quite difficult to discover any specific physical movements that might be interpreted as anti-Celtic.

Nevertheless, the Rangers fan's sticking two fingers toward the 'people' having 'bad blood' indicates that the 'self' was constructed by sticking fingers and by the utterance of 'I hate their history'. It is no doubt that those speech acts have

shaped the authenticity of the other and created the 'qualities of otherness'. Here, the absolute singularity was denied and the realm of identification was created. It is the identification of and with the sectarian imaginary. Through this process, the scientific classifying power of raciology is led to the terrain of ambivalence in that at the level of epistemology as well as physicality the strict distinction between the self and the other is destabilised.

The Rangers fan tried to convince me that the 'bad blood' of Celtic fans ignited their violent, unacceptable behaviour which in the end forced the policing authority to intervene. That was the moment at which, by all accounts, the purely private matter of being a fan in a public sphere is denied by the physical force of the state. The removal of the Celtic fan was given an approving hurrah from many Rangers fans. Consequently, the stereotype they had been holding in their cognitive topology was reproduced and would be recycled. This is to say that stereotypes retain their signifying powers not at a psychological level but at the intersection of the public and the private through looking at the removed Celtic fan's body.

The game was a great disappointment. Celtic lost, completely, despite their very aggressive attacking and well-inspired combination of the two strikers up front - Paolo di Canio and Jorge Cadete. One of the best chances Celtic had to score was denied by a linesman; Cadete was judged 'off side', which was not the case, as was clear from the television video footage as well as from my own eyes. Again, the same story went on. The Celtic end started chanting 'he's a Mason , he's a Mason...'.

5.2 'Mason in Black': 'Conspiracy Theory' as Populist Defensive Discourse

The narrative of the 'Mason in black' must be understood in the context of the 'conspiracy theory' held in common by a part of Celtic supporters⁷. The reason why I take 'conspiracy theory' seriously is because it can work as the sub-narrative of racialisation of 'Fenian bastard'. The conspiracy theory held among Celtic fans insists that the Scottish establishment are under the constant pressure by the Orange Lodges, the Free Masonry and the Unionists and that they control and manoeuvre the game in favour of Rangers. The positions of the manipulator and the manipulated are clearly divided according to religion, ethnicities and politics.

The 'Masons' is in a way used as an equivalent term of 'Prods' and 'Protestants'. Referees are most vulnerable in the present discursive format of 'conspiracy theory' reinforced by some statistical data gatherings. Many penalty and off-side decisions are referred to as the Masonic plots. Among others, one account tells us that Celtic were not awarded a single penalty in their league fixtures for 55 games, nearly 18 months⁸. Another, more recent one says that Rangers did not see their players sent off for nearly 60 games since Billy Thompson was ordered off in May 7th of 1995 while over 80 red cards were shown to other premier division clubs⁹. In the first 9 games of the 1996-7 season, Celtic had 11 yellow cards and 5 red cards given to the players, including three against Rangers, while Rangers were shown 18 yellows and only one red¹⁰.

Collective reaction of the crowd towards referees contributes to accumulating the narrative on 'conspiracy theory' among Celtic fans' narratives on Scotland, Scottish football and Scottish society. I would like to suggest that the 'conspiracy theory' and the self-recognition of 'paranoia' work as discourse in the sense that those who enunciate what can be regarded as 'conspiracy' or 'paranoia' place their own ritual of speech act in the context in which the identity of the enunciating agency is created through that act itself. When considered as a discourse, the 'conspiracy theory' itself can be regarded as a way in which a specific mode of belonging to Celtic is reproduced not as an achieved, accomplished identification but as unstable negotiation over the belonging itself.

Conspiracy theory spread among Celtic fans can be examined as their non-confidence in the power structure of Scottish football and the social conditions, which are entirely based on accumulated bad memory against them and against Irish populations in Scotland. Here, the collective identity of Celtic fans and Irish-Catholics is made correspondent by their own perception of conspiracy. The point is that it is the populist strategy of discontent with the relatively selective, and at times open, concentrations of power, which exists, though the 'conspiracy' itself may not. One of the most eminent targets of this strategy would be the ideological effect of culturalist discourses that obscure economic, political and social antagonism among various social forces and totalise them to a cultural entity. Regardless to its reality of social and economic connections among the elite groups, it is important that many Celtic fans believe in, and express their views on, the disadvantage, unfairness and power relations. The conspiracy theory

‘substitutes the populist discourse of an antagonism between the people and powerful elite for the analysis of specific structures of power and the processes of struggle’¹¹.

This is a reaction to the power, but also mimicry of the power as well. For those positions that are fallen into the category of the victim of the conspiracy are reversible because the ‘conspiracy theory’ itself was originally applied to the Irish Catholic migrant population, or to the ‘Fenians’, by the Protestant Scots. For the present purpose of the chapter, I would rather suggest to look briefly at this ‘original’ form of conspiracy theory to understand a part of the process and practice of the formation of the imagery of ‘Fenian bastard’. Mass immigration from Ireland and their growing presence in Scottish society was interpreted as a ‘conspiracy’ eventually for the benefit of the Popery against the Queen and the country. This view says that Roman Catholic churches, the Irish Nationalists and even the unofficial trade unionists manipulated their faithful for the purpose of the expansion of their power. This ‘conspiracy theory’ reinforced a public belief in the unpredictable, dangerous and threatening image of the imagery of the Irish Catholics as ‘Fenians’. Though the racialisation of Celtic fandom did not take the same formulation as the racialisation of Irish Catholic, it is certainly possible to look to their repetitive homology. Moreover, the clear cutting of ‘friend’ and ‘enemy’ and the direct confrontation between the players’ bodies on the football pitch provided a suitable space and time to allocate a variety of socio-cultural elements to the binary lattices. Given this, the homology of anti-Celtic cultures and anti-Irish Catholicism was created.

The narrative construction by the man next to me at Ibrox can be understood from the angle of the ‘original’ conspiracy theory. For him, Celtic, the fan, Fenian, the Irish and the IRA are actually almost interchangeable elements in a single chain of meaning. Those elements can be signified with a single meaning, that is, the dangerous enemy. Although he might have invested his pleasure in successfully getting rid of the potential figure of terror, his action began with a terrorising insult of ‘Fenian bastard’.

Interestingly, through the conversation, he never used the word Catholic. I am not suggesting that his action was something overtly sectarian and racist. Instead, his might be appreciated as good behaviour in terms of the safety of the stadium because of his letting the steward know about the potentially dangerous behaviour

of throwing a cigarette onto the pitch. Nevertheless, his entire action and speech act appear to be determined by the pre-existing scheme of human classification that is not necessarily constructed by purely football contexts but activated by the racialisation of someone with 'bad blood'.

5.3 Racial Inscription in the Early History of Celtic

In origin, the name of 'Fenian' is the popularised name of the 'Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB)' which was an Eighteenth century Irish nationalist organisation whose membership was composed of both Catholics and Protestants. The historical connection between the Fenians and Celtic is found in the legend of Michael Davitt, a leading member of the IRB. It is said that Davitt laid the first turf around the centre circle in the original Celtic Park and recited a verse containing lyrics that 'on alien soil like yourself I am here' and 'you'll find me as hardy as Thistle and Rose'¹².

Being expected to co-habit with the Scottish symbol and the English symbol, the position of Celtic was not separatism but assimilationism. Assimilation was rather an urgent task. For, the late Nineteenth century was also the era when the Irish became recognized as a 'race' in relation to the civilised coloniser, the English. The Irish were signified by and represented with negative connotations, like drunk, dirty, criminal, conspiracy, and the most significant element, violence¹³. The invention of 'Paddy', 'Pat', 'Mick' or 'Mickey' has since been used to 'mean a temper tantrum'¹⁴. Having extensively surveyed the Victorian public discourses on urban degeneration, Daniel Pick pointed out that in the late Nineteenth century and the early Twentieth century the supposed racial propensities of the Irish, and, in particular, their putative innate criminality, was used to explain the Fenian activity¹⁵. 'Drunken Paddy' 'could build a club as good as anyone'.¹⁶

It was the same period as modern, organised sports became an effective field to produce a sense of national belonging. Sporting ability and strength were understood as an evidence of racial differences and racial characters. In a way, 'race' was produced through sports. Alternatively, a particular racial difference was obtained through the ways in which sports were played and expected to be played. The GAA's official annual report once declared that

...the Irish Celt is distinguished among the races, for height and strength, manly vigour and womanly grace...despite wars, and domestic disabilities, the stamina of the race has survived almost its pristine perfection¹⁷.

Here, what would have been a fearful other to Scottish racial purity appeared to establish itself as the purified nature of the Irish race. The quoted description attempts to defend the distinctiveness of the Irish as a race free from the racial contamination. The category of 'race' becomes transcendent. However, the emphasis on this gendered quest for purity is put on physical strength rather than intellectual or aesthetic aspects. Moreover, this quotation admitted that the Irish race was engaged with 'domestic disabilities'. Apart from the fact that this statement was published as sport writing, the self-affirmation of the gendered and, above all, physical toughness seems to mirror the racist discourses discussed through this chapter. Their symmetrical descriptions seem sharply contrasted.

The idea of the pure Celt is shaped up exactly in reference to the athletic capability and the associated morality and ethics¹⁸. The masculine racial body of the Celt could find itself expected to discover its racial identity through the relatively newly invented, readily organised style of sports. This means that the supposedly fundamental, ancient classification of human being, 'race', was made possible by the modern, organised and increasingly regimented structure of body regulation.

This (re)-invention of 'race', however, was not entirely a monopolistic enterprise of the under-achieved nationalist movements in the late Nineteenth century and the early Twentieth century. In addition to Celtic, Hibernian and Harp in Dundee were based on the Catholic Young Men's Society, Catholic equivalent of the YMCA, and took part in the Catholic anti-alcohol campaign. Although the significance of sporting activities was well acknowledged through education, military regiments and the related imperial institutions,¹⁹ Catholicism was made to the negative reference of the ideal muscular Christianity, or 'manly religion'. When William Alexander Smith formed one of the first Protestant based boy's organisation, the Boys Brigade, in Glasgow in the early 1880s, his movement had to be differentiated from the 'effeminate, morbidly introspective and antipathetic kind of religion'²⁰. While the adaptation to Scottish life was encouraged, Brother Walfred had to be prepared for 'a counter to the threat to the Catholic children's faith from Scottish Presbyterian missions'²¹. Although the general direction

towards the re-establishment of masculinity was shared both by the Catholic side and Protestant side, their objectives of educating the youth and creating manliness were looking at different particularities.

The athletic appeal of those Catholic-based sport institutions was aimed more directly toward the welfare of the Catholics than Nationalist politics. This ideological and practical athleticism among the Irish Catholic associations can be also understood as their response to the discourses of degeneration. It was not entirely by accident that one of the founder of Celtic was a physician whose main activity was to see the people working in textile and leather factories in the east end.

Athleticism is partly required by the demand of industrial capital for the good quality of the labour force. The successful establishment of Celtic actually meant that they could 'set-up and run a football club as a commercial proposition as good as the best of them'²². This quotation points out that the foundation of Celtic could be regarded as a commercial enterprise that was supposed to compete with other Irish immigrant institutions in Scotland, such as Hibs, rather than as a bridging effort to assimilate the immigrants to Scottish society. Therefore, it was an urgent task to recruit experienced players, regardless of their religious and ethnic backgrounds, from the existing clubs by treating them as professionals when professionalism was still exceptional because of the strong belief in amateurism widely spread among the Scottish football institutions²³. It should have also been clear by now that, by the effort of assimilation, the early success on the pitch, the financial stability and anti-degeneracy athleticism, Celtic proved that the 'Drunken Paddy could build a club as good as anyone'.²⁴

Although the success of Celtic was achieved with the different objectives from the more nationalistic growth of Gaelic games, both enabled the working class people access to a mythology of the Celtic past in the racial sense and to constitute themselves as a nation different from others. The social condition of this move can be explained as 'modern' in Marshal Berman's sense. For the immigrant Irish, the shift to the modern industrial metropolis was a compound experience²⁵. With the gradual bringing into existence of their national and racial self-consciousness, they had to experience their ordinary life in material circumstances which were opposed to their nationalised geopolitical attachment.

Here, Celtic was expected, like Gaelic sports, to preserve their political cultural distinctiveness.

It seems by now that the cultures, imagery and the imaginary concerning Celtic were different from those around the ethnically nationalised 'Irish' elements. The imagery around Celtic is not a direct import from Ireland. It is above all a cultural form of 'transnational dissemination'²⁶ compounded with a modernised sport identity. 'Fenian bastard' has to be considered in this matrix.

5.4 Recycled Racial Stereotypes

In order to examine the historicity of 'Fenian bastard', I look into one of the most frequently appearing 'racialised' visual images of the relationship between Celtic and Rangers. In this image, both clubs and the players are packed in the frame of the respective racial stereotypes. It is a cartoon often introduced with the caption, 'Apes and Aryans' appearing in the *Scottish Referee* of February 3 1905 (See Picture 1). This sports magazine was launched on a weekly basis on November 5 1888, the same year when Celtic hosted their first game. I would like to examine the ways in which this cartoon was frequently quoted in the present in different publications by different authors as if it was time-warped throughout almost a century.

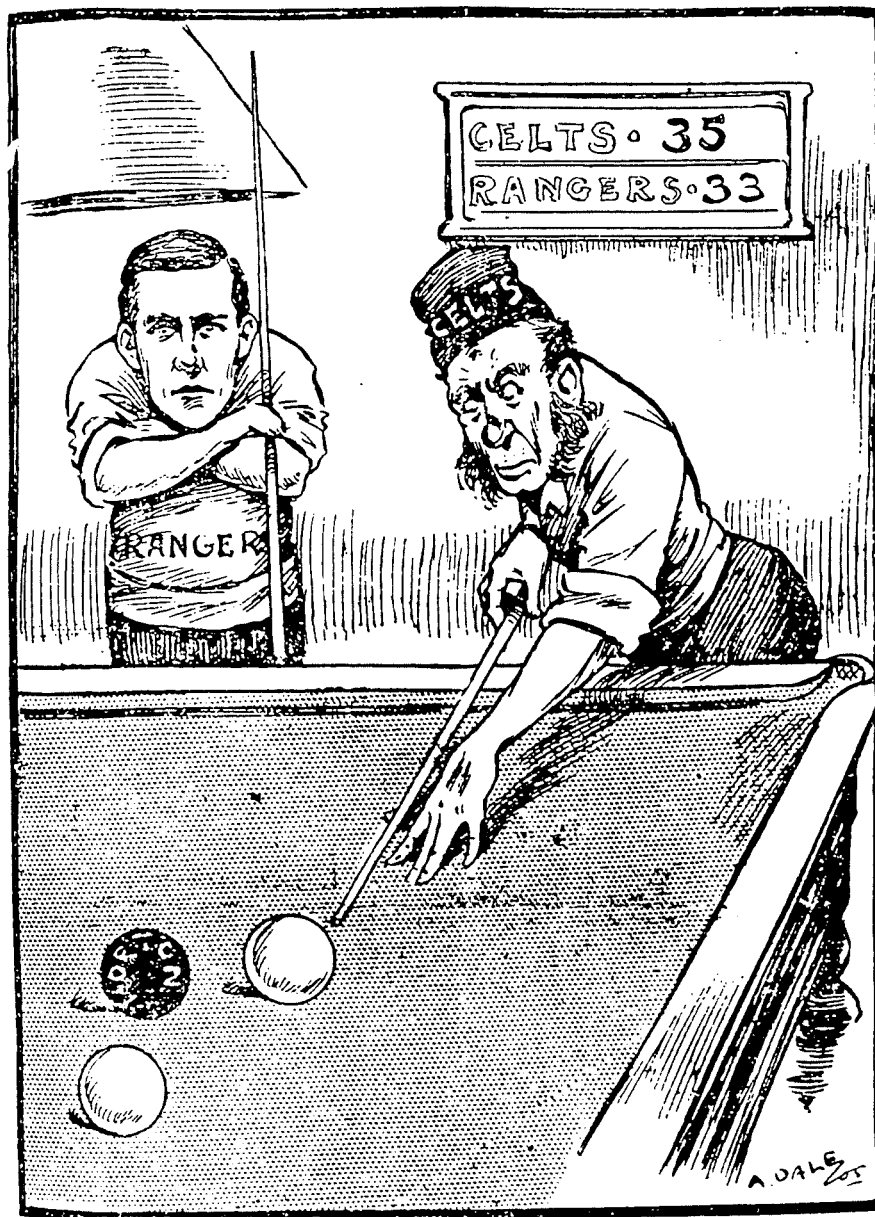
At first glance, the cartoon entitled 'THE LEAGUE CHAMPIONSHIP' personified both Celtic and Rangers players who are playing a game of pool together. It is a picture in which two, different visualised masculinities appear and co-exist in the same frame. The Rangers player, wearing a jersey printed 'RANGERS' and standing with the stick, is watching the Celtic player ready to start to play. This Celtic player has a hat on his head printed 'CELTS' and wearing a beard of side-whiskers. The contrast between them is found in the description of their faces. As the caption Apes and Aryans may indicate, the Celtic player is portrayed as a half-human, with an ape-like ugliness, while the Rangers player is a white western male with well-trimmed hair.

There are three recent publications concerning the Old Firm, which are taking lines to comment on this picture. They are Bill Murray in his *The Old Firm. Sectarianism, Sport and Society in Scotland* in 1984, Joe Bradley in his article "Sport and the Contestation of Cultural and Ethnic Identities in Scottish Society"

in 1998, and issue 2 of the Celtic fanzine *Not The View* in 1987, which in turn quotes the cartoon from the *Irish Post* of August 22 1987. All three authors tried to trace the racism, prejudice and discrimination against the Irish Catholic populations in Scotland especially in sports circumstances. However, apart from a commonly shared knowledge that anti-Irish racism once caricatured the Irish as apes, the narrativities of their explanations are slightly different from each other.

[Picture 1]

THE LEAGUE CHAMPIONSHIP.



Scottish Referee, 3 February 1905

Murray explained that the ‘cartoons depicted the Celtic player with the dumb look of a creature emerging from a peat bog, while the Rangers equivalent had the noble stature and intelligent eyes of the Aryan’²⁷. He suggested a possible appropriation of the image of the cartoon, especially the caricatured features of Celtic, as humour. Throughout his book, interestingly, the sentence quoted above is the only time he mentions racial description of the representations of the two clubs and the cultures. Murray seems to have made an attempt to neutralise the rivalry of two clubs and its social and cultural impact with a view to reconstructing good and proud Scottish football cultures. If, for Murray, there was a bias against Celtic, then Rangers also suffered from certain accusations and prejudices. While he admits that the history of Scottish football and society was full of anti-Irish racist images, languages and practices, there was also a great deal of cause for that reactionary history, because of ‘the religion of the Celtic club’. Murray notes;

It would be a tiresome and profitless task to list every accusation of bias and try to assess its justification or otherwise. Every club has bad luck with referees on occasion, and every now and then bias might play its part, but on the whole the breaks work themselves out. This is not to deny a more subtle bias which is marked by an assumption of superiority and hence righteousness²⁸.

However, he has not pursued further the investigation of how the ‘bias’ still works to whatever extent it does in Scottish football. Instead, as he replaces the Celtic and Rangers combination for the Catholics and Protestants one, his expectation that the traditional bigotry between Catholics and Protestants will disappear has been justified by saying that ‘they need not even like each other, but the basis of their disagreements might at least be more rational’²⁹. Despite his repeated remarks and notes that sectarian hatred between the two clubs’ environments would diminish, his narrative proceeds as if the Celtic and Rangers rivalry is a synonym of the Catholic and Protestant religious symmetry. As regards anti-Celtic racism, Murray stated that ‘they are securely enough established to purge themselves of the worst elements of their past’³⁰. In conclusion, for Murray the caricature of the Celtic player as an ape is the story of the past or, at worst, ‘humour’³¹.

5.5 Humour, Jokes and Laughter: Re-inscription of the Peculiarity of Being a Catholic in Scotland

To make the past de-historicised and to evacuate its density by making it merely a joke or the object of laughter is not an unusual strategy that may generate the prospect of a different direction from the severe confrontation with sectarian hegemony. Therefore, among other carnivalesque cultures, jokes, laughter and transgression characterise the fandom's relative autonomy. When caricaturing a specific figure or phenomenon is applied to both imagery of the Old Firm, Murray's assertion of detoxifying the sectarian seriousness by 'humour' appears to work to reassure the relative autonomy of the fandom. For example, as soon as Donald Findlay's resignation was reported, some papers informed readers of an irony that Findlay's real birthday was St. Patrick Day despite his previous announcement of the official birthday as the twelfth of July. His birthday and himself having two birthdays became a joke. In addition, a Glasgow construction company owner told a *Daily Record* reporter Annie Brown that his company was called 'H & T', literally 'Hun & Tim'. It was so named because his business partner was a Protestant and that he expected the name to make fun of the sectarian issues, which, he said, 'is the only way to deal with it'³². Jokes and laughter seem to pervert or at least dislocate the existing social order in which sectarianism is inscribed. Numerous numbers of jokes about the Old Firm are produced and even collected in a book³³. Most fanzines are the main medium through which xenophobic, racist and, most notably, homophobic expressions are considered as acceptable primarily because they are jokes and because the football culture's *raison d'être* has been to behave 'against the enemy' however politically incorrect³⁴. If the coherence of modern politics lies in a division between friend and enemy, then the 'against-the-enemy' mentality, whatever form it takes, may not have to be blamed especially when it is expressed in the style of joking. It is ironic that the view of this kind has to be strictly endorsed by the recognition that the line between the football public sphere and its outside must not be transgressed, because the most effective power of joking seems to lie in the mutual acceptance of the temporal transgression of the existing social boundaries, which to a certain extent have to be shared by both the object and subject of that joke.

However, the repeated excusing phrase, 'merely a joke', does not always deserve its nominalist evaluation. Scotland coach Craig Brown once recalled his career at Rangers saying that 'I immediately established myself as third-choice left-half. The guys ahead of me were an amputee and a Catholic'³⁵. This is interesting not because he seems to have revealed that there was a Catholic player at Rangers in the 1970s, but because for Brown who reportedly said the quotation, being a Catholic was something extraordinary, exceptional and something to become an issue. It does not matter whether or not this player was really Catholic. The joke is articulated through Brown's enunciation with the minorisation of being Catholic. The social ontology in which being called Catholic is considered as conspicuous clearly indicates the reproducing process of the minority-majority configuration. By the same token, Murray described ex-Celtic striker Pierre van Hooijdonk as 'Dutch Catholic'³⁶.

Murray may have attempted to note that there were few Catholics among the Dutch nationalities, or to indicate that van Hooijdonk, if he was a Catholic, would not have been so uncomfortable that he requested his transfer from the Catholic club Celtic. It seems that for Murray being Catholic was something outside the authenticity of Scottish soil. Religious differences are made to be rooted in Scottish cultures, and treated as foundations of the difference of club belonging. Through jokes and laughter, foundational thinking maintains its operational sphere.

5.6 Celtic as a Collective Representation of Otherness

While Murray refrains from pursuing the critical investigation into racism and racialisation in contemporary Scottish football, Bradley more straightforwardly accuses Scottish society of its on-going antagonism towards the Irish-Scottish populations. Bradley states that among 'many different strands and dimensions over both time and place' of 'anti-Catholic culture', its 'racial aspect' was added to 'traditional antagonism' during the Nineteenth century³⁷. His interpretation of the cartoon is that the Celtic player is portrayed as "'typically" Irish, dumb with grotesque and brutish facial features' while 'the Rangers player was handsome and with intelligent looking eyes'³⁸. Such genetic factors are, Bradley argues, no longer common elements of racial stereotypes in recent decades in comparison

with the late Nineteenth century stereotypes. What has not changed, however, is that the 'form and content constantly identify the minority as both the "problem" and the originators of the "problem"'³⁹. It is worth noting that Bradley briefly points out the shift of racist discourse from genetic factors to socio-cultural ones. His view of this shift is that because of the emphasis on ethnic and religious differentiation in Scotland, 'many of social and political attributes of Catholic and Irish identity are judged through a discourse of sectarian concepts and languages'⁴⁰. Due to the centrality of sectarianism penetrated through social boundaries in Scotland, along Celtic, Catholic churches, Catholic schools, Irish symbols and the support for the Irish national football team, and the sympathy with the political quest for a united Ireland, are all seen as sectarian. Consequently, the cause of sectarianism is attributed to the existence of Irish Catholic immigrants⁴¹.

When the cartoon appeared in *NTV*, the fanzine just added a short comment to the picture, saying that this is 'racism'⁴². It contained exactly the same words as Murray wrote; the Celtic player as a 'dumb bogman' and the Rangers player as 'handsome with intelligent eyes'. Although it is impossible to fully comprehend the story behind inserting the picture, it is worth bearing in mind that the popular, grass-roots, and counter-mainstream discourse is completely aware of the actuality of making this kind of image in public. The de-humanised iconography of the Celts has been manufactured as 'sub-human', or 'below-human', in the range from chimpanzees and Frankenstein to dangerous anarchic bombers which have since been associated with the discourses on the Irish Republican Army.

In the late Nineteenth century, the word, 'white Negro', was invented by means of the combined race thinking lined with colonial sciences and literature. The Irish Celts and the Negro were placed on the same horizon in terms of their inferiority. However, another axis of differentiation was soon introduced when the Irish was described as 'human, white chimpanzees'⁴³. Then, came a series of bombings in England and attacks on police stations in Ireland by the Fenians. Finally, the idea of 'Fenian' was proliferated with the help of the existing racial stereotypes which were endowed with darker, less white skin, de-humanised figures between human and ape and emotional explosions between rational and irrational. The figure of the 'bog man' Celtic player clearly resonates with this 'white Negro' Fenian imagery. In this visual representation, conspiracy and violent masculinity are set

in one as the coherence of otherness that differentiates and determines the hegemonic imagery of Anglo-Saxon Aryan.

5.7 'Huns' the Enemy: the National Ambivalence of 'Fenian'

Fenian is supposed to be foreign and alien not only to the Scottish imaginary but also to the broader British imagination of the self. However, this externality of Fenian is by no means entirely applicable to what Celtic represent. It is in the field of idioms concerning the Old Firm rivalry where the mutually twisting patterns of the racial and national connotations of the other can be observed. This dislocation and articulation becomes clear particularly when 'Huns', among others, frequently appears as the title of the counter-part of Celtic fans' cultural idioms.

In various fanzine cartoons and caricatures, 'Huns' are drawn as physically powerful and red haired vandals, intruders and destroyers, all of which denotes monstrous images of Rangers players. They are often described as the de-humanised shape of face and body as if they are as bad as the evilness of the memory of the Nazi, which celebrated the Germanic, Aryan physical appearance. The physical characters are long-jaw, sunken eyes, large mouth with big teeth, and hooknose. Graeme Souness's hard man image as a player and his uncompromising relationship with the players as a manager is treated in a series of cartoons entitled 'The Huns' which have appeared in the NTV's early issues⁴⁴. The gloomy and unfashionable image of Walter Smith made him an iconic figure of depressing darkness⁴⁵. Ally McCoist, Duncan Ferguson, Ian Durrant, Gordon Durie, Andy Goram and Paul Gascoigne are rather comical targets especially when gossip about their private and 'off-the-pitch' lives appears in the tabloids⁴⁶. Their images are destructive, foolish and childish. They are coincided with the savage, rough and brutal 'Huns'. What underlies such an image construction is, as opposed to the 'handsome Aryan', the 'grotesque body'.

By way of the invaders to the Roman Empire, then King William and his Dutch Protestant Orange military, the negative inscription of those Rangers characters equates with the negative reference to the Germans as menacing, threatening and disastrous, which was created in particular between the World Wars⁴⁷. Jorg Al bertz's German nationality, his physical commitment to the game, particularly decisive tackling in midfield, and above all his good scoring record

against Celtic made him one of the favourites among Celtic fans' imaginal characters of the villain. Meanwhile the former East German international Andreas Thom of Celtic is regarded as a skillful, soft-touch play-making midfielder⁴⁸. The record and the impression of the player on the pitch is transformed into a double-faced 'Hun' in the sense that the 'Hun' is somebody to detest and despise but at the same time to be regarded as a strong menace with physical ability.

In contrast to the Fenian's apparently clear linkage with Irish nationalism, the application of 'Huns' by the Celtic side seems more problematic in terms of the instability of the archetype of the race and nation couplet. No other national and racial connotations seem to be applied to the 'Fenian' but Irish. No other national and racial connotation seems to apply this name to the Irish but the 'British', let alone the Irish themselves. Then, the question is, in terms of race and nationality, on what grounds do Celtic fans call their enemy 'Huns'.

It is to be remembered that 'Huns' have been used within the contexts of the Anglo-German political and colonial rivalry particularly around the period of the First World War. Its strongest usage is observed in such extreme right wingers, nationalist, imperialist, anti-Semitic and homophobic political discourses as 'Hinder the Huns. Paralyse Profiteers. Purify Politics. Win the War'⁴⁹. The historical memory of the war is also animated when the banner with such captions as 'the Somme' or 'Dunkirk Spirit' appear and 'No Surrender' is shouted by no one else but Rangers fans. Through the repeated use of the 'Hun', the fascism under the Third Reich made it possible for anti-German strictures in Britain to associate the 'Huns' with the Nazis and Hitlerism. This is possibly based on British patriotism's ambivalence about the Germans because against the non Aryan-Teutonic races such as the Jews or the Celts, the Anglo-Saxon can share a kinship rapport with the Germans. The small scale but strong British fascist movements represented one of the vectors of this ambivalence.⁵⁰

The other vector might make it possible for British patriotism to 'de-Aryanise' the Germans so that the Nazified German could become vandal barbarians. The Aryan race might have been re-defined without the 'Huns'. The popular imagination in Celtic fandom has no time to waste to appropriate those terms to make up their enemy. The international football rivalry between England and Germany is paraphrased to the situation of the wars in that football seems to

support this imagined, ambivalent enemy making. In particular, the patriotism spread among the English media in the case of the defeat of the English team may strengthen this imagery⁵¹. Thus, signifying the ‘Huns’ as the enemy of Celtic is not the consequence of the Irish imaginary but of the English as well as the British one. Therefore, it is possible to assume that Celtic fandom entails the imaginary of their colonial ‘enemy’⁵².

For the Rangers side, this is a subversion of their Unionist ideology. For them, ‘Fenian’ must be excluded from their British imaginary. However, it is those who are supposed to be ‘Fenian’ who in turn signify Rangers players and the fans with the already excluded racialised nation from the British Empire, namely the Germans. It is not simply a semiotic sliding of meaning. The usage of the anti-German, pro-British and xenophobic term by Celtic fandom may indicate the complex nature of the sense of national belonging in Celtic cultures. As far as the words like ‘Gers’ and ‘Huns’ are called up in order to imagine the enemy, Celtic imaginary becomes partly contrived to Britishness. In this respect, the association of Celtic fandom with the racialised Irish does not entirely correspond to the national imagination of the Irish as a whole. While the interpellation of ‘Fenian’, whether it is made by themselves or by their Rangers counter part, envisages its ideological effect as making a coherent essence of Celtic fandom, its own process of identification at the level of racial and national vocabulary appears internally pulled apart. If the blood of Fenian was sacrificed in fighting against the national enemy of British Empire, the ‘Billy Boys’ might not have been up to their knees in the Fenian blood⁵³. Otherwise, the underlining similarity of fascistic purification of blood and belonging between Nazism and Loyalism would have inhibited mixing up with alien blood. This potential transformation of Fenian from enemy to ally could happen because ‘interpellation’ simultaneously occurs at two edges. As Donna Haraway notes,

‘interpellation’ is double-edged in its potent capacity to hail subjects into existence. Subjects in a discourse can and do refigure its terms, contents, and reach. In the end, it is those who mis/recognise themselves in discourse who thereby acquire the power, and responsibility, to shape that discourse⁵⁴.

When it is ‘interpellation’ for one, it may be ‘interruption’ for the other. The appropriation of anti-Germanic nationalism by the Celtic fandom seems to seize this discursive strategy especially when anti-racist rhetoric is reinforced by anti-

Nazi and anti-fascism symbols and signs⁵⁵. Celtic is involved in the imaginary of British anti-German fascism when the 'Hun' is uttered in Celtic fandom.

The paradox is that the more uncompromisingly the emotional tie is created among the Celtic fans by calling the enemy the 'Hun', this identification with Celtic is only made possible in an unsayable way by identifying with the original enemy of the Irish imagery because they are called, at the same time, the 'Fenian bastard'. Celtic imaginary achieved the identification at the most striking point of ambivalence. Wearing the Hoops with the shamrock emblem, singing anti-British 'rebel songs' and flying the Irish national symbol, the moment they uttered their worst enemy as 'Huns' they undertake the British and English imaginary. It can be a form of resistance not by direct-encounter but by the taking over of the place of the more powerful position. Consequently, within the Celtic imaginary, there are plural national imaginations rather than a single national imagination of Irish.

5.8 'You'll Never Walk Alone': Racialised Sentimentalism in Football

The Nineteenth century discourses also saw the Irish 'race' as having the feminine, sentimental nature that is to be protected from the unruly masculine side of the same 'Celts'⁵⁶. The lack of 'self-help' ethos renders unruliness and obedience to co-exist in one reified racialised representation. While there is the emotional vulnerability, weakness and sentimentality of the Celts, this feminine aspect, then, can quickly reciprocate again the masculine 'Paddy' image⁵⁷. However, the emotional sentimentality of the Celts is hardly observed in the anti-Celtic imagination of the Old Firm cosmology. Instead, as far as football discourse is concerned, those 'Celt' images can be discovered being reproduced but in the rather unexpected context outside Glasgow, that is, in the Merseyside after the Hillsborough tragedy in April 1989. Tony Walter's curious analysis of mourning rituals displayed by Liverpool FC supporters and the media reaction to them suggests that the 'Celts' are still resurrected in public discourses around football cultures⁵⁸. The interpretation Walter attached to one of the national Sunday papers headline 'Liverpool "World Capital of Self-Pity"' can be summarised as the two sides of the same 'white UK cultures'. One is 'an English reserve', and another 'a Celtic expressiveness'. According to Walter, the

Liverpudlians are positioned as an analogue with the 'Celts' because of their 'sentimentality' expressed through the mourning rituals.

Obviously, Liverpool fans' public, communal and even private expression of grief for the dead is interpreted along the narrative of 'law and order' about 'football hooligans', which might signify them as nothing but football fans, the crowd. This combination, according to Walter, enshrines the English interpretation of the Celts as 'dangerously unpredictable, hence the stereotype of Liverpudlian football supporters as always liable to get into trouble'⁵⁹. As for the aftermath of the Hillsborough incident, Walter concluded that the media reaction to the expression of grief and mourning was motivated by the 'death taboo' in the English psyche. Though Walter did not seem to realise the implication, Celtic FC was involved in a series of narratives of the 'sentimentality' found in his word with regards to the incident. Thanks to Kenny Dalglish's popularity both in Glasgow and in Liverpool, Celtic offered the first charity match for the Hillsborough victims and their families. Both clubs played in Celtic Park on April 30th 1989. One cultural symbolism is found in that one of the Liverpool supporters favourite anthems, the Pacemakers' 1963 song "You'll Never Walk Alone" has been inherited by Celtic supporters since then. The song, which was heard through Liverpool churches, Catholic and Protestant, when the communal funerals for the victims were held, is now heard from the stadium speakers and sung by the supporters before every home match at Celtic Park. The bond among football fans of this kind is one of the bases on which football subcultures such as fanzines depend for the uniquely expressive sub-cultural desire.

The 'sentimental' bond of Liverpool and Celtic may draw our attention to two specific characters of contemporary football cultures. Firstly, the inheritance of "You'll Never Walk Alone" may indicate that there are cultural diffusions and syncretism in the racially homogenised cultural terrain. While the sentimentality may be commonly assumed as 'Celtic' in racial contexts, the song was itself originally taken from black gospel music⁶⁰. Although the trans-racial, trans-national inscription of the song has been rarely mentioned, it has become clear that in the discourse of racialisation the form of cultural expression designated by one racialised category is appropriated to indicate another racial character which is frequently described as the antithesis to the former category⁶¹.

Secondly, however anti-hegemonic and self-expressive it is, the quest for a 'beautiful game' cannot avoid the strong aspiration for masculinity. It has been either eliminating femininity or only giving it negativity which is supposed to supplement the 'man's game'. The emphasis on the 'sentimentality' of Liverpool fans and its infusion to Celtic cultures can be understood along this line. While the Celtic and Rangers relationship is no exception in the sense that the cosmology they create is always-already gendered as masculine, Celtic is signified as less masculine partly because of their match record in the decade. Furthermore, in terms of the gendered national category, as Curtis mentioned, Ireland was, along with Italy, categorised as one of the 'female countries' in the late Nineteenth century in that they had 'no capacity for self-government'⁶². Anti-Catholicism may be an important element of this classification. Therefore, it seems vital to see how the religious dichotomy is compounded with such social and cultural boundaries as gender. The focus on gender may lead to a new axis in which Catholic Celts and Protestant Anglo-Saxons are mutually counter-posed.

5.9 Variants of Masculine Body, Discovery of Interiority and Modern Sports

Focussing on gender is not restricted in the feminine and masculine dichotomy. There can also be many, different typifications of masculinities active in the imagery of the Celtic and Rangers rivalry and that those masculinities are inevitably articulated with a certain typology of 'race'. The oppositional coding of the differently racialised body image can be interpreted in line with the distinction between Peter Stallybrass and Allon White termed as 'classical body' and 'grotesque body'⁶³. The former is inscribed in the Rangers player and can be recognised as disciplined, militarised and sporting a healthy body that mirrors the hegemonic, more dominant form of masculinity. It is in a sense the normalised, therefore, taken-for-granted figure of an individual. On the other hand, there can be more vulgar, plebeian, vernacular and 'grotesque' forms of masculinity that may be represented by the Celtic player. It is a deviant, subversive version of excessive masculine power. What is remarkable about this type is the release of energy rather than the regulating mastery that is characteristic of the 'classical body'. Based on this Bahktinian dichotomy, the task at the moment is to see how the oppositional coding is so powerfully influential that even contemporary

discourses inherit the preferred mode of decoding which seems to have been employed when the original cartoon appeared nearly one hundred years ago.

In contrast, there are the ways in which a physiological description of particular objects of knowledge are positively 'racialised'. Otherwise, writers like Murray could not have described the Rangers player's face as 'handsome with intelligent eye'. This is in fact the problem of the present narrative of the past rather than the problem of epistemology around the turn of the century. The ways in which the cartoon is interpreted and made sense of must be configured to a certain formulation of public knowledge, by which common sense is presumed to be applicable to the apparently familiar visuality of the objects.

Instead of watching his playing partner, the Rangers player's gaze goes straight into the eyes of readers of the cartoon. In contrast, the Celtic player is staring at one of the balls on the pool table and bending his head. He is thinking of something which the readers cannot exactly grasp other than how to beat a ball. However, no one knows how the beaten ball would affect other balls. The unpredictable 'Fenian' comes up with his 'putative innate criminality' while the straight gaze of the other side is signified as something which the reader can understand what he is doing as well as what he is thinking of.

The discovery of such ethical and moral interiority as the trustworthiness of his straight gaze was itself made only possible in relation to the pathological approach to personhood. The reflection on personhood itself, in turn, needs to be carried out according to the genealogical quest for normality by way of 'a concern with types of conduct, thought, expression deemed troublesome or dangerous'⁶⁴. In this sense, the way the action and the figure of the Celtic player signifies makes the Aryan 'intelligent eyes' meaningful to at least those who are willing to interpret it as 'handsome'. The cartoon's discourse of representation eloquently shows that seeking for an authenticity of essential, monolithic, transcendent and therefore unchangeable 'classical statue' is an impossible exploration⁶⁵.

However, the masculine representation of the 'bog man' does not make the distinction between the 'classical body' and the 'grotesque body' automatically correspond to the hierarchical positionings of high and low. Apart from the normative contrast between Celtic's backwardness and Rangers' civilisation, the score board behind them is showing that Celtic is winning 35 to 33. In this respect, the totalisation of inferiority and superiority fails to create a whole, fixed

scheme of perception of the two 'races'. Celtic might be able to overcome their racially superior race in the pool game. Though the balance taking of this kind shown in the score board does not reverse their racial imagery of inferior Celtic and the superior Rangers, it may be proved that the Bahktinian typology of masculine embodiment is, in effect, not entirely confined within the rigid binary oppositional coding. The score board could be interpreted as the evidence that each type of masculinity contains other sub-categories of the hegemonic and the 'subaltern', which could be mutually articulated by surpassing the power of the 'classical/grotesque' dichotomy. It is through the cross-cutting interplay that the 'classical/grotesque' distinction is articulated with the hegemonic/subaltern difference. Therefore, it seems possible to confirm that, if any in part, the construction of the discursivity of football depends on the difference between winner and loser regardless of 'races'. The danger of this 'footballisation' of social boundaries is masked by the neutrality of sport. It is true that the reversibility of the score represents the ambivalence of the sporting public sphere and this may be the very nature of sport as a space of working class expression and of political contestation⁶⁶. Furthermore, it would be undeniable that the claim for a game beyond racial differences would have a powerful impact on working class politics in terms of class solidarity and industrial competence.

5.10 Conclusion: Class, Masculinity and the Unstable Whiteness

Considering the relationship between modern class formations and the development of sport in industrial urban spaces, the overwhelming emphasis on sporting aspects of representations of the cartoon on the basis of the principle of 'fair play' would remind us of what Gareth Stedman Jones has termed 'culture of consolation'⁶⁷. Besides his attention to the London working class culture, his remark seems valuable for the analysis of 'footballisation' of racial images. Together with music halls and pubs, Stedman Jones argues, sports contributed to politically disabling the radicalism which the working class had once succeeded in expressing through the Chartist movement, and to making them socially conservative. Sports gave the working class an efficiently deep-cushioned venue where the otherwise materialised counter hegemonic power was absorbed and

transformed into a different way of radicalism, that is, competitiveness. Sports may neutralise the racialised hierarchy.

Although Stedman-Jones's thesis may not fully explain the specific configuration of race, ethnicity and class in modern western Scotland, it can be said that the cartoon may well show that the 'Fenian' as a complex imagery of the Irish, the Catholic and the working class is dis-empowered of the actual political forces by being contained in the realm of sports. It is true that the subversiveness, toughness, and physical strength of the imagery of 'Fenian bastard' is used to turn the world up-side-down, to create a new vertical order of the high and low, the positive and negative, the inside and outside, and the centre and margin. Stallybrass and White note that

the grotesque physical body is invoked both defensively and offensively because it is not simply a powerful image but fundamentally constitutive of the categorical sets through which we live and make sense of the world'⁶⁸.

However, this is not to suggest that the position of the 'grotesque' takes over the relatively higher and central 'classical' position, but to think of the cross-cutting inter-section between the 'classical/grotesque' axis and the 'hegemonic/subaltern' one. As has already been mentioned, the 'classical body' is made to emerge and to be realised in the fields of 'muscular Christianity' or eugenic, anti-degeneration education in the late Nineteenth century and early Twentieth century. The 'classical statue' is also mimed by the more subaltern forces, which may have been regarded as the agents of the 'grotesque body', such as the Nineteenth century nationalisms as Irish nationalists. It is important, I would argue, that, even though having acknowledged the oppositional power of the 'grotesque body', the uneven, hierarchical mode of racialisation itself is not canceled. Even if the pre-defined negative racial stereotypes were conversely appropriated by those who were racialised by the stereotypes, the hierarchical racial classification as a way of thinking might not necessarily be overturned. Instead, the negativity of the racialised other may be hauntingly revived regardless of the concrete visual typification.

Whereas the sporting ability of the Celtic 'bog man' is counted as higher than the 'handsome' Aryan, it does not mean that the athleticism enables the 'bog man' to become as white as the Aryan. In fact, there is no explicit indication as to whether this Rangers Aryan is Scottish or English or 'British' as a collective

representation. The border crossing of nationalities is suggestive because it may indicate how the Scottish wanted to be represented in early Twentieth century Britain for the Scots were also regarded as still relatively uncivilised⁶⁹. Their imaginary was heavily affected by the English gaze⁷⁰. Therefore, differentiating the handsome 'Aryan' from the Celtic counter part may be understood as a desire of the Scots to be signified with intelligence and the 'self-help' ethos, both of which are also the features of colonial Englishness.

In short, the whiteness of the Old Firm cosmology seems extremely insecure. In addition to the scramble for the Aryan whiteness, the Nineteenth century Irish 'race' is, as Richard Dyer points out, partly confined to whiteness because their feminine representation, Hibernia, is actually a sister of the ruling goddess Britania⁷¹. The contradictory but necessary character of infra-human Fenian makes it impossible for the Irish to be inherently 'white'. This forged and ethnicised Irish 'race' is not authentically classified as white, but given a position of the not-quite-white-but-still-white status. In 'Fenian bastard', difference and whiteness do not mutate each other. They remain co-existing to resonate the Old Firm cosmology with foundational sectarianism. In this chapter, difference and whiteness have been extracted as a result of problematising 'race'. The next chapter pays closer attention to 'difference', that is, the difference between the Irish 'Fenians' and the Celtic 'Fenians', and the difference that marks out the distinctive quality of otherness in Celtic imagery.

Notes.

¹ Because I had not been successfully allocated the ticket for my Japanese friend and myself, we tried to catch somebody who might kindly give us his or her spares. After four hours ticket hunting around Ibrox underground station, we managed to find a gentleman whose two daughters were not coming with him. Thanks to his generosity, we had our seats in the Copland End.

² Butler, 1992, p. 36. Butler heavily relies for her idea of historicity on the hermeneutic tradition of Heidegger and Gadamer. This is primarily because of Butler's cautious approach to the empiricist tendency of reducing historicity to the summation of moments, in which repetition and continuity rather than difference and discontinuity are emphasised.

³ The notion of 'quality of Otherness' is borrowed from Gilman (1985., pp. 29-30) in order to avoid a pitfall of the epistemological question as to the empiricist distinction between reality and falsity.

⁴ Fanon, 1986., p.112.

⁵ The 'epidermalisation' is a two-ways practice. On the one hand, the visually perceived difference of the other like skin colour is internalised into the negative quality of otherness as inferior, dangerous and ununderstandable. On the other hand, the antithesis of the European ideal of aestheticism is visualised as, for instance, 'blackness' of skin colour.

⁶ Fanon, op. cit., pp. 110-1. Gilroy urges the significance of the bodily 'scales' in the realm of racialisation in the era of 'molecular' raciology. This is because the epidermalisation 'operates at one scale which will not always be able to claim priority over other invisible modes of differentiation and determination' (1996b, p. 71).

⁷ 'Black' is taken from the colour of referees' jerseys.

⁸ On 11th of May, 1991 against St. Johnstone, Celtic were given a penalty decision in their favour for the first time since December 2 in 1989 (Campbell and Woods, 1999/1996, p. 270).

⁹ *NTV*, Issue 64, 1996, p. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Fenster, 1999, p. 63.

¹² The full lyrics are; 'On alien soil like yourself I am here. I'll take root and flourish of that never fear. And though I'll be crossed sore and oft by the foes, you'll find me as hard as Thistle and Rose. If model is needed on your own pitch you will have it. Let your play honour me and my friend Michael Davitt' (cited in Wilson, op. cit., p.21).

¹³ Curtis, 1986, p. 56. These were embedded in a number of derogatory languages such as 'to weep Irish', which meant 'to pretend sorrow'. 'To go to an Irish wedding' meant 'to empty a cesspool' and 'to get on one's Irish' meant 'to display one's anger'.

¹⁴ For 'Paddy', the phrase 'Paddywagon' indicated the 'widespread association of the Irish with crime. For 'Mickey', 'to take the Mickey' meant to 'make fun of somebody'. All these examples are quoted from Curtis.

¹⁵ Pick, 1989, p. 177. Pick argues that in Victorian society, 'troubles in England could always be compared with the convulsions abroad. Ireland was symbolically often held outside - an external enemy rather than an enemy within - thereby preserving the integrity of 'England' at least in ways in which were discursively impossible in France or Italy...Ireland was cast as a kind of infectious malady, afflicting the hitherto healthy English body' (*Ibid.*)

¹⁶ Woods, 1983, p. 14. Woods refers here to the club's longest serving manager (1897-1940) Willie Maley's memoir published in 1939.

¹⁷ The GAA's Annual 1907-8 quoted in Mandel, 1987, p. 155.

¹⁸ Mandel also quoted from the same writings the factors of the 'ideal Gael'; 'a matchless athlete, sober, pure in mind, speech and deed, self-possessed, self-reliant, self-respecting, loving his religion and his country with a deep and relentless love, earnest in thought and effective in action' (*ibid.*).

¹⁹ Mandel, op. cit., p. 154. Public school athleticism is considered as the prototype of this kind. Mangan listed some effects of this athleticism on the national popularisation as well as standardisation of modern sports; 'physical and moral courage, loyalty and co-operation, the capacity to act fairly and take defeat well, the ability to both command and obey' (1981, p. 9).

²⁰ Springhall, 1987, p. 54.

²¹ Woods, op. cit.

²² Lalor, F. in *The Celt*, Issue 55, May 1997.

²³ *ibid.*, p. 15. Also see chapter 1.

²⁴ Woods, 1983, p. 14. Woods refers here to the club's longest serving manager (1897-1940) Willie Maley's memoir published in 1939.

²⁵ Berman, 1982.

²⁶ I take these words from Gilroy's concern with 'the 'global circuitry of Black cultures and the identities' (1994).

²⁷ Murray, 1984, p. 106

²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 108

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 275

³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 277

³¹ Murray appears to take a balance between Catholics and Protestant when he has also introduced a reversed image of the infra-human Orange march. It shows that the negative images of the protagonists of the divided cultures are not necessarily occupied by the Celtic side. A caricature of the violent aspect of the Orange Order appeared in the *Glasgow Star and Examiner* on April 22nd in 1905 (*ibid.*, p. 101). This newspaper was actually launched in favour of Catholic communities. Therefore, the fact that the face of marching Orange man is like a Gorilla can be understood as the literally reversed images which had been attached to their own Catholic side.

³² *The Daily Record*, 1 June 1999.

³³ Munro, 1997. Also James Barclay's comedy novel, *The Bigot*, is a good example of the detoxifying racist attitudes, idioms and behaviours. It is a story of Rangers daft and xenophobic Andra Thomson in Bridgeton who wastes no time to join the Orange Lodge and to get the

Freemasonry. He is married to a Catholic woman and his daughter is getting married to a Jewish man. He himself is saved by blood infusion offered by a Jewish man and a Pakistani man.

³⁴ Homophobia spread among the Scottish fanzine cultures must be noticed. The fan cultures associated clubs, which have Catholic connection frequently, become the target of the abusive words like 'beggars' and 'shaggers'. Again, homophobic discourses are not free from sectarian tones.

³⁵ McDonald, 1994, p.17.

³⁶ Murray, 1997., p. 163.

³⁷ Bradley, 1998b, p. 130.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p., 144

³⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

⁴¹ Bradley, 1995.

⁴² *NTV* No. 2, p. 7

⁴³ Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. 60. In 1860, novelist Charles Kingsley wrote that the white skin of the Irish was 'dreadful' because '(I)f they were black, one would not see it so much, but their skins, except where tanned by exposure, are as white as ours' (Curtis Jr. 1968., p. 84 cited in Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. 60).

⁴⁴ Souness was in a sense the treasury of caricatured images. His overt Toryism and Loyalism, divorce, smart clothing and moustache were targets of banter. At the same time, his uncompromising attitude towards the game as well as towards his own players, his effort of modernisation of Rangers and its predictable consequence of the battle with the old fans and the survivor of the old board members, and his success in Sampdoria as the captain, which was recognised as a rare example for a British player, brought a great sense of fear and admiration to the Celtic fans.

⁴⁵ For example, *NTV* No. 54 and No. 67.

⁴⁶ The web-site 'Huns Abuse' displays the cartoon characters which are the caricatured Rangers eleven in the 1997-8 season. (www.users.dircon.co.uk/~stconn/frmain.htm). Its title is 'The Hunz (aka The Devil's Eleven)'. Apart from Gascoign and Albertz, other 'foreign' players such as Brian Laudrup and Marco Negri are rarely given the image of the 'Huns'. Instead, Laudrup is always feminised as a weak body because of his frequent 'diving' in the penalty area. Even Negri's terrific goal scoring record hardly made him a favourite of cartooning.

⁴⁷ A relatively new fanzine *The Bhozone* is more straightforward in comparing Rangers players to personified Nazi images. Almost all issues feature the 'Hun hunt'. Issue 3 and 4 paralleled 'Attila The Hun', 'John Hitler Greig', 'Graham Astgoroth Souness', 'Gordon Hung Durie', and 'Herr Square-headed bastard Albertz' in its 'Hundsome Huns' corner.

⁴⁸ The powerful long range shoot created by his left foot earned him a nickname, 'the Hammer'.

⁴⁹ This was the election campaign slogan for a candidate standing from the Vigilantes Society which was established by an extreme right winger and anti-Semite Noel Pemberton Billing MP (Hoare, 1997, p. 55).

⁵⁰ Alexander Ratcliffe, a militant Protestant fundamentalist, politician, the founder of the Scottish Protestant League, an admirer of the Ku-Klux-Klan in the 1920s and of Hitler's Nazism in the late 1930s, epitomised the pro-German, anti-Celt racial fundamentalist view. He attempted to persecute the Irish immigrant as a menace to Scottish society because of the 'crime and illegitimacy among Irish Catholics' and because Catholics are 'traitors to the country of their birth or residence in the interests of the Papacy' (Holmes, 1985, p. 202). However, it is completely wrong to attribute his campaign to the general aspiration for fascism in 1930's Europe. It is an extremely Scottish phenomenon too. During the same time as Ratcliff's campaign, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland published a report entitled as 'The Menace of the Irish Race to Our Scottish Nationality'. It says; 'They(the Irish) cannot be assimilated and absorbed into the Scottish race. They remain a people by themselves, segregated by reason of their race, their customs, their traditions, and, above all, by their loyalty to their Church, and gradually and inevitably dividing Scotland racially, socially, and ecclesiastically'(Cited in Damer, 1990., p. 156 and in Edward, 1993., pp. 58-9). The overtly cultural racist, religious fundamentalist languages are in common with Ratcliff's.

⁵¹ Carrington, 1998, p. 115.

⁵² A revisionist explanation, with which I do not agree, may claim that, because the Irish nation-state had never existed prior to the independent of the Free State in 1922 and Ireland had been a part of the British Empire up until then, the internalisation of the British imperialist imagination is

not contradictory to the Celtic fandom. However, national imagination or an imagery of the nationhood is not necessarily constructed by the state-order.

⁵³ Needless to say, 'Fenian' blood was sacrificed for the British Empire as much as the marching 'Billy Boys' were shot down by the enemy's bullets on the war front during the both World Wars.

⁵⁴ Haraway, 1997, p. 50. However, I reserve my full agreement with her apparently empiricist appropriation of Althusser. In particular, when Haraway insists that 'technoscience is more, less, and other than what Althusser meant by ideology; technoscience is a form of life, a practice, a culture, a generative matrix', she does not seem to reflect Althusser's valuable warning that there is no such thing as ideology in general.

⁵⁵ For example, see the 'Celtic Fans Against the Fascists' stickers. This was organised along the 'Let's kick racism out of football' campaign through some independent supporters clubs and the fanzine, *NTV*, in 1994, before the official launch of the 'Kick Racism out of Football' campaign in Scotland in 1996. In England and Wales, the campaign was launched in 1993 but in Scotland it was in 1994 when it was subsequently endorsed by the Scottish Football Association. The reason for this delay was said to be because a poster the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) was preparing to distribute 'nationally' only featured the English clubs' managers. The 'English centrism' in the official campaign in the legislative context did encourage some Scottish culturalists to differentiate the Scottish situations from the English ones whether or not such a differentiation might lead to justifying Scottish uniqueness and even concealing the existence of more serious, politically and culturally, racist activities. Before this 'official' campaign, Hibernian and Hearts fans initiated a Supporters' Campaign Against Racism in Football, launched in 1990. The main reason for launching it was because of racial abuse against Mark Walters and other black players coming to Scotland after him.

⁵⁶ The prototype of this dichotomy is found in Mathew Arnold's attempt to revive the English culture that internalises the literary talent of the Celtic culture. Along with Wyndham Lewis, Ernest Renan and W.F. Edward, the Arnoldian view of Irish as a race can be summarised as 'Celtic Jekyll and Hyde' who 'oscillated between two extremes of behaviour and mood; he (sic) was liable to rush from mirth to despair, tenderness to violence, and loyalty to treachery' (Curtis Jr., op. cit., p.51). On the prototype Arnoldian race thinking, I chiefly referred to the following materials; for the invention of the double-faced 'Irish' race, Curtis (1986); for genealogical concern with the racial history of the Irish, Gibbons (1996); for the intensive aesthetic study of Arnold's 'On the Study of Celtic Literature', Lloyd (1985); for the more detailed observation of the complexity of construction of the Celts in Arnold, Young (1994).

⁵⁷ Ex-Pogues vocalist Shane McGowan deliberately performs the 'Paddy'. Kieran Keohane has written that the 'Paddy' was still the most powerful iconic image of the young Irish emigrants' experiences in the 1980s. In his extensive study of the Pogues' songs, Keohane displays a variety of connotations to which 'Paddy' is attached; the builder, the boozier, the soldier, the dreamer, the brawler, the racist, the sexist, the bigoted, the bastard, the socialist idealist, the rebellious, the broken spirited, the dead and the resurrected (1990., p. 72-3).

⁵⁸ Walter, T., 1991, pp. 599-625.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 607

⁶⁰ For the lyrics, see Appendix 4.

⁶¹ In a different context, it is known that the English rugby anthem "Sweet Chariot" was originally sung by black slaves in the American deep south and later re-composed by the American composer Stephen Collins Foster. The origin of this 'tradition' is actually far newer than onemight assume. It was in 1988 when the first black English player in 80 years Chris Oti made his third try that the song was first sung.

⁶² Curtis, op. cit., p. 56.

⁶³ Stallybrass and White, 1986, p. 21.

⁶⁴ Rose, 1996, p. 131

⁶⁵ Stallybrass and White, op.cit., p. 21.

⁶⁶ Jones., 1985

⁶⁷ Stedman Jones, 1983, p. 237

⁶⁸ Stallybrass and White, op. cit., p. 23.

⁶⁹ Gallagher, 1987, p.198.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*

⁷¹ Dyer, 1997, p. 52-3. In reference to a caricature in *Punch*, October 29th 1881, Dyer states that the native is divided into the good and the bad. The good is described as a straight hair white girl called 'Hibernia', the bad the hairy ape-like rebel native. The former is cast by a white upright 'Britannia', who is in fact an elder sister of 'Hibernia', with a sword captioned 'THE LAW'.

Chapter 6

Sectarian Racism, Expressive Identity and the Urban Myth

In this chapter, I wish to pay closer attention to the ways in which 'race' is constructed within the present contexts of sectarianism. Unlike the Nineteenth century creation, it is difficult to find the Fenians' de-humanised figure and image in racist imagery among the contemporary football circumstances. The personification of a dangerous, violent and ill-disciplined 'race' is hardly embodied into the physical, naked appearance of each Celtic fan. It is difficult, too, to specify a privileged marker of racial differences, such as skin colour, among individual Celtic fans. Unlike the strong collective stereotype of the 'Bonnies' of the 'Tartan Army', whose iconic imagery is fabricated through the face painting of the St. Andrews flag, kilt, tartan beret and heavy drinking, the fixity of Celtic fans' visual representation is limited to the Irish national flag, hoops jersey and scarf, all of which are less decisive than the density of the personified image of the 'Tartan Army's' collectivity. Whereas those Celtic colours are the most decisive visible components of the archetype of Celtic fans, the associated image of the Fenians such as the black masked Republican military soldier is not as common as the Thirteenth century soldiers in Mel Gibson's *Brave Heart*. Needless to say, such a militant imagery does not have a place in the official, legitimated representation of Celtic fandom, though at the sub-cultural level it is more than explicit regardless of the actual seriousness of the political commitment.

Nevertheless, 'Fenians' are out there, interpellated by both the self and the other, but their imagery in Celtic fandom is not as directly linked with modern ethnic nationalism as the political nationalist origin is known to be. I take this gap seriously, asking how the Fenians negotiate with the existing British 'national order of things'¹ and they are authenticated in the sectarian cultures.

6.1 'Fenian' and Its Authenticity

Phenomenological scrutiny into racialisation can extend its referential point to the realm of other senses beyond the visual field. The following joke appeared in a rival sport paper of the *Scottish Referee*, the *Scottish Sport*, in November 20th, 1888. The joke is recycled in the fanzine, *The Celts*, with a caption that '(T)he Irish joke isn't a new phenomena' followed by an explanation of the background of the joke;

the following was overheard at a Celtic vs Renton match. It is worth noting that technically Celtic players were amateurs, but their true status was an open secret²

Spectator; No wonder Celtic are good players, they are all professionals.

A deep Hibernian voice from behind replied; They are not, sor, they are all Roman Catholics.

Here, voice and hearing is not necessarily preceded by the racialised field of sight but still bound to the embodied authenticity of a 'race'. The point is that it is necessary to practise de-coding the authentic unification of 'a deep Hibernian voice' and 'Roman Catholics' before this voice was heard. If the fact that Renton was also a predominantly Catholic club was acknowledged, the vernacular coding would be strengthened. In order that the joke could be accepted as a 'joke', the authenticity of the combination of Irish accent and Catholic faith has to be neutralised and afterward even converted into a laughable object.

This authenticity of racialised identity is a key to understanding how the collective rituals of Celtic fans are interpreted as a representation of 'Fenian'. In short, on the one hand, 'Fenian' comes out as the combined, sedimented representation of negativity. On the other hand, Fenian is signified with physically tough, athletic and aggressive threats to the enemy. When an interview partner James declared that 'I became Fenian' inside his car by singing one of the 'rebel

songs', his utterance of 'becoming' was compounded with his performance of playing the tape and singing a song. This performative utterance may cause the 'epidermalisation' in that his primal scheme of subjectivisation is pursued by the mechanism in which the self is constituted by the look from the place of the other³. However, this interaction is radically uneven and not likely to achieve a full identification with the other in that the self and other rapport is already unevenly racialised. It is in this lack of 'fullness' that stereotypes can find themselves substituting the constitutive elements of the social perception of a particular imagery. This imagery, in turn, can be transformed into powerful elements of the imaginary through which those who identify themselves as such come to construct their subjectivity.

By identifying with Fenian, his individual action in his own car, that is the private space, can be signified with a collective representation of the archetype of Celtic supporters, which is most easily imagined in the public space of the football ground. From a huge Irish flag to singing a 'rebel' song, the qualities of being Fenian are found at the level of the collective crowd rituals rather than in the personified, racialised embodiment. As I have argued in Chapter 4, the bonding that bridges the individual body and the crowd rituals is also a sign of belonging at the site of spectacle. Those rituals simultaneously activate a mode of differentiation and determination of differences, whose most effective category is 'race' and the racialised stereotype.

Homi Bhabha maintains that stereotype becomes ambivalent between 'the masking and splitting of 'official' and phantasmatic knowledge to construct the positionalities and oppositionalities of racist discourse'⁴. To emphasize this ambivalence of stereotype may rescue its significance from the field of negativity and falseness, and also may lead to re-defining it as a means of seeing a specific cosmology from the reverse angle. Even re-appropriation of stereotypes by those who are represented as the other could happen to re-draw the line between the differences in varied ways.

A Parkhead anthem sings that 'to keep the Celts down you have to deport the whole Fenian army that gives them support'⁵. The former target of the abuse, Fenian becomes an empowering word. The militant tone of the word can be appropriated by both Celtic fans and Rangers fans. However, the ways in which the word is articulated with the relationship between self and other are mutually

different. Given that stereotypes can become the basis on which a specific interaction between the self and the other is motivated, the historicity of a particular stereotype is deprived of its fixed narrativity.

Spontaneously 'becoming' Fenian, though, is reasoned in various ways. Those reasoning are neither based on the political and religious preference nor justified by the claim of 'merely football'. An interview partner Gerry said that he had had no hesitation to call himself Fenian in his youth because 'I was young'.

I don't care if you stick me like 'fucking Fenian bastard'. It was maybe religion. Maybe the area I was brought up. Maybe a community thing. I don't know. But it was adolescent excitement. I was young. You look for the Gers to beat'em up. Well, no, no. They happened to be the Gers, really. You go out, Parkhead or wherever. Then, sniff, sniff. We had a sense, the sensibility that taught me where to go and where not, how to stick the 'Huns'. You 'Huns', we 'Fenians'. You 'Fenian', we the 'Hun'. We're different, that's what, perhaps, was most important. But we knew each other. That's an adolescent ritual but we were serious. I admit that. We lived in a very small world, really.

---Was it because of class difference?

Aye, you know, Irish were poor, very poor when they arrived at Scotland. My grandparents' generation was far poorer than my parents' generation. Even my childhood was not as affordable as you'd have expected from me, yeah, this computer. Poverty was Irish instinct (laugh). You came across those story, aye? Good. If you're incredibly poor, job was not on your hand because Scots didn't like to give up their job for Irish, and, you know, Scotland those days were like the Stone Age, prejudice, discrimination, racism, everything was against the Irish poor, you'd need something to 'bang'.

It may be wrong to say that sectarian racialisation and the antagonism against the Irish are the pre-existing condition by which inter-group confrontation is sustained. The working class masculinity of football fan cultures and its sectarian tone cannot be explained by the simple, linear causality. It is their mutual activation by which Fenian is constructed as a collective representation with various sub-coded memorisations of 'inscribing practices' transmitted through Celtic fandom in different ways from the Nineteenth century representation. Less

important is the political, religious practicality. Within the strict binary, the regimental and militant imagery of the Fenian soldier is commonly acknowledged not as the political manifestation but as a circulation of the reified sign of aggressive masculinity.

In contrast, a female fan Caroline did not even know why Celtic fans were called Fenian. For her, the religious and ethnic hostility is something existing outside her life world.

Caroline: I'm not a Catholic. My family's Protestant. All my brothers are Rangers fans. So, I don't quite understand why people are so intense and, um, religion? Nobody in my family cares about me supporting Celtic. They didn't say anything about religion. Doesn't matter to me at all. When Catholic must go to Celtic, Protestant Rangers? Who's saying this? Listen. I don't believe that religious hatred.

(another interviewee, Mairi, joined us)

Mairi: They think it's a common sense. Catholic's Celtic and Protestant's Rangers. I mean, I don't say it's a wonderful world. Yeah, it's awful. I know awful things a lot. You say it's weird. I agree. I mean I think it's weird and, ah, but meantime, that's what people are so excited of our games. And history...

Caroline: You think we are a different race? OK. Religion matters, maybe. They hate each other, I don't know. But, ah, we're Scots, aren't we? Celtic fans, Rangers fans, both of us are Scots. If you go to Ireland, you'll see many Irish prefer Celtic to 'Gers'. But it's because you're in Ireland. In Ireland, you'll see Irish. In Scotland, You'll see Scots, I don't quite understand. Look. No one is having the Irish flag with them (laugh).

---But the tradition of Celtic is said to be in favour of Irish nationalism, isn't it wrong?

Caroline: Might be, and could be, because, look, the Irish Sea is that narrow. You get in the ferry, you'll be in Belfast in two hours? Three hours? Anyway, I think it's very difficult these days to discriminate Irish if you're Irish. Because we're not as different as a hundred years ago. Almost identical twins.

I do not suggest that gender and class are decisive in their contrast. Instead, I would suggest that despite their clear contrast in their stance to and knowledge

about race and religion, and despite their self-consciousness of being categorised as racially different from the majority in Scotland, the category of racial differences exists in advance, proceeding to their own experiences. In other words, whether racial assimilation is acknowledged or the racial distinction is powerfully endorsed, it is impossible to discover the definitive moment when the collective imagery of Celtic fandom is punctuated as a 'race' apart from the overlap of the geopolitical embodiment of national differences.

6.2 Fenians and Huns, or the Victim and the Criminal

When Celtic fans pronounce 'Huns' in the actual encounter between the self and other it is reduced to the discourse of moral judgement rather than racialised distinction. The most frequent utterance of 'Huns' among my interview partners is in the accusing tone, such as 'Huns racist', 'Huns bigot', a 'bigoted Hun' and 'Huns sectarian'. Being 'sectarian', being 'racist' and being a 'bigot' are practically equivalent as far as those words are uttered with an accusing, negative tone. Chris described the decisive moment when he became determined to be a Celtic fan as follows.

I was supposed to be a Rangers fan, because I was born in the next door to Ibrox, literally, just off Paisley Road. My brothers, I've got two brothers, are Rangers daft. But I wasn't. Never ever. Football wasn't a thing I'd ever followed until that time (laugh). Aye, that time. You know, there is a sectarian thing when Celtic play Rangers. It was, it was when Rangers beat Celtic and after the game I was walking with my dog. My family had a dog and it's my turn in giving him a walk around. I saw two Rangers supporters beating up a man cowering, like this, on the road. They were blustering. It was very dark but I clearly saw that. I thought, 'Oh bloody hell, he' going to be killed'. I shouted something and my dog barking. Aye, he did. Good friend of mine. Good dog. They faded away and, he, that beaten man, was a Celtic fan. I don't remember what we talked afterward but the Rangers fans were mean, nasty people. Very arrogant. So, I thought, oh, Celtic has to be my team. Never Rangers. Because I knew that similar attacking happened around the city if Rangers was beaten by Celtic. That night was different. Celtic was beaten. They were really mean. It's unfortunate 'cause I know a

majority of them are just as much enjoying football as we do. But some 'Huns' are a real trouble.

Frannie and James were more straight and bitter about the Hun's 'criminality'.

Frannie: I'm not saying all the Huns are bigoted. In fact, I've got a friend or two in my day work. They're really good fellas, though we don't quite, much talk about football really. Why do we think Huns are bigots? Look, you see, a teenage Celtic fan was brutally murdered. They killed him because he's a Celtic supporter. Aren't they bigots?

James: People say Celtic fans are sectarian as much as Rangers fans are because we sing rebel songs, 'there'll be no Protestant at all' and something like that. But, Celtic fans didn't kill them. It's football. well, then, they killed one of us. Always Celtic fans who got killed. Not Rangers fans. It's murder, Hiroki, they're criminal, not football fans.

---Is there any incident that it happened to be a Celtic fan who happened(sic) to hurt or kill a Rangers fan?

James: No, no way. I don't buy it. You know, perhaps eight or nine out of ten. Who got stabbed? Celtic fan. Who did it? Rangers fan. It's awful...

---Was it a racist assault when a young Celtic fan was murdered?

James: Aye, it was a racist murder because they think Celtic fans are not Scottish, Irish. And Catholic. Sectarian bigot is racist too.

Throughout those tellings, the interview partners are referring to 'Huns' as the negative figuration of their own correctness. However, this negativity is not derived from the beings of their targets of accusation. It is because of 'beating', 'blustering', 'kicking' and 'killing' that they came to say to me that the 'Huns' were 'bigoted', 'sectarian' and 'racist'. The 'Bhoys' are sunlight, the 'Huns' are shadow. When the 'Huns' are the representation of the negativity to which all the 'Bhoys' nature is to be compared to, there is no overlapped realm of their affective sensibility except following football. While this appears literally to be a Manichaeian dichotomy, it is important to remember that the two poles of the dichotomy are mutually exclusive in content but interdependent in form.

In short, racial inscription on the people and culture around Celtic is specified not on the skin of the naked body but across the skin, that is, what they wear, their blood, their temper, their neurons and above all 'their history'. Simultaneously, wearing a Celtic top produces a 'corporeality' of the person who articulates Celtic

cultures with a power that may articulate the racial inscription with sectarian divides. The murder cases of young Celtic fans may represent this specific pattern of articulation of race with cultural antagonism.

6.3 The Fandom That Has Resulted in Terror and Death

In October 1998 it was revealed that a convicted murderer Jason Campbell, aged 24, was likely to be moved from a Scottish prison to Maze prison in Northern Ireland where both Loyalists and Republican prisoners were serving their sentences. This was a positive response to the demand for the move by the Progressive Unionist Party which is the political wing of the Ulster Volunteer Force, one of the Loyalist paramilitary splitting groups. However, Campbell's crime was not the direct involvement with the inter-paramilitary conflict in Northern Ireland. In October 1995 he attacked and killed 16 years old Mark Scott at a bus stop in Bridgeton Cross, near Celtic Park. Scott was singled out because he was wearing a Celtic top. No political motivation was confirmed according to the police but obviously the fact that Scott was wearing a Celtic kit was more likely to indicate the 'footballised' sectarianism than religious bigotry since he was not Catholic.

This point was the reason for the Loyalist group's request to the Scottish office to move Campbell to Ulster. The Loyalist's insistence was that Campbell's uncle, William, was living in Ulster although Campbell himself had always lived, and his family were living, in Scotland. But his father and uncle were jailed in 1979 for bombing a Catholic pub in Glasgow. Also this uncle had been dead when they made the appeal. Nevertheless, Campbell and his defense lawyers sought for the equal treatment with his late uncle as a political prisoner.

Despite the brutal crime, the Loyalists insisted on the political characteristics of the incident by asserting that the Celtic jersey was a threat and symbolic manifestation of their political as well as religious opponents. Eventually this requirement was dismissed by the then Scottish Secretary late Donald Dewar but this tragedy reminds us that the Old Firm colours are still effectively articulated with the all-or-nothing game of sectarian, extra-parliamentary politics. It is certainly reproduced from time to time.

Being asked about the sectarian elements of the Old Firm support, the disgraced ex-Rangers vice chairman Donald Findlay said that ‘it bothers me if it leads to violence’⁶. When he sang the hatred song against Catholics, the sectarian elements exactly led to violence. After the game, the 16 years old Celtic fan Thomas McFadden was stabbed by two Rangers fans, David Hutton and Peter Rushford, near his house in Govanhill, south east of Glasgow city. He later died of the stab wounds. Another young Celtic supporter Karl McGroarty from Kings Park, southwestern area of the city, was struck in the chest by a bolt fired from a crossbow. Liam Sweeney, another teenager but without explicit Celtic colours, was stabbed by several Rangers fans while waiting at a Chinese take-away.

Regardless of the depth of their commitment to supporting Celtic, those incidents were widely understood as being motivated by sectarian reasons, not by the football rivalry. As his mother feared trouble at the stadium, McFadden had watched the game on television and afterward went out. Fanaticism which might have been experienced in the stadium did not have a direct effect on his body except for the fact that he was wearing the Celtic kit. However, the murderer Hutton who sang a Rangers anthem and carried the flag when he stabbed McFadden, seems to have had a rational choice as to why McFadden should have been targeted. Public memory of the murder of Scott should have been alive among both camps of the Old Firm supporting cultures. It also has to be noted with strong emphasis that Findlay acted as defense lawyer for Jason Campbell. Findlay also defended Thomas Longstaff who was jailed for ten years for slashing the throat of another unnamed Celtic fan. Needless to say, Mark and the other victim wore the Celtic kit when they were attacked.

Two points should be clarified concerning the aforementioned cases of terrorisation of young Celtic supporters. Firstly, the Celtic kit becomes the iconic sign of hate. The murderers did not attack the boy’s individual personality though their weapon clearly aimed at their individual body. However, if, as most media discourses and the police announcement indicated, those acts of violence were motivated by sectarian terrorisation of popular cultural life in Glasgow, then there would be a clear differentiation between the individual body and the antagonistic symbolism activated by the colours of Celtic.

Secondly, according to the record of the court proceedings, Findlay himself should have known that the sectarian elements of the Old Firm ‘leads to

violence'. His conduct of sectarian singing, it seems to me, did not show any indication of his serious awareness of the fact. This accusation may be wrong because Findlay might be aware but could not hide his 'irrational' fandom. However, his fandom should not be tolerated by attributing the cause of his behaviour to 'stupidity', 'merely joking', 'misjudgment' or whatever⁷.

Above all, even though the verdict on the Hutton case characterised the incident as 'football violence', the fact that all the victims were Celtic fans may remind us that the violence was not the outcome of equally exercised physical encounters. The uneven classification between the subject and the object of violence is clearly indicated. What matters then is when, how and why the border between murder and war is shifted, dismantled or re-built. Hutton was wearing a Rangers top, and the first encounter between the murderer and the victim McFadden began with chanting their own anthem at each other. Whilst it was the irretrievable masculine ritual which consequently got McFadden murdered, it was also his fandom which made him express his sense of belonging to Celtic even when his blood seeped from the most overt symbolism of his fandom, namely, a Celtic jersey.

6.4 Fatal Performance: Racialisation through the Sectarian Violence

As mentioned in the Introduction, the direct involvement of the Ulster Freedom Fighters in Gerald Lawlor's murder in Belfast was a sign that shows that what is going on is war, not football violence. The narrative of the war gives density to the racialised representation of the agencies of sectarian cosmology. I do not intend to paraphrase this recent murder to a series of incidents in Glasgow. Instead, my concern is with the line between sectarian war and what is called 'football violence'. What might once be considered as racially neutral football violence can turn to be racialised, ethnicised representation of the power relations between those who are involved. The racial and ethnic belonging of the victim and the offender is postulated by their supporting clubs through their bodily performances including wearing the shirt and singing an anthem. The recognition of mutual belonging is denoted by each other's 'Gestalt' to themselves⁸. In the Hutton and McFadden case, one recognises himself not only through looking at himself from the other's place but also through his own representation of himself.

They were completely conscious of their own identity as football supporters and they might have known how one would see the other at the locale of the direct confrontation.

However, it is not only projection but also abjection by which identification is conducted by hate and embodied as terror at the various levels from the performative to the verbal. 'Aye, we got a wee fenian', replied Hutton when 'witness' Emma Skett asked him, 'Did you get him?'. McFadden was a 'Fenian' not only because he was wearing a Celtic top when he was stabbed to death. At their first confrontation, both Hutton, wearing a Rangers top, and McFadden, were singing their own anthems 'in each other's face'. McFadden did not even stop singing the 'Field of Atherny' after being fatally injured and 'unaware he had been stabbed as blood seeped from his Celtic jersey'. It might be true that it was his 'affective sensibility' which could not stop him avoiding the fatal confrontation. Nevertheless, it was also his affection for Celtic cultures which kept him up shortly before his death. The line between affection and violence is so vulnerable that nothing can guarantee the extent to which the emotional investment into the fandom proceeds to the empowerment of agency exclusively towards the realm of pleasure.

No report or evidence was given as to their personal connection before the incident. It was due to 'nothing personal' which made Hutton and Peter Rushford, another offender who was only found guilty of assault, begin to chase McFadden. Instead, what those offenders found as the reason for their cruel violence was McFadden's performative ritual of wearing the Celtic top and singing the 'Fields of Atherny'. Given this, what Hutton stabbed was not McFadden's static individual body but the corporeality of 'Fenian', which was imagined and then materialised through the negation of individual, apprehensible personality. This negation may be defined as, to borrow Allen Feldman's words, 'the physical erasure of individuality as a deviation from an ethnic construct'¹⁰. Through the violence, McFadden's hurt corporeality is built up not as a consequence of his being a Celtic fan, but as a result of performing the rituals and becoming 'Fenian' through the rituals at a contingent time.

At one point, their performative identification with each other's supporting rituals might appear to be a simple hostility between two antagonistic tribes. However, when Rushford shouted, 'let's get the wee bastard', the power relation

became clear. This offender's speech act re-established the narrative of the relationship between those who call somebody 'bastard' and those who are called 'bastard'. Here, race and ethnicity is not yet promoted to the privileged referential axis of differentiation of the other, of identification of the self and of determination of their correlation. It was when the negation of the other was accomplished that the racial representation came out with the phrase of 'we got the wee fenian'. The word and the act of killing together succeeded in negating the being of the other on the street of the vernacular space where McFadden's 'ethnicity of the body' was constructed.

For the self-proclaimed anti-sectarian among the Celtic fans, McFadden's ethnicised body is seen as equivalent to those of Scott and O'Connor¹¹. Their brutally murdered bodies are classified in the same location as the victim of sectarian brutality without describing mutual categorical, individual differences. Feldman explains this rationalising process of the victims of sectarian violence as follows;

The ethnicity of the body is built in its dismemberment and disfigurement. Violence constructs the ethnic body as the metonym of sectarian social space. The abstraction of ethnic bodies was the decapitation of the confessional zone: a removal of part from whole¹².

Ontologically, racism does not allow the hierarchy of racialised subjects to be overturned. The positionality of the caller of 'bastard' and the called 'bastard' was not shaken up from their first moment to the end. When this task of negation was completed, the word 'Fenian' had to be pronounced so that the killing of McFadden was, against the murderers' will to exterminate the enemy, historicised by the re-defined version of 'illocutionary speech acts' by Judith Butler. Butler notes that the moment of 'illocutionary speech act' 'is a condensed historicity: it exceeds itself in past and future directions, an effect of prior and future invocations that constitute and escape the instance of utterance'¹³. When the speech act of 'let's get the wee bastard' was accomplished with the phrase of 'aye, we got the wee fenian', this apparently transitive temporality of the events seems to have been filled with the consecutive moments of interpellation of the victim. For, according to Butler, 'certain kinds of utterances, when delivered by those in positions of power against those who are already subordinated, have the effect of re-subordinating those to whom such utterances are addressed'¹⁴.

Banning those who are recognised as saying racist, sectarian abuse from the stadium stands on the same principle as this. However, where McFadden was caught was not inside Celtic Park. His performing act was exposed to public space where in the name of freedom of speech and expression the otherwise prohibited or at least sensitive performing rituals were given the certain time and space to be 'identified' with one of the divided cultures. Therefore, McFadden was attacked not because he was 'Fenian' but because he was doing what might be recognised as 'Fenian' and consequently he was becoming 'Fenian' as a result of his doing. The same can be said to Lawlor who wore a Celtic shirt. Wearing the shirt, that is 'doing', is articulated with being a Catholic.

However, there is the denial of the racism based on the ethnicised cultural distinction of Irish-Catholic populations. The misleading nature of the denial of sectarian racism is related to the empirical or physical terrain of 'fact' or 'falsity'. As no religious factor was confirmed as to the identity of Scott, O'Connor and McFadden, football rivalry rather than religious division may be counted as the cause of the incidents. Furthermore, the white skin colour, the common English language and the football colour of those victims may make it difficult for the word 'racism' to be applied. In this respect, even the extract from Feldman may suffer from heavy pressure on the ground that his usage of 'sectarian social space' is the matter in Northern Ireland. Therefore, what Feldman described as the 'ethnicity of the body' would be applicable to the other side of the Irish Sea and that the different denotation of a single word sectarianism should not be confused.

However, despite the search for an alibi, there is no doubt that particular performative rituals symbolise the enactment of the appearance of a category to which the corporeality of a particular person is supposed to be classified. 'Race' is constituted as to signify this categorical difference not as a ready-made formality but as a reason for the rationalisation of the action. The principle of this rationalising practice is based on the adherence to the purity of difference. It is important here to acknowledge that the quest for purity does not necessarily rely for its reason on the skin colour of the body surface. The encoding practice of what one wears and sings equates with the mode of internalisation of the appearance which can be understood as an analogy of the interpretation of the caricature of the Celtic 'bog man' and the Rangers 'handsome Aryan', which I have analysed in the previous chapter.

In the realm of the aesthetic judgment of appearance, the Hoops top and the logo of 'Celtic' attached to the victims' body are interpreted as inseparable from the appearance. Then, when the performative action of McFadden was encoded as doing 'Fenian', his Hoops top and the anthem he was singing substituted the colour and culture for the embodied ethnic and racial differences. The colour and culture McFadden performed was perceived as a phenomenal appearance of what looked as inseparably as the relationship between the racialised habit and the body signify.

It is neither exceptional nor entirely novel for the aesthetic judgment to suppose that racial otherness is determined through a consequence of performance, including what he or she was doing, saying and showing. The consequence of those performances is cemented with the racialised hierarchy of human classification. This supposition is concerned with the second, metaphysical aspect of the misleading of the sectarian racism. I would argue that it is misleading to think of those murder cases in a deductive way, presuming that it is because of the sectarian hatred that those Celtic fans were chased and killed by Rangers fans. For this deductionism cannot avoid the Kantian notion of 'a priori' for the inferential reasoning for those terrorising acts, only presuming that those sectarian murders have happened because of the existing sectarianism¹⁵. The intelligibility and accountability of those incidents and the social context that are always-already sectarianised have to be explained through the sectarianisation itself. The sectarianisation is not automatically proliferated by the consecutive incidents and the narratives. The mechanism of the sectarianisation of football and the 'footballisation' of sectarianism needs to be examined by the angle of compound eye. It is to look through the complexity of narrative construction by which the intersection of football and sectarianism has been accumulated as the knowledge that is worth being memorised and invoked at any circumstances in the vernacular cultural sphere.

6.5 The 'Footballisation' of Violence and the Urban Mythology

Celtic launched its own anti-sectarianism, anti-racism campaign, 'Boys Against Bigotry (BAB)', in January 1996 as the first institutionalised anti-racism initiated by a single football institution in Scotland¹⁶. The main target of this

campaign is said to be the discrimination and prejudice against the Irish Catholic population in Scotland. The background of the campaign can be historically traced back to the discourse in which the origin of Celtic is incorporated into the narrative of charitable activities and leisure opportunities to the east end Irish working class communities. The campaign can possibly be seen as opposed to what Donald Findlay has represented.

Despite this official campaign which is supposed to stand besides the victims of sectarian incidents, the club has not yet issued any official statement of concern with a series of murders of young Celtic fans. The board, the PR section and the then managing director Fergus McCann seemed more concerned to exclude the 'enemy within' who sing rebel songs in the stadium and explicitly demonstrated their sympathy with Irish radical politics¹⁷. They showed no sign of involvement or even sympathetic public stunt after Scott was murdered and another victim, Irish student and Celtic fan Sean O'Connor, was maimed in the same year. One critical view of this club's indifferent attitude describes that Celtic is not 'a united and politically progressive club from top to bottom'¹⁸. The line between radical politics and overtly sectarian sub-cultures is made obscure and those incidents were treated by the club as 'nothing to do with Celtic and it was a police matter'¹⁹.

In contrast, the Strathclyde Police have dealt with those incidents categorically as 'football violence'. The popular conviction, fear and resentment do not find their resonance with the police. The juridical authorities are no exception. The court's verdict on Hutton stated that 'the courts take a serious view of football cases and this is a particularly bad example of football violence'²⁰.

One side claimed that those murders were outside of the football club's concern while the other side labeled them as 'football violence'. What looks like an oppositional interpretation, however, shares an inferential view that the relationship between the victims and the offenders are equally even. On the one hand, those young victims are excluded from the category of the discriminated who the 'BAB' is supposed to support. Describing the physical assault against Celtic fans as 'football violence', the official discourse of the police portrays a view that they are in confrontation within the evenly homogenised world of football tribalism. It is hardly difficult to see the state apparatus, whether 'ideological' or 'coercive', neutralising the power relations of the concerned agencies in order to keep its neutrality in civil society. The phrase 'football

violence' connotes the crowd behaviour of heavy drinking, disorder and undisciplined fanaticism. However, the fact was that all three victims were teenagers, that Scott was just waiting for a bus, that O'Connor was just walking on the street and that McFadden did not even go to the match.

The geographical locations of those incidents may also reinforce the claim that they were 'football violence' since the victims were not invading the prohibited territory where the strictly segregated, or 'racialised', spatial difference was supposed to exclude the presence of outsiders. It was neither in the inner city nor in a 'no-go area' where the teenagers were killed. Bankhall Street where McFadden was eventually discovered is in the heart of the Govanhill area where is a symbolic space of the recent re-development and urban gentrification with the restored tenements and a large-scale supermarket complex. The question is why in such mixed areas could the offenders sense that they could 'get' their target when they attacked the victims who were clearly junior to them.

On the other hand, the bus stop at Bridgeton Cross where Scott had his throat cut is the place where hundreds of Celtic fans may have passed by on their way to Celtic Park from the city centre. Although the area of Bridgeton is known to be a 'Protestant area' despite being in the East End, it is not a place which Celtic fans perceive as a 'no-go area'. Notably, Bridgeton station is one of the nearest public transport facilities to Parkhead. Despite this casualness and familiarity, the Bridgeton Cross area has been deeply attached to the imagery of death and violence, particularly, to William 'Billy' Fullerton. An Ibrox anthem 'The Billy Boys' was originally a tribute to this Bridgeton street gang boss in the 1920s and 1930s. Popular memory of the area is tied with the area's geographical details through the folk hero's body. Edwin Morgan's prose reminds us that the murder of Mark Scott may be a re-incarnation of the image of death and violence which has long been embodied in the name of Bridgeton via Fullerton.

Bareheaded, in dark suits, with flutes
and drums, they brought him here, in procession
seriously, King Billy of Bridgeton, dead,
from Bridgeton Cross: a memory of violence,
brooding days of empty bellies,
billiard smoke and a sour pint...
No, but it isn't the violence they remember

but the legend of a violent man...²¹

However less influential his political activity was, his link with the Orange Order and the Ku Klux Klan indisputably shows that in inter-war Scotland fascism and white supremacism obtained a certain place in the life of grass-roots folks. It also should be noted that even though this history is in fact well known, it has rarely been taken seriously in the field of the politics of popular cultures in modern Scotland as well as in Britain.

One of the well-known nicknames of Celtic fans, 'Tims', is also derived from a 1920s Catholic street gang group in the Calton district in Glasgow. 'Tims' is said to be an abbreviation of 'Timalloys' or 'Tim Malloys'. Burns and Woods suggest that, although the real figure of Tim Malloys is 'elusive', 'Tims' might well be a generic reference to Irish immigrants in the city of Glasgow in general²². The characterisation of the Old Firm rivalry, of the territorial habitation of those street gang groups and of their ethnicised religious connotations, are well-analogised by Hugh McIlvanney as the 'street synonym'²³. Urban folklore is inscribed deep inside the Old Firm cosmology.

Recently, this kind of urban legend is culturally appreciated by what I would call the 'Glaswegian cultural industry'. The image of 'No Mean City', of the 'working class city' and of, above all, the 'divided city' is now nostalgically celebrated as commemorative heritage since Glasgow became the '1990 European City of Culture'²⁴. Straight, tough and uncompromising images of the Glaswegian masculinity provided good raw material for the commercial success particularly in film, music and the media industry²⁵. This recent 'revival' of the 'no mean' past exactly coincides with the increasing success of the gentrification and the regeneration of the city centre area. In 1990, Ian Spring called for a demythologisation of the 'No Mean City' image in contemporary cultural experiences of Glasgow. Spring addresses sectarianism as 'an important ingredient' of the myth, which activates a 'symbolic order' of religious bigotry²⁶. He continues;

In the eighties, religious bigotry exists merely for its own right, for the distraction of its apocrypha, or the attractions of nostalgic remembering.

There is no violence to speak off-at least not on an organised level²⁷.

Once again, the symbolic and imaginal product of the particular history of culture is reduced to the field of the semiotic without historicity. Here, sectarianism is

textualised as what once explicitly and actually existed, de-historicised and nostalgically de-politicised by Spring's denial of the present 'fact' of the history. It is his 'culturalism' which works within a positivist, essentialist and ethnic nationalist assumption of the binary between myth and reality, nostalgia and actuality, and the symbolic and the iconic²⁸.

As opposed to this culturalism, I want to propose that it is more than necessary to think properly of the fact that it was the teenager Mark Scott with no beer belly and no appetite for a sour pint who was murdered at Bridgeton Cross. It is essential to start thinking not from the culturalist memorabilia but from the loss of a young Celtic fan's life. As opposed to the quoted poem's final words, it is not the forgetting of the violence but the remembrance that should be properly addressed. Because of the rich, deeply sedimented and thick folklore regarding the Bridgeton Cross, there is a real danger that the murder of Scott may be abbreviated as a part of the urban mythology of death and violence.

The cultural mythologisation of death or the legendary violent event may be transfigured into the 'footballisation' of those crimes. The footballisation of death and violence heavily relies on the victims' common cultural and social strata, which are their class identification, their Celtic tops and their racial classification as white. In this respect, despite no indication of drinking being given among the victims, the official discourse on those incidents tends to be described as 'hooliganisation'. McFadden's mother's fear of the high tension between the two supporting ends was quoted as if McFadden was a victim of the excessive fanaticism of football 'hooligans'.

The 'footballisation' and 'hooliganisation' of the crime not only effectively equalises the fundamentally uneven relation of the victims to the offenders but also aims at containing the social contradiction under the category of the socially and legitimately controllable. In principle, the combined function activated by both the ideological and repressive state apparatuses gives the repressive forces a legitimate power of coercing. It is the consent of what is represented as the majority through the discourses of the media, law and education with which 'an order of cohesion' is recognised as acceptable in the public sphere of civic life²⁹. However, this does not to attribute all the exercise of the violence to the reasons for consent. The employment of violence is required in certain locations in order to sustain consent itself. Through the discourses of 'hooliganism', football

provides the state with the location in which the state exercises repressive forces. Law and order has to be maintained in order to show that the incidents are not what the state order has failed to control, that is, sectarianism, but 'football violence'. The footballisation and the criminalisation of a particular violence as 'hooliganism' sit together comfortably with the shift of social control from the 'criminal act to the crime inducing situation, from the pathological case to the pathogenic surroundings'³⁰. The reason for the crime can be clearly explained by specifying the potential of criminality of football hooligans in a potentially dangerous situation that is the match of the day of the Old Firm. The state gives the public a comprehensive matrix of the cause and efficacy of a particular violent action within a maintained and controllable order of the state formation.

The religious identity of Mark Scott as Protestant may well strengthen the effect of hooliganisation through the indication that despite his 'being a completely innocent, middle class, private school educated Protestant boy', the murder took place because he 'got caught in the wrong place at the wrong time'³¹. The mundane teleological difference is overwhelmed by football belonging. Sectarianism displaces the coherence of differentiation and shifts the signified from Christianity to football. In this sense, sectarianism remains intact in a displaced form. Then, being relocated into the secular public sphere of football supporting culture, the sectarianisation of the event makes the murder case a shared domain between the state order and the public order of social security.

However, as I have noted, another dimension of this violence is revealed in the fact that the killer Campbell's appeal for his transfer to Maze prison had been nearly accepted. It may be a repeated routine to insist on the similarity of sectarian causes across the Irish Sea and I do not wish to follow this narrative further. Instead of adopting a simple horizontal comparison, I would like to consider the effect of this murder case vertically. The transfer controversy, in fact, opened up the space more clearly for state power to become explicit. Contrary to the official intention, however, the explicit state power was recognised not in the realm of football violence but in the more complex, long standing situation of sectarian war. What might have been 'football violence' was literally nearly upgraded to the status of political contestation. By this transition, the supposedly 'even' relationship of the victim and the killer was extended to the political field of the ethnic conflict. Even if the body of the killer was in fact not removed from the

original place of the crime, the narrative of the street murder was transformed into the narrative of the war. It is around this process of narrative transition that the state formation makes its contour explicit through political, juridical and security discourses.

Being pushed into the territory of terror with the otherwise pleasurable performance of wearing the Celtic shirt, those teenagers have been made to become 'Fenians' at the expense of their lives and health. By this, it is meant that their football fandom as an expression and embodiment of the private affect is negatively recognised and absorbed into the state order via the public sphere on the streets.

6.6 Conclusion: Sectarianism, Racism and 'Officially Recognised' Racism

The sectarian violence I have discussed throughout this chapter cannot be understood by simply applying the sectarian deduction since its own metaphysical ground is already formalised by the 'a priori' categories of knowledge. The form of knowledge, perception and understanding about sectarianism, all depends for the relevancy of their intelligibility on what is called sectarianism itself. Perhaps the possible way of deconstructing this tautology may be to supplement another dimension with the cartography of the divided cultures. This is to turn down a mechanical, transitive diagram in which sectarianism is deduced to several possible causing requisites such as racism, religious hatred, sexism, class friction and so forth. Instead, another type of diagram is required. Sectarianism has to be considered as it is, but only in relation to the power relations between other social and cultural boundaries. It is, for instance, not either sectarianism or racism, but simultaneously both that have to be taken into account. It is to take a perspective as opposed to the nationally and ethnically narrow definition of sectarianism by taking into consideration of its stretching as well as constraining elastic range of the complex structure of sectarian racism.

Although the core style and performance of Celtic fandom is still alleged to be 'foreign', the present 'Fenian' is not given the abuse such as 'send the bastards back' unlike the Fenian in the 1930s and the non-white people in the 1970s and 1980s. This phenomenal transformation of alienness may highlight on what can

be divided and what can not in what is always-already understood as the ‘divided’ football cultures.

The difference between the dividable and the undividable makes a space for racism against black and Asian populations to be more publicly acknowledged and ‘officially recognised’³² than the murders of Celtic fans have been. Unless ‘officially recognised’, Scott’s and MacFadden’s cases are not even raised as an issue to be campaigned for by the BAB. Despite the racialised connotation of Celtic fandom, the differences of skin colour functions in entitling one as sectarianism and the other as racism. Whereas being ‘white’ is the undividable condition of being primarily sectarianised, other socialities such as religion, nationality and football belonging functions as a dividing criteria. In other words, to become an authentic ‘Fenian’, it is preferable, not absolutely necessary if one is mis-recognised as I showed in Chapter 2, to be racially recognised as a non-black, non-Asian person. Under this general environment, while sectarianism may operate as the modality in which racism is given the space and time to emerge, the extent to which sectarianism and racism are inevitably interconnected has yet to be examined. This is the task I will tackle in the next chapter.

Notes.

¹ I borrow this notion from Liisa Malkki’s seminal work on the sense of national belonging and its subversive elements among the Hutu refugees in Burundi and Rwanda (Malkki, 1995, pp. 4-9). Quest for the national purity that makes a coherent chain between a category of nation, race and ethnicity has generated a powerful regime of order and knowledge, which is regarded as an accumulation of knowledge, signs, aesthetics and cosmology.

² *The Celts*. No 13, 1986, p. 20.

³ See Chapter 5 for the notion (Fanon, 1986, pp. 109-140).

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 82.

⁵ Lyrics are quoted from the ‘Coronation Cup’ which was sung right after the specially arranged tournament for the celebration of the Queen’s crowning in 1953. Celtic won this commemorative event for the British nation. Interestingly, the final was fought by Celtic and Hibernian, both of which are well-known ‘Irish-Catholic’ clubs. Other clubs that participated in the tournament were; Rangers and Aberdeen from Scotland, Arsenal, Manchester United, Tottenham Hotspur and Newcastle United from England. No particular celebrating word relating to the royal event was found in the entire lyrics.

⁶ *The Scotsman*, 1 June 1999.

⁷ All is cited from *The Daily Record*, 1 June 1999.

⁸ The concept of Gestalt is used here in the more Lacanian way in his theory of the ‘mirror phase’ than the phenomenological adjustment. Gestalt signifies a child’s ability to represent its own body to itself prior to the identification (Lacan, 1987, pp. 118-9). Gestalt itself is never a closed, complete system of identification. It does not guarantee the function of the mirror phase but at least assures the physical and bodily reflection of identification. In addition to the masculine totalisation of the concept, I am critically aware that in terms of its dispositions the Lacanian

psychoanalysis fabricates the body as something organically integrated and unified grid of human nature.

⁹ *The Daily Record*, 22 September 1999. All the following quotations regarding the Hutton case are from the same source.

¹⁰ Feldman, 1991, p. 64.

¹¹ Many booklets and pamphlets of independent anti-racist and fascist groups such as 'Fighting Talk of the Anti Fascist Action' strongly criticised those three murder cases (Issue 21 and 22, 1999).

¹² Feldman, op. cit.

¹³ Butler, 1997., p. 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁵ For the notion of 'a priori', I refer to Ronald Judy's critical reading of Kant's racialised aesthetic (Judi, 1993, especially pp. 113-117).

¹⁶ See the 'Social Mission Statement' of Appendix 5 for the aim of the campaign.

¹⁷ The foundation of the Celtic Fans Against Fascism is regarded as a response to the club's distant stance to those 'sectarian murder' cases. In contrast, Cara Henderson's 'Nil-By-Mouth' campaign firmly ties up with the club's 'official' anti-sectarianism policy. Henderson launched the campaign because, it is said, she was affected by Scott's murder, with whom she used to date when they were both students at Glasgow Academy. Unlike the CFAF, Nil By Mouth targets the minority of sectarian fractions on both sides of the Old Firm rather than stressing that the victims of sectarian attacks mainly come from Celtic side.

¹⁸ *Fighting Talk*, 21, 1999., p. 16.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁰ *The Daily Record*, 22 September 1999.

²¹ 'King Billy' Edwin Morgan, in Thomson, 1990, p. 190.

²² Burns and Woods, 1997, p. 12.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁴ Written by McArthur and Kingsley Long, published in 1978, *No Mean City* is a novel about Glasgow's working class life in the 1920s and the 1930s. In particular, its detailed description on the contention between the street 'razor' gangs has determined the image of the future Glasgow. Despite the difference of generation, Jimmy Boyle's *Sense of Freedom* is also acknowledged as having contributed to the establishment of the 'No Mean City' image (Boyle, 1977).

²⁵ One of the notable examples is the Gilles MacKinnon and Billy MacKinnon film, *Small Faces* (1995).

²⁶ Spring, 1990, p. 87.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 89.

²⁸ Those binary structures are uncritically presupposed by Spring. Therefore, it is possible to understand that his desire to disclose a real truth or true reality behind the nostalgic myth is endorsed by his quest for a reality or truth of the object of his writing, that is, the culture of Glasgow and of Scotland. It is in order to recover a real Glasgow which seems to me to have motivated him to criticise all the mythologised narratives and representations of contemporary Glasgow.

²⁹ See Hall et al (1978, pp. 202-8) for the elaboration of this Gramscian notion.

³⁰ Poulantzas, 1978, p. 187.

³¹ *Fighting Talk*, op. cit., p. 15.

³² Cited from an interview with representatives of Celtic Fans Against Fascism (*Fighting Talk*, op. cit.).

Chapter 7

‘Whiteness’ as the Quality of Sectarian Imagery

This chapter aims to examine the ways in which sectarianism and racism interplay and in which ‘whiteness’ operates as a racialised marker in the process and practice of that interplay and how it occupies the sectarian cosmology. This analysis is carried out by focusing on the difference and similarity of the culture of racism and sectarianism against non-white players and particularly targeted rival players.

It is possible to suggest that sectarian thinking constrains the condition of possibility of racialised hierarchy. This is however not to diminish or de-stabilise entire racist cultures. Instead, racism is activated very powerfully on particular occasions through sectarian performances. Alternatively, I suggest that communal bodily rituals among the supporters can be understood as the realisation of a specific type of embodiment that is expected to express the ontological matrix of self and other, friend and enemy, with reference to ‘race’. That matrix does not simply illustrate binary positions of sectarian OR racist. Instead, both articulation and dis-articulation, or even re-articulation of sectarian performance with racist bodily rituals through a particular moment of doing have to be carefully considered. Even what we conventionally call ‘racism’ in a rather totalising way to name a variety of ‘unacceptable’, ‘publicly disturbing’ or ‘politically incorrect’ utterances and behaviours needs to be examined in terms of their complex functioning in specific space and time conjunctures. To begin with, I would like to introduce one particular pattern of racialisation through racist speech acts in order to show the ways in which the perception of ‘racial difference’ is fixed under a certain spatial and power relation.

7.1 A Jungle Tale: Changing Axis of Differentiation and Determination

At Celtic Park on 28th April 1998. Though only one win would have brought them their first league title in 10 years, Celtic was struggling to break through against Hibernian, the club at the bottom of the table, itself struggling to avoid relegation. The game was full of poor performances from Celtic, which might have given the fans an impression that they were so nervous that no consistent tactics were employed by the players. Then, I heard a very familiar, not unusual abusive phrase in Scottish football grounds. It was voiced by one of my neighbours in the Celtic side's Kellydale Street Stand.

'Get'm, charcoal bastard!'

On the pitch was a young black winger Kevin Harper of Hibs (now moved on to Portsmouth via Derby County) running up with a quite good pace along the touchline. This abuse was coming from my right hand side where a boy with beautiful blonde hair, probably of 7 or 8 years of age, was sitting along side with a grandfatherly elder man. This elder guy was also murmuring,

'Fuck'm, black bastard, fuck'm.'

It has to be noted that this kind of racist abuse is still a part of the game as plenty of cases are witnessed and reported. However, the reason that I am referring to this small boy's racist abuse is because, soon after abusing Harper, he seemed to be extremely delighted to see Regi Blinker of Celtic come on to the pitch and he was welcoming the Dutch ex-international winger with a standing ovation, shouting 'Regi, Regi!' It was totally understandable that he was delighted that Blinker has recovered from his knee injury and had become fit after three months absence. However, Blinker is a black player too. The point is how the boy differentiates Blinker from Harper despite the fact that both players can be categorised as black in raciological terms. At the same time, it is essential to see the ways in which Blinker was identified and selected by the boy as the object of identification. The answer may be an obvious one. Harper is a player on the enemy's side while Blinker was a Celtic player, a player of the club supported by the boy's family.

However, it would be interesting to see how this small Celtic fan reacted when Henrik Larsson, Celtic's Swedish international striker, who had dreadlocks, was smashingly tackled by Tony Rouger, another black player of Hibs who is a

Trinidad international defender. When this happened during the very last minutes of the first half, the boy shouted,

‘Black bastard. Come on coon!’

What I could not help wondering was how dread-locked Swede Henrik Larsson would have reacted if he could have heard this racist abuse, although it was not likely to happen inside the fully packed stadium with fifty thousands spectators. This is simply because Larsson is, too, one of the non-white players on the pitch.

This pattern of racialisation poses a significant question on the reliability and relevancy of the simple binary model of inclusion and exclusion. It seems likely at first glance that the weight of ‘race’ is relativised by the differentiation of ‘our’ players and ‘their’ players. ‘Race’ appears to function less importantly than those players’ official belonging to the clubs. Given that, in the British football culture, it was and still is often said that players are racially abused not only by the opposing players and supporters but also even by their own supporters, it may be a further step forward to less racist cultures that a black player is recognised as ‘us’, the Bhoys, rather than as ‘black bastard’.

7.2 Unevenness of Racist Cultural Practices in Football

This incident at Celtic Park shows that what is called ‘racism’ in football cannot be simply understood as a qualitative and statistical problem of inclusion and exclusion. The question of ‘more’ or ‘less’, or the frequency and clarity of racist expression does not help us understand better where the cultures of racism forcefully operate. For the identifying inclusion of Blinker and Larsson by their own fans has actually little to do with the possible disappearance of fans’ race thinking that prioritises being not-black, rather than ‘white’, as the norm. The empiricist conclusion can be merely counter-questioned by the fact that the same people who abused Harper and Rouger cheered Larsson and Blinker without racialised terms. It is due to this dilemma that the empiricism based for its epistemological foundation on positivism cannot explain the process and practice of racialisation and the vernacular condition of it.

A recent publication of the racism in football grounds fails to take into account this local, regional and vernacular environment of racist football cultures and its uneven development. It simplifies the complexity of racism as a simple

dichotomy of 'racist' or 'non-racist'. The survey conducted by Sean Perkins during the 1998-9 season shows that the worst three clubs of which games witnessed racist abuse and chanting inside the grounds are Everton, Rangers and Celtic in this order¹. What is called 'racist abuse' in Perkins' report is said to be directed at players during the game, and, afterwards, the fans who were selected at random, regardless to whether they were home or away fans, were asked whether they had heard racism aimed at players this season. Furthermore, the 'abuse' seems to be totally detached from the context as to who is the abusing subject and who is the abused. The 'abuse' is rather disjoined from the body of both subject and object of the abuse, and automatically reified as the phenomenon to be got rid of.

This totalisation of 'racism' has failed to grasp the ways in which the possible intense exchange that might be peculiar, highly localised and specific, particularly when the Old Firm meet each other, might proliferate the possibility of racist verbal and bodily actions in more complex ways. The extent to which 'racism' could be perceived and counted as the phenomenon of one particular football club's culture seems to depend, to a certain extent, on who they play and where they play. The aforementioned survey fails to specify the condition by which the weight of which club players belong to, of which team colour players wear, is likely to generate far more intense racist expression. Racialisation and iconic visuality covering the body of players are so deeply interwoven that neither single category of race OR team is adequate to understand the complex mechanism of the changing axis of identification.

Whether a player is 'our side' or 'their' side, the being of a black player is pre-empted by the racist section of the crowd. Blackness as a racialised marker, their skin colour, their body shape, and all the assumed 'difference' from white players appear to precede BOTH the violent interpellation that imposes indignity on the abused black players AND the appreciation of effort, commitment and 'skill' through the positive application of the same stereotypes. The simple 'inclusion' does not assure the diminishing of racism as a total environment of discrimination. On the surface, the categorical essence of the target of racist speech act looks ever changing according to the club to which the players belong. However, at the deeper level, even club identity is a segment of the larger cosmology that is socio-culturally racialised and encoded by the fans and

supporters through employing their own local, vernacular mode of coding, representation, and incorporating practices.

7.3 Scottish Myth of Non-Racial Politics and the ‘Inferential Racism’

The discursive mechanism of uneven racialisation has already been formulated in a different context by Stuart Hall when he analytically distinguished ‘open, overt racism’ from ‘inferential racism’². Although Hall’s concern is with the media representation of ‘blacks’ in the 1970s, this applied semiotic reading is valuable and may well be translated into the present situation to understand the ways in which what is generally called ‘racism’ in Scottish football is unevenly encoded, decoded and embodied.

‘Overt’ racism may be found where direct speech acts of racist expression, the enunciation and visible bodily practices are materialised and thrown towards a particular, determined target. Far right and supremacist language and action, including all the racialised vocabulary, Nazi salute, banana throwing and monkey chant can be placed in this category. On the other hand, ‘inferential racism’ is defined as;

those apparently naturalised representations of events and situations relating to race, whether ‘factual’ or ‘fictional’, which have racist premises and propositions inscribed in them as a set of unquestionable assumptions. These enable racist statements to be formulated without ever bringing into awareness the racist predicates on which the statements are grounded³.

This version of racism is found when it is not exactly clear how even seemingly racialised expression that denotes negativity and inferiority, like ‘coon’ and ‘nigger’, is different from the positive stereotypes often attached to the distinctive character of the pace and ‘skill’ of black players. For both significations are coded by applying the racialised line of differentiation and determination. The best example of this type is Bill Murray who asserts that racism had never existed in Scotland until BOTH black players and the bad habit came over to the north of the border. In other words, black players are the source of the problem. Had it not been the case of black players, so-called racism did not occur whereas anti-Irish Catholic racism is legitimated by employing the notion of

sectarianism as culture. In his *Glasgow's Giants: 100 Years of the Old Firm*, Murray tells the readers that

however much we may dislike it, anti-Catholicism is part of Scotland's history and can be understood in these terms. Racism is totally odious and foreign to all that Scotland stands for⁴.

The rigid dichotomy of sectarianism and racism found in the quotation is also carried on by the Scottish nationalist, romanticised myth of liberalism, egalitarianism and working class culture. Gerry Finn has correctly commented on this mythologisation in his criticism of Murray for this 'well-worn', 'not-unusual' social representation 'based on a prejudicial image of the Irish Community as a problem'⁵. Finn interprets Murray's description as 'the recycling of old-style prejudices'. It justifies its claim by assuming that the origin of the problem was the Irish immigrant communities and that the Scottish majority 'did no more than respond to the provocation'⁶ that was created by the problem itself. Accordingly, behind Murray's account, it is possible to discover two correlating elements by which the mythical appreciation of Scottish nationalism is motivated. On the one hand, it is admitted that anti-Irish Catholic cultures have been operating. However, on the other hand, should those cultures be a main driving force in constructing the 'Otherness' to the Scottish social formation, it is not race but cultures and customs including the theological differences within Christianity, which made their difference visible.

Sectarianism functions as a negative supplement to racism in that the racial myth of the history of Scottish social formation is in fact reinforced as long as sectarian narratives are represented in the national imagination of Scotland. Given this, the effects of this mythologisation can be observed in several sites of racism. Firstly, anti-Catholicism is ethnicised and given the status of the first instance. Therefore, 'Irish' and 'Catholic' are perceived as interchangeable words in the social formation in western Scotland⁷.

Secondly, with this mythology, anti-Irish racism and anti-Catholicism have been combined together but have become a broadly marginalised issue outside Scotland⁸. For this marginalisation can be given two reasons. The first reason is because the term 'sectarianism' is used too casually to be called into the question with regard to the power relations between those who are involved in the events. The unconditional usage of the word avoids open discussion of the responsibility

for inter-community confrontation and implies that there is no socio-political hierarchy between the communities. The second is that this use of sectarianism is almost exclusively applied to Scotland and Northern Ireland. Therefore the other communities placed within the British nation-state commonly avoid facing up to what might have been some elements of sectarian cultures⁹. Finally, with anti-Irish Catholic racism culturalised and anti-black racism alienated, other forms of hierarchical othering, such as anti-Semitism, remain unexamined and nearly forgotten¹⁰.

Based on those general observations, I would argue that there is a historical and ontological presupposition of Murray's mythology. It is hardly unusual indeed that the origin of social conflict and antagonism is attributed to the existence of minority, new-comers, foreigners, aliens and 'immigrants'. Then, the creation of problem is 'culturalised' as exclusive differences between those who have come to a place and those who already had occupied the place. It is not an unusual logical consequence if one looks back at the Powellian logic of rationalisation of racism during the 1970s¹¹. The claim that 'racism is odious and foreign' in Scotland only makes sense when there is an assumption that there would be no 'racism' if the object and target of racial abuse and harassment did not exist on Scottish soil. Finn's attack on Murray clearly indicates that the latter's view on Irish Catholic migration to Scotland is in collusion with this 70s logic of racism.

I also have found it more problematic that the second half of the quotation matches perfectly the underlying tone of the purified Powellism at defending Mother Scotland from such a bad foreign habit as 'racism'. By denouncing racism as the English problem, Murray is caught by a double-entrapment. While what is called 'racism' is foreign, the target of racism is foreign too. No one in Scotland has originally anything to do with 'racism'. Although Murray's latest publication *The Old Firm in the New Age* admitted that the Scottish grounds are 'no more immune to racial prejudice than other countries', his tone of Scottish peculiarity and of anti-English sentiment is never diminished.

...while racial chants fouled the air at many English grounds in the early 1980s as more and more teams took advantage of the skills of native-born players of Afro-Caribbean background, there is little ground to believe that the situation would have been any different in Scotland. The reception of

black players for English teams in pre-season friendlies was at times poisonous...¹²

The absence of black players in Scottish leagues is used here as a reason for the claim that racism comes from England in terms both of the practice and the target. 'Racism' is de-historicised and translated into the form of ahistorical, entirely contingent symptom of socio-pathological diagnosis. Mythic nationalism is linked to racialisation through the power of this discursive ideology. The situation in which black players are positioned is a maze without exit. They have no way to enter into it unless they become the 'problem'.

However, it is possible to see in Paul Wilson how the history of racism against a mixed race footballer in the Scottish leagues has been stowed away in oblivion. Midfielder Wilson was signed for Celtic in 1967 and his career culminated in the early 1970s under the strong management ship by Jock Stein. He was a son of a Scottish father and an Indian mother. Stein gave Wilson his first Scotland cap in 1975 against Spain. This international debut made him one of the first non-white internationalists within either England or Scotland. While Wilson received severe racist abuse from the opponent's fans, the Scottish media remained silent on this matter, which seems symptomatic of their refusal to face up to the reality of Scottish racism¹³. In reaction to the racist abuse, it was Stein who was 'very protective towards the player' and encouraged him to 'withstand' the abuse¹⁴. When the SPFA launched a campaign for racial equality, it took more than 10 years after Wilson's experience for Scottish football protagonists to be forced to realise that 'racism' was there on their soil and within their cultures.

Another trap of 'inferential racism' in Murray's observation is his urge to Scottish football to take advantage of 'the skill of native-born players of Afro-Caribbean background'. While sectarian difference is culturalised, the characteristic of black players is reduced to the language of biological nature of their 'skill'. It may not be appropriate to blame this description for explicit 'racism' since it seems to be applauding black players. However, the fact that the only reference to black players is their biological, natural and physical strength is clearly connected to a mode of racialisation that strictly fixes 'race' in the domain of nature.

This politics of racialisation in Scotland has been disclosed when young black striker David Johnson's 'cultural right' of being a Scottish international came on

trial¹⁵. Lawrence Donegan of the *Guardian* reported that while Jamaican born Johnson's 'commitment' to Scotland and his 'passion' for singing the sub-national anthem 'Flowers of Scotland' were furiously questioned, the inclusion of Ukrainian born Sergei Baltacha Jr. in Scotland's under 21 side was rarely interrogated because Baltacha Jr. is a white boy but Johnson is not¹⁶.

The Johnson saga is a part of the sketch of the modern professional football environment as a type of public sphere where two, antagonistic forces of the practical necessity of young athletes and the moral, political and ethical standard of society meet up and play a power game¹⁷. The *Daily Record's* headline of the Johnson story, 'Jamaican Mistake-Anger Over Scotland Reggae Rescuer', exemplified this power game. There was 'anger' because the assumed normativity of being a Scottish player seemed to be in danger. By attaching Johnson's blackness with his youthfulness, the universalist assumption of what a Scottish player should be employs every possible defensive language to keep their universalism remain uncontested. This is a clear evidence of the condition of the possibility by which whiteness can be made operative as the normativity that essentialises both the agency of whiteness and its others.

In short, 'inferential racism' can define the situation itself where 'race' is problematised. Without the power of this ideology, the debate, argument or discussion of 'racism' would not be possible. In this sense, its epistemology is sustained by positivism. Even mobilising the 'positive' signification of stereotypes is of this kind. While 'black bastard', 'darkie' and 'coon' are prohibited, 'black pearl' might be regarded as harmless because it signifies a positive image¹⁸. In a more institutional, material context, apparently impartial, neutral and common sense statements and descriptions of racial 'other' are realised by the inferential power of this racism. Ultimately, as it in fact opens up a public sphere where 'race' is signified in a variety of ways, it enables the enunciative subject to speak the racialised language in both positive and negative ways. He or she can make use of them at their will because the 'inferential ideology' allows them to speak as such.

7.4 Whiteness and the Ontological Confusion of Being and Doing

Looking back at the 'Jungle Tale' incident, it might be easy to accuse the boy and his elderly companion of their 'white' racism against 'black' players. However, this is exactly the example of 'instrumental racism' spread among the casual scenes of football grounds. They are in the position to choose and use racist remark as an instrument to draw a line between 'us' and 'them'. Then, what I want to discuss in this chapter is whether this boy and his companion, Scottish, Celtic fan and presumably Catholic in Glasgow are really 'white' and, if they are, what makes them 'white', what the criteria is, and what the marker of being white is. Although the imagery of 'Fenians' contributes to constructing the 'Irish' as not-exactly-white, the imaginary, that is, the corporeality of self, remains to be seen of the way in which to become 'white'. For instance, the 'ethnic group question' of the 2001 British National Census form categorises 'Irish' as one of the white ethnic groups. Once someone ticks 'Irish' as his/her cultural background, there is no other way to indicate the ethnicity other than choosing 'white'¹⁹. In short, it is necessary to argue whether whiteness is something 'inherent' to a particular racial category and to discuss to what extent that 'inherence' is regarded as an attribute to the category.

Since the 1990s, the study of whiteness has stressed that the power of whiteness lies in its colourlessness and normality²⁰. Yet it does not mean that whiteness is a powerfully homogenised and totalised power source always available equally to the people whose ontological condition is more dominant than others. It is true that the subject position made available by inferential ideology is inclined to correspond to the white side of the colour line. However, there is a real danger of what could be termed as the 'socio-ontological reductionism' of the subjectivity in asking what kind of 'subject position' can occupy the real of what is called whiteness as a powerful quality of racial difference.

Les Back and Vron Ware have cautioned that 'the ontology of racism depends on pure categories of difference which confuse being with acting'²¹. The history of white people's advantage in occupying the more powerful subject position does not guarantee that;

whiteness is the determining feature in the behaviour of 'white subjects' in all situations. Whiteness is not about racial inheritance at all: it is the means

through which racial dominance is lived, established partly through the maintenance of social relations along racial lines²².

A consideration of the social and historical construction of 'whiteness' has to begin with the firm negation of the unconditional assumption of the ontological being. This confused assumption renders the unevenness of racism unnoticed. However, the overt, explicit and practiced racist performative action, which is often publicly disapproved of, is differentiated from the discourse of power, which is widely available to the speaking subjects through spoken language, metaphors, bodily actions and imagery. Anoop Nayak makes a similar distinction between 'racism as a discourse of power available to them through regimes of representation' and 'racism as a chosen subject position'²³. In the former category, the repertoire of racialised notion, vocabulary, language and gesture is accessible and applicable to their illocutionary moments of utterance and performance. Whether it is explicitly 'racist' or not, the power of holding this power enables the subjects to be dominant and to keep them positioned as someone who could initiate the racist enactment. However, I have to hasten to stress that reading into the semantic field of racism and the practice of the normalising process of racialised differences are by no means separate analytical works. The unevenness of racism is materialised by BOTH its form of appearance AND its structuring practice as a cultural phenomenon.

It is crucial that the subject position is not reified as a category specifically inherent to the sub-category of human classification such as race, ethnicity, and gender. Doing, acting and speaking come first and those practices perform selfhood as the subject of a particular process of subjectivisation and othering. The subject position is projected by the performative action and then can occupy the place where the power of representation is made to operate. It is constructed, not pre-given, by calling someone, for example, 'black bastard', 'coon' as well as by attributing someone's remarkable 'skill' to his or her racial 'origin'.

By way of both racist abuse and the affirmative, positive reference to someone's 'race', the speaking subject shows that they have 'choice' of pattern of othering. In short, this is what, by way of James Baldwin's observation of 'one's colour', Back and Ware address the 'whiteness' as a category of racialised difference provisioned for 'a greater choice than others' of acting/doing²⁴. The difference between those who can be provided with a greater choice and those

who cannot be made to be correspondent to the one between those who either accuse racist abuse and fight against racism or throw bananas towards black players and aggressively taunt them, and those who become the object of either protection or the target of abuse and terror. It is important to remember that this difference can be applied to both players and supporters.

7.5 Paul Gascoigne and the 'Fluidity of Whiteness'

As Rangers player, English international Paul Gascoigne stands on the side of those who can make a choice. Gascoigne deliberately used a performance denotative of old sectarian imagery when he displayed the infamous Protestant Orange March flute-miming²⁵. Although contributing to the sectarian regeneration, Gascoigne said that his team mate Ian Ferguson told him that it was the 'traditional goal celebration' of Rangers and that he just tried to 'fit in', because he 'had no idea what the mimicry really meant'²⁶. When Celtic made an official complaint to the Scottish Football Association, Gascoigne was fined £20,000 and had to make a public apology. Those actions were taken because his mimicry was found 'deeply offensive' to many Catholic Celtic supporters.

Although Gascoigne's bad behaviour and reputation tend to have been dismissed as merely 'stupid', 'childish' and 'infantile'²⁷, and because of his talent as a mid-field genius, I found quite a few Celtic supporters who I came across in the course of the field work naming 'Gazza' as one of the best players Scottish football had ever seen. The following conversation with three Celtic fans is between Andrew, from Alloa and a keen supporter of the Scottish national squad, who appreciated Gazza, and Steve and Sinclair, both from Stirling, who saw 'Gazza' as 'Huns' scum'.

Andrew: He's got such a pace. He can pass, shuuuu, like this. He can run, but not that quick and tidy. Slow with the ball, well, used to be quick, but no one gets him in midfield'

Steve: No one gets him, because he's doing this, helicopter! (raised his hand squarely). That's not football.

Sinclair: That's nae handball either!'²⁸

Though it is frequently observed that the evaluation of individual players and the 'love-and-hate' sentiment towards particular clubs are ambiguous, this

conversation seemed to me useful as a matrix in which Gascoigne's evaluation was narrated among Celtic supporters. It reveals the co-existence of love and hate aimed at his body. Obviously Andrew's appreciation of Gascoigne is justified by the fact that he is still a vital mid-field dynamo for Rangers and his skill of searching spaces and passing convinces fans that he is 'Gazza'. At the same time, as a Rangers player who overtly performed hostile behaviour to the Celtic end, he was a person who is to be hated. On the other hand, there is an evaluation that Gascoigne is a genius footballer whichever club he plays for. He is given his overarching capability that allows him to take a free-pass to go beyond the club rivalry as far as football is concerned. Apparently, as the common story of the city's great football rivalry has been telling us, for a player to belong to the other side is a good enough reason to be booed, hated and ultimately ignored. However, the hatred does not fully explain either the 'love' for Gascoigne among Celtic fans or Gascoigne's own explicit 'on-the-pitch' antagonism to Celtic.

One possible answer to this complex affection for Gascoigne may be found by looking at his ethnicity, and its connectivity and dis-connectivity to the quality of Glasgow football cultures. It seems relatively easy to assume that, because of his lack of sectarian ontology in Glasgow, his body was celebrated by the Scottish fans. His body (and face) can be detached from the rigid frame of reference in which sectarian imageries must be clearly divided between Irish Catholics and Scottish Protestants. This detachment may be indicated through the fact that despite his frolic goal celebration in the 1996 European Championship, the Scottish media gave no particularly offensive treatment to Gascoigne when he returned to Ibrox as a Rangers player at the beginning of the new season.

However, it would be misleading to think that Gascoigne and his identity stand at the complete third space, the free zone from the Scottish sectarian foundationalism. His Englishness sits together with his career as a Rangers player in terms of the cultural link between the stereotype of Rangers fandom and the constructed imagery of Gascoigne. In the midst of the patriotic, neo-conservative English tabloid culture, Gascoigne went to 10 Downing Street to be photographed hugging Margaret Thatcher and said afterwards that 'she was nice and warm and cuddly-like'²⁹. Conservatism and Unionism of Rangers imagery was correspondent to the intimacy that Gascoigne publicly acknowledged³⁰.

There is another context in which Gascoigne's goal in the European Championship has to be interpreted. According to Ben Carrington, the setting up of the Championship itself, epitomised by the catch copy of 'Football Is Coming Home', was a nationalistic attempt to link the lost golden era of the 1960s, especially in reference to the 1966 World Cup victory, and the 1990s as its revival. Carrington argues that the juxtaposition of Beatles and Oasis, and even Harold Wilson and Tony Blair, has recast the image of Britain as 'home' where even the actuality of the no-place for Asians and black people in contemporary Britain is made to vanish³¹. Through the mechanisms of the spectacle 'race' is induced to the circumscription of a nation. Among the 'back to 1966' narratives, the front page montage of the *Sunday Times Magazine*, which sees Gascoigne, holding arm and arm with Jackie Charlton, another Geordie, wearing the 1966 England red shirt and raising the World Cup trophy, was a good portrait of Gascoigne as a white Englishman.

Also the working class intimacy is represented in the two Geordies. It was then Newcastle United manager Jackie Charlton who decided to keep Gascoigne in the team despite the advice given from the team trainer that he be 'released' because of his 'disruptive influence'³². After his meeting with 16 year old Gascoigne, it is said that Charlton came out of his office with tears, saying 'what a life that boy has had'³³. Whether this 'soft-hearted Jack' story is true or not, a certain pattern of the creation of patronising male-bonding in the working class culture is implemented in the form of father-son schema³⁴.

No matter how romanticised, the distracted family life and poverty is still a nucleus of the working class life story. Thus, there can be a certain space of representation for class, by effectively being combined with 'race' and nation, to create the racialised circumscription of ethnic nationalism. In Britain and Ireland the Orange march is basically the masculine populist working class event³⁵. The 'Walk' represents the 'communitarian values of mutual aid and brotherhood', which

can give people a sense of belonging to something which not only boosts self-confidence but also offers them a quite different perspective of their worth in a society from which many working class people are beginning to feel increasingly alienated and rejected³⁶.

What is enunciated above is the will to re-gain working class value, the sentiment of anti-social gentrification, the counter-position to the state of anomie and the blue-print of a utopian re-making of a class society. The populist view of social significance of Orange institutions for working class life provides the analogy of the condition under which contemporary football fandom negotiates over its *raison d'être*. The negotiation over the 'traditional' white working class sense of community, if it has ever existed unconditionally, has been pushed to the threshold by the ecological transformation of stadium, the increasingly inevitable commercialisation and merchantisation, the demand for corporate hospitality, the irresistible tide of cosmopolitanisation of players, capital and fandom itself. Through the flute-miming and his individual skill lined with the bad boy image, Gascoigne pulled back all the environmental transformation to what traditional Old Firm fans may invest in their localised affect.

The object of that affective investment may be the racialised physiognomy of appearance of Gascoigne's ginger hair which makes it likely for Scottish fans of both Celtic and Rangers, to imagine the distinctive, overarching marker of the connectivity between Gascoigne and a certain flamboyant, temperament group of Scottish players such as Gordon Strachan, Billy Bremner, Jimmy 'Jinky' Johnston, Willie Henderson, Archie Gemmill and most notably the 'Wee Bud' Willie Johnston. With Willie Johnston Gascoigne shares not only hair colour and the team colour of blue but also the playing position as attacking mid-fielder³⁷. Combined to his flair for skill, vision, entertaining, provoking ability, occasional charm and aggressive temper, such a culturally attuned visual appearance as his ginger hair might have associated Gascoigne with such a Rangers legend with a notorious sending off record as Willie Johnston³⁸.

Stuart Cosgrove has defined the style of those 'tanner ba' players' as the players who 'can delight crowds' and 'can dismantle a packed defense, score the tournament's best goal, and conjure victory out of skill, conviction and necessity' and are 'usually small, often ginger-haired, invariably working class and aggressively Scottish'³⁹. Indeed, those ginger haired players' moment of appreciation would come when they played 'aggressively Scottish' *against* England, not for England⁴⁰. Gascoigne may have succeeded to displace the Englishness from the Scottish's point of view by his strong Geordie accent, that is, his sub-national belonging⁴¹. Gazza is a Geordie rather than English.

Although the whiteness confined with Englishness appears to be well-fabricated by the re-nationalising project of Euro 96, it remains untouched how, for example, Gascoigne's ginger hair 'knobhead', not blond like Bobby Moore in 1966, his Geordiness and his childishness are articulated in the nationally shared whiteness. It is important that the name of Geordie has been monolithically circumscribed to white populations and their cultural affiliation in the North East. It is clarified not by the one-way assertion that Geordie is white, but the contestation to the implicit but commonly conceived assumption of whiteness as a quality of being Geordie⁴². However, the ways that whiteness circumscribes the national and ethnic boundary to which Gascoigne is expected to belong indicates that it is wrong to presume a horizontally plural lexicon of the designations in whiteness when the power relations within and around the historical and social construction of whiteness matters. This is not to reify a monolithic whiteness.

For this task, I refer to what Mathew Frye Jacobson describes as the 'fluidity' of racial categories⁴³. Jacobson suggests that whiteness has become a stake that is contested over 'its definition, its internal hierarchies, its proper boundaries, and its rightful claimants' through a series of historical formation and cultural construction of the quality of being 'white' among European migrants to America in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth century⁴⁴. The 'fluidity of whiteness' is one of the characteristics of what Jacobson calls the 'vicissitude of race' by which he means a kind of racial mutability, 'a system of "difference" by which one might be able to be both white and racially distinct from other whites'⁴⁵. Jacobson's idea is useful to problematise the normalisation of racialised language use, racialised embodiment and bodily action, which is pursued by various agencies in one racialised category as 'white'. Despite the almost non-presence of non-white people, there is no integral, totalised homogeneity of what would have been categorised as 'white', where the Old Firm cosmology is likened to the society itself.

7.6 The Different Colour of White

The experiences of two Celtic and Northern Ireland international players, Anton Rogan in the late 1980s and more recently Neil Lennon, can be understood as the rejection of sharing a totalised category of 'white', expressed by those who

oppose the inclusion of Rogan and Lennon, both Northern Irish born Catholic and Celtic players, in the national team⁴⁶. When Celtic's left-back Rogan was greeted with boos and sectarian chants by the crowd during his international debut for Northern Ireland at Windsor Park, it was said that 'while Anton plays his club football for Celtic, he will never be accepted at Windsor Park'⁴⁷. The fact that Lennon even received a death threat can be understood as the existence of a desire that demands not only the exclusion of Lennon's 'doing', that is playing for the country, but also his being as a Catholic Northern Ireland representative. He is not shy of being in favour of the united Ireland football team, such as the Rugby Union's successful attempt, and when he completed the £5.5m transfer from Leicester City, Lennon remarked that 'you have to be Irish to understand the pull of Celtic. They are a massive, massive club'⁴⁸. Lennon does not only mean the economic and supporting scale of the club, but his eager desire to be Irish and his club belonging to Celtic de-valued by the fans' rejection of being the same as the player in terms of the present national order.

Being a Rangers/England player and trying to 'fit in' the tradition of those who have rejected to share the value of belonging with Rogan and Lennon, Gascoigne's whiteness may appear more universally 'national' than those two Catholic Celtic players are. In the complex realm of the intersection of difference and sameness, Gascoigne's universality as a footballer is recognised, assured and re-inscribed into his body only when his locality and skin colour are reserved. With the help of mimicking the 'tradition' of Rangers' goal celebration, his 'white Geordie body' functions as if he is an icon of the Rangers cultures. Celtic fanzines were not slow to invent a variety of idioms to have Gascoigne represented as the condensed image of what, for Celtic fandom, Rangers is supposed to represent. Such idioms as 'BSE (Bloody Swinging Elbow)', 'Fat Bloke' or 'Hun's moron with Geordie extraction' implicate the combined imagery of aggressive ugliness, physicality and local connectivity confined to the body of Gascoigne. By the mixture of those elements, Gascoigne is represented as, from Celtic fandom's point of view, the embodiment of temporarily to-be-hated, temporarily to-be-despised Rangers culture. He has become the authentic replica of the sectarian residue.

However, at the next instance begins his once established iconic image floating between the connotations of Rangers and Celtic. Gascoigne's capability of

essentialising and embodying the Rangers culture shows a more vulnerable phase. It was after being reported beating his now estranged wife that he was also caught by the media, drinking pints of Guinness heavily at an Irish bar in New York, shouting 'I'm Irish, I'm Irish', wearing Celtic colours, and above all watching the Old Firm game on TV⁴⁹. That is why his image is inserted, as a paradoxical affirmation of his popularity and value, frequently into pages of Celtic fanzines and made an icon of stupidity, physicality, masculinity, aggression and humour, all of which seems to be diminished in the contemporary sophisticated, re-gentrified, regulated and civilised football performances.

In referring to the wax dummy of Gascoigne in Madame Tussaud's, a column of *NTV* described that '(A)pparently the wax replica is authentic in every detail, right down to the moronic facial expression and wax brain...'⁵⁰ While the performance of Gascoigne made himself the 'authentic replica', his own body and image are authentically replicated as a wax figure. Although it is a negative recognition, the *NTV* column may represent a Celtic fan's recognition of the public recognition of the nationwide, 'British' popularity of Gascoigne. He is individualised rather than being forced to embody the total environment in which Rangers imagery is articulated.

7.7 Nationalism and the Multiracial Dilemma

When someone, something becomes contentious to the monolithic assumption of the quality of sectarian sub-cultures of the Old Firm game, the nucleus of that quality may come out on the surface. In Gascoigne's case, the 'vicissitude of race' by which whiteness is unevenly constructed has softened the possibility of the contestation. However, when the Scottish myth of tolerance faces the 'someone, something' which would not find the common ground with the nucleus, the story would be different.

In 1991, Cosgrove attempted to disclose many myths around the Scottish football industry, including the fact that, of many racist assaults against black players, banana throwing was also frequently well documented in the Scottish grounds⁵¹. Signings of Mark Walters, Basil Bori (both Rangers), Vic Kasure (Hamilton), Richard Cadete (Falkirk) and Paul Elliott (Celtic) saw the first notable wave of the presence of black players in Scottish grounds. This early phase of

cosmopolitanisation shows how the intersection of race, nation and masculinity plays a critical part in defining the realm of fandom and the sense of belonging which fandom invests in refining the love for a particular football club and the pleasure of supporting it.

To consider such an environment, I closely look at the cases of Mark Walters, signed for Rangers from Aston Villa in 1987, and Paul Elliot, signed for Celtic from Italian club Pisa in 1989. Both black English players' footballing life in Scotland well-illustrates a pattern of the interplay of club totemism and racial differentiation. As some observers have already well-documented, both players became the prominent target of racist verbal abuse and physical intimidation of banana throwing⁵². Therefore, instead of repeating each incident and scandalous event, I would like to focus on the rhetoric of the Celtic side, provided by both the witnesses and Elliot himself.

After Walters's first Old Firm game on 2nd of January 1988, a group of Celtic fans wrote to the clubs official newspaper *Celtic View*;

As life long Celtic supporters at present living in London we often encounter large English supporters with racist contingents. These cowards taunt black players and display their intelligence by making monkey noises and throwing bananas about. ...So it was with sadness that we saw and heard a few Celtic fans mimicking these morons whenever Mark Walters touched the ball at Parkhead on January 2nd. It was doubly sad because the roots of Celtic Football Club lie in the defense of an oppressed minority and the club has made its name in the world without resorting to the kind of sectarian policies which others have employed. Celtic supporters are the finest in the world and have previously proved themselves to be above the kind of ignorant antics seen on January 2nd(witness the visit of Laurie Cunningham to Celtic Park or the way that racist noises were drawn out by a sizable section of Celtic support at Highbury for the David O'Leary testimonial) but while the team did so well on January 2nd some of the fans let us all down badly...⁵³

I quote this letter because it seems to me to provide a kind of formality when the fans express their opinion on the racism generated by a section of Celtic supporters. They see a contradiction between the actuality of a 'sizable' section of racist Celtic supporters and the roots of the club. As racism should not be the

internal nature of Celtic, racism against Walters should not have occurred because it was not what Celtic was supposed to stand for. In their logic, a link between anti-black racism and anti-Celtic sectarianism can be established by reading out the equivalence between the black experience of racism and the Celtic experience of sectarianism.

The power of the 'neighbourhood nationalism'⁵⁴ can be examined here in the rhetorical articulation of sectarian experience with anti-racist moral expression. The immediately shared witness of racism, which is endorsed by the popular memorisation of sectarian inequality, drives a particular experience in a particular spatial condition, inside the football stadium, towards an acknowledgment of the wider socio-cultural issues of racism. This acknowledgment becomes a crucial principle of differentiation and determination by intentionally building up the equivalence between the memory of sectarian injustice to the black experience of racism.

Although the presence of the 'ignorant antics' among Celtic supporters might have been the consequence of the colonisation of a section of Celtic fans by the English 'morons', and that the anti-racist sentiment is transformed by rhetorical translation to an important element of the 'neighbourhood nationalism', it is this view of racism as external influence which may equate the authors' anti-racism to the mythologisation of Scottish nationalism so as to re-establish anti-English Scottish national sentiment. As Cosgrove mentioned, 'Scotland is a tolerant and welcoming country and racism is a problem confined to England's green and unpleasant land'⁵⁵. When English fans are collectively labeled as 'hooligans', Scottish fans try to express the difference by naming themselves the 'Scots'. Fan style of the 'Tartan Army' is celebrated for their carnivalesque, apprehensive manner⁵⁶. However, this does not mean that collectively identified Scottish fans always bring their international reputation back to the club level. Monkey chants and racial abuse fired toward Celtic's dreadlocked Swedish striker Henrik Larsson during the Cup semi-final against Airdrie in 1998 was far from a friendly mutual appreciation for which the Scots might have been celebrated during the 1990 Italia World Cup⁵⁷.

Although the rhetoric of anti-racism may define the realm in which the 'neighbourhood nationalism' can operate to construct the active fandom, a Celtic

fan Gerry cast a self-doubt on the basis for support of a football club by talking about the negative impact that the presence of Walters generated;

Now we say we are the best supporters in the world. I don't deny that. I'm sure we are, but, oh, that was crazy. I saw everybody like got possessed. Something very very scary and intimidating. It's just crazy. Even a guy next to me laughing, you know? Smile on his face, you know, while he shouted very nasty thing black that black this, you know. You asked me about the media, the media, puuhuu, they did nothing, They printed nothing about it, as if it was a good Old Firm excitement, you know.

The supposed camaraderie is faded away to disillusionment. Fraternity is on the brink of self-doubt. The 'other' of this fragile 'self' took a step forward to making it public that 'race' has become a stake of the intensity of their 'neighbourhood nationalism'.

7.8 'English? Black? and What?': Mark Walters and Paul Elliott

A Rangers fanzine, *Follow Follow*, launched in 1988, displayed a photograph of Walters on its front cover page. As the editorial title, 'Blue is the only colour that counts', indicates, it is not only critical of Celtic fans' racism, but also appealing to certain sections of Rangers fans who abused rather than applauded Walters. Needless to say, this reflects on a common catch phrase seen in fanzines all through the British football cultures, indicating that whether a player's skin is black or white, only the team colour he belongs to matters. The launch of *Follow Follow* coincided with the new era of Rangers cultures that had been ignited by the appointment of Souness as manager by David Murray. Having Walters on the cover page, it seemed to declare the all newness of Rangers, such as Murray, Souness and the black English player. Walters himself was rarely reported to comment on the racism in Scotland. Instead, in addition to his cover photograph, he wore a Rangers tartan to show his identity as a Scottish club player. Then, his nickname 'Jaffa Cake' seemed to have completed its inception when he was sent off in the 'Mad Sunday' Old Firm derby on St. Patrick's Day in 1991⁵⁸.

Protected by the blue shirt, the tartan kilt and the club's strict stance on those who abuse their own player inside the stadium⁵⁹, Walters attracted more harsh racism from opponent fans. The banana throwing by the fans was frequently

witnessed by those who attended the games but mostly condemned only by the club the player belonged to⁶⁰. The banana is given a symbolic meaning as a material of racism in the sense that it is a gesture of feeding a monkey or a chimpanzee to which black players are likened. In this context, the banana was signified as a food that is suitable to primitive and uncivilised creatures. It also may be recognised as the representation of an imperialistic behaviour by white fans not only because bananas signify not only exotic colonies, but also because they are produced by plantation labour. Bearing in mind Raymond Williams's view of George Orwell's comment on the 'strange fate' of the British working class in the imperial colonial system, the act of banana throwing can be interpreted as 'disciplining', in Williams's words, labour forces from the (ex-) colonies in the postcolonial situation⁶¹. Given that the players' wage is paid partly by the ticket income and that bananas are a food, the symbolism of exploitation may be marked by giving 'food' and 'jobs' to the subsequent target of the racist ritual. It is at least partly for this reason that the history of Empire and colonisation, of slavery and conquest, has penetrated deep into the culture of modern racism in football.

Although bananas can be missiles, the bullet used by the British colonial troops in Africa in the late Nineteenth century was different from the contemporary alternative in football stadium. John Ellis notes that the goal of the newly invented machine gun, tried and then installed by the British troops in the late Nineteenth century British imperialist colonial war, was the complete de-humanisation of the opposing African natives⁶². This act was, from the viewpoint of the British white supremacist belief in Christian civilisation, 'morally acceptable'⁶³. One hundred years later, however, the targeted creature has to be human, not completely de-humanised animal. It has to be sub-human or infra-human because, as one interviewee Stuart told me, 'whit d' ya' do if Walters picked up one and eaten' t'.

If ya're feeding chimps, that's al'right, it's a good food, chips for them. Bu' it's nae chimps. Well, ya know, they did nae expect that. I mean eating bananas they dumped away to the pitch 'cos they knew the bananas won't be eaten. 'Cos Walters is a man, human being. But the prejudice and, and, hatred of Rangers made them do that. They deliberately do that 'cos it's a way of showing disrespect.

The black figure of Walters was transformed into an infra-human body by the act of banana throwing. This interviewee pointed out that de-humanisation was a deliberate practice. While the writers of the letter I quoted at the beginning of the section felt that racism was the problem of lack of knowledge, the interviewee's opinion was that it was done by those who knew exactly what they were doing.

I would argue that this is the embodiment of white imperial colonialism. When a section of Celtic fans threw bananas, the coloniser's destructive legacy was recovered in an unexpected way by the migrated descendant of the nearest colonised population. An interrogation is required here as to what kind of social and cultural forces have made it possible for those who position themselves as the oppressed, 'once-second-citizen', to embody, or mime, what their oppressors do. As argued in Chapter 5, this is another dimension in which Celtic's imaginary is piled up with the English and British imperialist imaginary.

Soon after his signing, Lewisham born Paul Elliott, far more outspoken than Walters, confessed that 'the racial abuse I've suffered in Scotland is far worse than anything I had to put up with in England and Italy'⁶⁴. Despite his initially poor performance since his arrival just before the season began, Elliott became quite a popular player among the fans, described as 'big, ruthless type of player...a driver-on' after his heroic performance against Rangers in the Scottish Cup fourth round tie⁶⁵. His strong commitment led him to being nominated (and awarded) Scottish Players' Player of the Year and Parklands' Bar Player of the Year' both in 1991. The latter was set up for him by the regulars of one of the Celtic pubs to give him an honour. However, apart from his financial confrontation with the club, his struggle to settle down at Parkhead was continuing because of the racial abuse he suffered. Elliott confessed;

I seemed to experience problems particularly when we were at Hearts and Hibs. The racist abuse was often quite severe, although generally restricted to a minority in the standing areas. Funnily enough, I also remember when we played Hearts at Parkhead their supporters absolutely terrorised me with racist insults - so much so that John Colquhoun, the Hearts players and SPFA representative, made several attempts to express his disapproval of their behaviour...Some people suggested that the abuse arose simply because I played for Celtic...however, this was possibly their way of

‘sweeping the matter under the carpet’ instead of accepting it and dealing with it⁶⁶.

Unlike Walters’ case, Elliott does not mention the assumed enemy of the city rival Rangers as the worst experience of racism. More importantly, he cautiously denies the possibility of the ‘blue is the only colour that counts’ type identification. For Elliott, ‘race’ is more powerful and given heavier weight than the club rivalry. It appears undeniable that two Edinburgh clubs are the worst place to be for Elliott because of the localised city rivalry. Wearing the same shirt and expressing the same sense of belonging does not guarantee the unconditional inclusion of black players in the stabilised cosmology of the fandom. On his last appearance at Celtic Park before moving to Chelsea, the fans invaded the pitch, shouting ‘Paul Elliott Must Stay’.

Notwithstanding the fans’ love for Elliott, another axis of differentiation might have worked when a Celtic writer described Elliott as ‘the verbal antithesis of (Danny) McGrain, exhibiting a high degree of articulation. He does however talk absolute gibberish...’⁶⁷. Elliott’s Englishness and south London accent were used here as a marker of his incomplete inclusion.

Black players that time did not kept themselves silent, though. Cadete once told a man at the stand who kept saying ‘black bastard’ to him to ‘shut up because no one was listening to you’⁶⁸. However, the complex twining of racist forms of expression entangles with the perception of and identification with a black player beyond the reach of the direct, overt and visible treatment with racist practices. At a cup game against Rangers in 1991, Elliott made a strong, ‘Nigel Spackman’ type tackle on the Rangers player himself. One female Celtic fan recalls the moment afterwards.

And this fan right in front of me launched himself into this tirade of abuse against Paul Elliott. The upshot was-all the usual swearwords-he said: ‘You’re no even a real black! You’re not even a real darkie! At least we’ve got a proper nigger! Mark Walters is black ! You’re just coffee-coloured !’⁶⁹

A statement like this makes it hardly possible to apply the survey scheme, such as of Perkins, that asks the one-dimensional distinction of ‘racist or not’. It seems at a glance that the shirt Elliott wore has made an uncompromising difference. However, whatever gradation it may be, the blackness is displayed in this racist Rangers fan’s statement as the fixed, recognisable and inevitable nature of

different 'race'. It is true that the degree of blackness appears to primarily matter to him. Yet the gradation DOES matter only when the authenticity of being black is assumed through the 'epidermalisation' negatively or temporarily positively, at the point where this statement was spoken. Therefore, it is necessary to pose a question once again as to how much it can become an absolute value to wear either the Celtic shirt or Rangers shirt once a player is positioned as the 'other' outside the dominant mapping of the racialised cartography of identity. This question also needs to be asked from the angle of the self that is designed as the enunciative subject and constructed by the practice of othering. The racial harassment Elliott has experienced demonstrates the power of the naturalised language of racism, showing that racialised representation is far more powerful than which club the player belongs to. The gravity of racialised categorisation is heavier than the cultural one. 'Nature' still proceeds 'culture' in this sense.

The impossibility of the assumed, expected cultural assimilation is the hurdle, first and foremost, imposed on the objects of othering by racialisation. Although such words as 'black', 'nigger' and 'darkie' are supposed to signify Walters' black body, the subject of this utterance used them to raise the specific gravity of Walters in comparison with Elliott. This can happen because there are unquestionable assumptions regarding the existence of both Walters and Elliott. Elliott was playing with the double burden of being English and black on his shoulder and it would not be entirely wrong to suggest that it might be his unique double-burden which has made him one of the previous Celtic players whose portrait was displayed on the wall of the members bar deep inside Celtic Park. It might be the same reason why Walters was so hated and abused by Celtic fans. At this point, the club belonging eventually achieved the ultimate differentiation. The 'epidermalisation' has shifted its target of inscription from the blackness of human skin to the chemically fabricated multi-coloured surface.

However, the consequence is understood not as a finality of the process and practice of human classification but as a 'contingent inclusion'⁷⁰. The centrality of club belonging appears to have achieved the ultimate choice between 'us' and 'them'. However, as seen in the next quotation, there is a strange equivalence between the target of racist abuse and the object that Celtic fans invest in their affective praise.

Gerry: Souness brought in Mark Walters to Ibrox. He's English and black. You asked me about racism, right. Yes, I've got a lot to say about it. Being a black wasn't the nicest thing in the world that time only 10 years ago wasn't it? I can't still believe it, how could we justify that racism tae Walters. Ya know, being black just wasn't right. Being an Englishman made things far worse. It's joking.

---Is it really joking?

Well, yes and no, yes, now here in front of you interview me, no that time. Well, Walters was not a bad striker, was he? He could score goals and he's a quality player. No doubt about that. And, being a Hun, that's the end of him. Perhaps nothing personal. Nobody hated him as a person or individual or...Then Paul Elliott came in, a few years later than wee Walters. He's English and black. He's special, reckless, full of emotion. We cheered him, then booed Walters. We cheered big Elliott louder and louder, and booed Walters louder and louder, as loudly as possible. Cannae explain tae you very well, ya know. When we see Paul Elliott dominate the Bhoys' defense line, I'd say 'he's black, English, and what?' kind of thing to the racist thugs.

De-problematising blackness and Englishness can be a culmination of 'neighbourhood nationalism'. Wearing the same colour works as a substitute for 'race'. This substitution, however, does not mean a total disappearance of 'race' but it rather supplements the already racialised colour line. In other words, denaturalisation of racialised markers maintains its power of hierarchical classification through the multiple mode of application of othering, which is available almost exclusively to those who are not supposed to represent such a human category as the target of banana missile, monkey chant or endless booing.

Described as 'exceptional' and 'ruthless', the physical approach Elliott embodied at the centre-back position evokes an admiration with a touch of fear. In addition, the scandal-hungry Scottish tabloids did not fail to give him a status of the Glasgow designer's bar legend. Cosgrove well-summarised the situation in which Elliott was involved when he wrote that in the world of Scottish football 'all races are created equal;

when they pull on a football shirt, ethnicity and colour evaporate into insignificance, and then become part of the glorious brotherhood of scandal.

One of the most enduring sights of Scottish football in the '90s is the sight of Elliott after he has scored. With his *déclassé* wet-look perm and his haddie hips, he loves to delight the Celtic support by shaking himself in the sensuous style of the cameroons⁷¹.

All the jesting irony aside, Cosgrove's description of Elliott illustrates the sexual and sensual portrait of a black athlete. Elliott's tabloidised reputation of booze and sex, says Cosgrove, is owing to Scottish football's 'ingenious ability to offer the hand of friendship to outsiders'⁷². Otherness is constructed here as a consequence of what Hall calls the 'doubling of fear and desire'⁷³. Those contradictory elements work simultaneously to mark out the one time insignificant quality of otherness and show that the anti-racism is always hung on a sensitive balance. Although it may be too harsh to criticise Cosgrove for his inferential racialisation, his deliberate tone of jesting has happened to prove the way that a black subject is racially othered. The supplementary power of a team shirt over 'race' is always in a highly tense negotiation with racialisation.

7.9 Conclusion: Discrepant Politics of Colours

Differently racialised colours are perceived differently when the club colours and the alleged religious belonging paste each other. In addition to Walters's 'Jaffa Cake', Black French defender Basil Bori was applauded as 'Billy Bori' and the fans sung 'hello hello we are the Bori boys'⁷⁴. Bori, being a Catholic French man who was once allegedly told by the Rangers authority not to cross himself on the pitch, was recognised as one of the 'Billys'. Alan Spences's Glasgow poetics lets a Protestant Glaswegian uncle tell his nephew that orange is the 'best colour', purple is 'good', red is 'fine too', black and white, they are 'OK, not good, not bad', and green is 'bad, the worst'⁷⁵. Backed up by the best colour, and having a body of not good, not bad colour, Bori was promoted to the position within the sectarian cosmology that is, I believe it bears repetition here, composed of excessive, overwhelming religious hatred and the urban myth of street violence as discussed in the previous chapter.

Gascoigne tried to 'fit in' this cosmology and appeared to be accepted relatively easily. Although Walters, Elliott and Bori also did the same and seem to have been accepted, there is difference and contrast between the representations of

Gascoigne and the black players. The most notable difference is that none of the black players performed potentially sectarianised actions explicitly. 'Billy Bori' is merely the outcome of supporters' appropriation of their existing cultural resource. Yet unlike Bori, Gascoigne has never been told not to cross himself in front of the crowd because it was not his 'entering the field' habit at all. Unlike Walters, Gascoigne has never suffered from aggressive monkey chants and banana missiles because the crowds did not see him as similar to Walters. Finally, unlike Mo Johnston, Gascoigne was never been questioned about his religious loyalty simply because it was not religious faith but the fact of Johnston's previous career as a Celtic player which mattered most. Being free from racialised hierarchy and religious excess, Gascoigne had more choice than those Rangers players have had, as to how to behave, how to act, how to exhibit what he thought he was. However, the different treatment by others from black players and from Catholics, does not fully imply his blue-tone-whiteness.

The identities of Elliott, Walters and Bori are detached from the body and re-attached to either blue shirts with a logo of McEwans Lager or green-white Hoops with the CR Smith logo. The present shirt sponsor, NTL, even overarches this logo-difference. However, what overarches them most is whiteness as a keynote bass which circumscribes the racialised national imagination of Scottishness and Irishness. As both 'Fenians' and 'Huns' are attuned to whiteness, even insulting words in the football context select the racial category. As shown in the last chapter, even the counter-imperial and colonial tone of the latter finds itself constantly negotiated and sometimes compatible with English and British imagery. I argue that the sectarian sentiment of colour line not only remains strong but also becomes more sharpened. Racialisation is effectively sustained and moreover reinforced by the Old Firm divide. In turn, the sectarian residue finds a space to be articulated with the football rivalry through 'race' when with the help of the 'contingent inclusion' enabled by 'instrumental racism' one competes to be less racist than the other. Negation of one multi-ness may lead to the negation of another axis of multi-ness. This can be understood as an archetype of the construction of what could be called multicultural and cosmopolitan sectarianism.

Anti-racism driven by the affirmative rhetoric sustained by the 'neighbourhood nationalism' of Celtic fans is expected to diminish the efficacy of this misguided

supplementarity for the racialised order of othering. However, ascribing the racist cause to the quantity of non-white players still maintains its efficiency to pull back the prevailing multicultural vectors even if the sectarian moment wraps cosmopolitan tendency in the existing the racialised order of othering. In the next chapter, I wish to explore this mechanism of othering itself as the complex layers, and the constantly shifting valuation of, the politics of racialisation particularly with reference to anti-racist actions and sentiments of the Celtic side, officials and fans. It is to pay far closer attention to the ways in which the racialised order of othering is normalised.

Notes.

¹ *The Guardian*, 7th January 2000. 38% of Everton fans, 36% of Rangers fans and 33% of Celtic fans 'have heard' racist abuse during the season. Giving Everton fans the first place of 'racist' culture simply reproduces the imagery that their chanting of 'Evertons are white' and 'Nigerpool' and banana throwing when John Barnes first appeared as Liverpool player in 1987 as the first black player in the Merseyside in fifteen years. For the pitfall of the discourse that Everton is racist, Liverpool is its target, see Chapter 4 of Back, Crabbe and Solomos, op. cit., pp. 39-74.

² Hall, 1990/1981, pp. 8-23.

³ *ibid.*, p.13.

⁴ Murray, 1988., p. 175.

⁵ Finn, 1991a, pp. 78-8.

⁶ *ibid.* p. 78.

⁷ Finn, op. cit.

⁸ The pioneering analysis critically displayed in the collective work of *The Policing the Crisis* (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke and Roberts, 1978) has hardly been applied to the Scottish situation, and rarely examined by those who were looking at 'racism' and 'race relations' in Scotland.

⁹ Finn, 1994a., p. 39.

¹⁰ Ralph Glasser's memoir on his early life in Gorbals is the most articulate account of the 'invisible' others in Glasgow working class life in the first half of the Twenties century (Glasser, 1984).

¹¹ The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies' seminal collection of essays on race and racism in 1970s Britain, *The Empire Strikes Back*, tackled this prescribing racist logic(1994/1982).

¹² Murray, 2000/1998, p. 43.

¹³ Dimeo and Finn, 1998, p. 126.

¹⁴ Crampsey, 1986, p. 185 and Campbell and Potter, 1998, p. 179.

¹⁵ The idea of 'cultural right' is drawn from Stella Orakwue's powerful book on the lives of English black footballers (Orakwue, 1998). The antonym of this is 'residential right'. While the latter is often approved by liberal discourses on race relations, the former tends to be understood as 'unacceptable' because of cultural differences.

¹⁶ Donegan, L. "A question for Scots who want Johnson jocked off", *The Guardian*, 19th October, 1999. He introduced the comments from a SNP spokeswoman and former Scotland manager Ally MacLoad.

¹⁷ This is not peculiar to Scotland. I have found the similar double standard, but the opposite direction in the different context. *The Observer* writer Paul Wilson suggested that the inclusion of Lee Bowyer in the England squad should be eminent as Bowyer's ability as attacking midfielder and his attitude towards the insulting abuse from the terrace is worth calling up. Bowyer had yet to clear his name from being involved in a racist crime on an Asian student in Leeds. A reader's letter quickly dismissed Wilson's naive insistence on Bowyer(*The Observer*, 18th February, 2001).

For Wilson, the gravity of footballing ability is heavier than social, political and ethical correctness. Wilson is symptomatic of the widely operating effect of the double-standard about the treatment of 'racism' in Britain.

¹⁸ I extracted this word from the autobiography of John Barnes (1999, p. 101).

¹⁹ Bronwen Walter raised this problem in her talk 'Within the pale? White diversity and Irishness' at the Irish Diaspora conference at the University of North London, 3-4th November 2000. According to Walter, the census to be carried out in April 2001 will ask to define someone's cultural background as their ethnicity by offering choices as follows; (a) White, (b) Mixed, (c) Asian or Asian British, (d) Black or Black British and (e) Chinese or other ethnic group. 'Irish' is one of sub-categories in (a). While 'British' can be combined with (b), (c) and (d) (not with (e), interestingly), choosing 'Irish' automatically leads to being nothing but 'white'.

²⁰ Among others, Richard Dyer states that one's whiteness can function as a marker of normality, innocence, hope, goodness and the absence of danger and evil whilst it also entails, due to its colonial and imperial endowment the imagery of death, terror and overwhelming powerfulness (Dyer, 1997). Also Ruth Frankenberg pointed out the powerlessness of whiteness because of the lack of distinctive cultural characteristic. Frankenberg documents the diversity and non-integrity of the relationship between white women's 'white' identity and selfhood (Frankenberg, 1993, pp. 191-7).

²¹ Back and Ware, 1995., p.287.

²² Ibid.

²³ Nayak, 1999, p. 188. In his ethnography of white students in a Tyneside comprehensive school, Nayak disclosed that the awareness of wrongness of racism is widely and commonly acknowledged by white pupils. Nevertheless, their careful distinction of two 'subjective positions' make them do the 'racist thing'.

²⁴ Back and Ware, op. cit., p.287.

²⁵ Gascoigne did it twice. The first time was his first match as a Rangers player in July that year against Steaua Bucharest as a pre-season friendly match. He mimed the flute-playing when he scored his first goal for the club in front of nearly a 45,000 crowd in Ibrox. The second time was televised and the opponents were Celtic. He mimed flute-playing at the 'Ne' Year' derby on January 2 in 1998 when he was warming up along the touch-line. It had by then been reported that Gascoigne would leave the Ibrox club at the end of the season. It meant that the match would be his final Old Firm derby.

²⁶ *The Dairy Record*, January 5th, 1998. Moreover, Gascoigne received death-threats and was guarded by the Strathclyde police.

²⁷ Since the first wave of the birth of 'Gazzamania' around the 1990-1 season, Gascoigne has been a tabloid icon. After he was dropped from the England team just before the 1998 World Cup the discourses of the 'madness of Gazza' continuously appeared. It was as if the twilight of the most gifted footballer of his generation was somehow nostalgically described and the narrative of 'pure Gazza' was suddenly being searched for (For example, see *The Observer*, 18th October, 1998).

²⁸ This conversation took place on 7th of February in 1997 when I met them on the train from Glasgow to Stirling and asked them how they saw the influence of the increasing numbers of foreign players in the Scottish football league.

²⁹ *The Guardian*, 19 March, 2001.

³⁰ This is another contrast imagery to Celtic as pro-labour, socialist club, which academic discourses also contribute to crystallising. According to Bradley's survey of political partisanship of Scottish fans, 85% of Celtic fans are Labour supporter in comparison to 33% of Rangers fans. While only 3% Celtic fans claimed their Tory sympathy, Rangers fans count 32% (Bradley, 1995, p. 68)

³¹ Carrington, 1998, p. 115.

³² Hamilton, 1998., p. 10.

³³ *ibid.*

³⁴ Another more striking scene of father-son relation to which Gascoigne's image is attached is the initiation which Vinnie Jones gave Gascoigne by grabbing his groin. Mark Simpson analysed this scene as the Oedipal father-son relationship by which Gascoigne became 'man' from 'kid' through the violent physical experience of heterosexual male bonding (Simpson, 1994, pp. 70-87).

³⁵ Strictly speaking, this observation needs a certain modification. Chris McGreal of *The Guardian* reported the activity of Orange Lodges in Ghana and Togo and the members' regular participation in the 'Walk' in Scotland and Northern Ireland. Interestingly, one of the interviewees, Brother Fred, expressed his disagreement to the grand chaplain of the Scottish lodge. Also the Grand

Master Tay, another interviewee, is among those campaigning for a name change from the 'Imperial Order' to 'International Order' (*The Guardian*, 6 November, 1999).

³⁶ Marshall, 1996, p. 167.

³⁷ Cosgrove, 1986, p. 101. While Johnston was a pacey wing-type player, Gascoigne was more a central midfielder.

³⁸ Cosgrove described Johnston as the 'ultimate renegade' who was sent off more than any other Scottish international in football history' (ibid., p. 103).

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Cosgrove, op. cit., p. 101.

⁴¹ This part of Englishness, 'English accent', worked differently in the case of English born Scottish international central defender Matt Elliot. After his own goal against the Czech Republic at a Euro 2000 qualifying match, the big Leicester City player was continuously booed by Scotland supporters. Elliot was brutally 'othered' by the Scottish fans but still kept in place to be abused by them. It seems that some Scottish supporters were invited to express their sub-nationalist form of identity and placed Elliot's white body at a different layer of whiteness. However, the peculiarity of the Scottish 'Tartan Army' was found when they eventually forced Scottish-Scottish Garry McAllister to announce his retirement from international football after a home match of the 1998 World Cup qualifier game. It was said that since he missed a crucial penalty against England at the Euro 96' he had been booed continuously whenever he got the ball in international matches.

⁴² Nayak introduced the project of Multiple Occupancies Collective, featured at length in *New Formations* in 1998, as a recent on-going attempt of the 'racialised critique' of the whiteness of Geordies (Nayak, op. cit., pp. 196-7; *New Formations* 33, 1998, 90-108).

⁴³ Jacobson, 1998, p. 6. Referring to Alexander Saxton's remark, Jacobson defines racism as 'a theory of who is who, of who belongs and who does not, of who deserves what and who is capable of what' (ibid.).

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 6. The conception and perception of white and Caucasian on the one hand, of Anglo-Saxon, Celt, Hebrew, Slav, Scandinavian, Nordic, Mediterranean or Alpine on the other, each racially contrived category conflicts and overlaps over time. Jacobson argues that historically whiteness has been articulated through the mutual negotiating process over the 'Americanness' by the settled Americans and newly immigrated European populations.

⁴⁶ Lennon had to deal with a similar situation as Rogan's when he was continuously booed and thrown sectarian abuse at the friendly against Norway on 28 February in 2001. The location was also Windsor Park, Belfast, the home ground of pro-Protestant, Unionist club Linfield FC. Manager Sammy McIlloy substituted Lennon after the half time. In August 2002, he finally announced his retirement from international football when, once again, death threats were sent to his family.

⁴⁷ *The Celtic View*, 6 April, 1988. The match was played against Poland on 28th of March 1988. Windsor Park is the home ground of Linfield FC and Northern Ireland's most home international matches are played here. Rogan's 'vigorous and wholehearted commitment' to the games made him a 'cult-hero' among the Celtic fans (Campbell and Woods, 1996, p. 257).

⁴⁸ *The Guardian*, 4th December, 2000.

⁴⁹ Hamilton, op. cit., p. 177.

⁵⁰ *Not The View*, No 61, 1996, p. 26.

⁵¹ Cosgrove, 1991, pp. 128-33.

⁵² Cosgrove, ibid., Dimeo and Finn, op.cit., Finn and Giullianotti, 1998., Horne, 1995., Murray, 2000/1998.

⁵³ *Celtic View* (13 January 1988). Letter from Davey Malcolm, Paul Brady, Michael Hayes, Dougie McGloughlin, all of whom were based in London.

⁵⁴ Back, 1996 and Back, Crabbe and Solomos, 1998 and 2001.

⁵⁵ Cosgrove, op. cit., p.128

⁵⁶ ibid., p. 191.

⁵⁷ I wish to thank Paul Dimeo for letting me know this information. Finn and Giulianotti, though, noted that the harmony with the Swedish supporters made by the Scottish fans during the 1990 World Cup 'was a key moment in the image-reconstruction of Scottish football supporters' (Finn and Giulianotti, op. cit., p.192).

⁵⁸ This match at Celtic Park ended in 2-0 to Celtic. Apart from Walters, Mark Hateley and Terry Hurlock of Rangers and Peter Grant of Celtic were also ordered off. Jaffa Cakes's black coated

orange content is analogised to Walters's external appearance as black and interiority as Protestant Rangers man.

⁵⁹ According to Murray, some Rangers fans who abused Walters have been banned for life from the Ibrox seat (Murray, op. cit., p. 43).

⁶⁰ The then Rangers operations executive Alistair Hood complained after Mark Walters was pelted with bananas during the match against Hearts of Midlothian: 'the player (Walters) was struck by a banana, which is a missile. A missile is a missile in whatever form' (MacDonald, 1994, p.117)

⁶¹ Following Orwell who wrote that '(W)hat we always forget is that the overwhelming bulk of the British proletariat does not live in Britain, but in Asia and Africa' (quoted in Williams, 1973, p. 282), Williams noted that '(T)he unemployed man from the slums of the cities, the superfluous landless worker, the dispossessed peasant: each of these found employment in killing and disciplining the rural poor of the subordinated countries' (Ibid. p. 283).

⁶² Ellis, 1993, Chapter 4.

⁶³ Ibid., p.101.

⁶⁴ MacDonald, op. cit., p.117.

⁶⁵ MacBride, O'Connor and Sheridan, 1994., p. 131.

⁶⁶ *The Absolute Game*, May 1993. During the game Elliot referred to (22nd September 1990 at Celtic Park), Celtic midfielder Colquhoun tried to silence the racial chants sung by Hearts fans near the touch-line.

⁶⁷ Bennie, 1995, p.203.

⁶⁸ At the launch of a SPFA Campaign For Racial Equality Initiative. Quoted in MacDonald, op. cit., p.118.

⁶⁹ Walsh, 1995., p. 220.

⁷⁰ Back, et al., op. cit., p. 30.

⁷¹ Cosgrove, op. cit., p. 133.

⁷² Ibid. Cosgrove caricatures Elliott's company with his Polish team mate Darius 'Jacki' Dziekanoski as 'scoring at those bars and clubs in Glasgow'. In football vernacular, the verb 'score' implies masculine sexual virility. It is a common scene at a match that when an opposite player failed to shoot on target, the crowds explicitly mime what the mass media term as 'obscene gesture', namely the miming of male masturbation.

⁷³ Hall, 1988, p. 28.

⁷⁴ Walsh, op. cit., p. 134.

⁷⁵ This colour taxonomy is a copy from Alan Spence's "Colours" in his short story collection *Boom Baby*, extracted in Tomson op. cit.

Chapter 8

Against Whose Bigotry?: Politics of ‘Othering’, or the Critique of Normative Racialisation

The final stage of the study aims at the integrated analysis of the inter-relations between sectarianism, racism and the ethnographic problem of anti-racist ethics. By looking at a series of such utterances as ‘bigot, sectarian, racist’ as the strong indication of the moment of negative recognition of otherness, I wish to closely examine the ways in which ‘whiteness’ is negotiated with difference in the affirmative action taken in Celtic fandom. By the negative recognition, both ‘othering’ and constructing the ‘self’ are made possible to Celtic fans. Although ‘bigot, sectarian, racist’ originally have their respective, different objects of signification, they may act upon the same object of othering and signify it as a set. Although there is no automatic correspondence between them, ‘race’ takes a crucial part in establishing the arbitrary correspondence between them at some moments and in disaggregating their mutual attachment at other occasions. In either case, the way in which the self is situated in relation to the issues of ‘race’ is apt to circumscribe the culture of fandom.

8.1 ‘It’s Not My Problem, It’s Your Problem’: Limits of the Semantic in Problematising ‘Racism’

Joanna MacDonald of the *Herald* wrote that at a Celtic match against Hibernian she heard a female Celtic fan say ‘Who’s the wee coon?’. The reply from a man next to her was that ‘Wee Harper’s all right. He’s a Mick’¹. It is

Kevin Harper once again who was called 'coon' in the midst of the conversation. 'He's a Mick' transformed the earlier negative recognition of the black Scottish winger to the recognition as the same as 'Mick'. At a match between the clubs with Irish Catholic origin, being a Catholic in Scotland was the entrance factor for Harper to be included in 'us'. He became a 'contingent insider'² as a black Catholic even though he belonged to the opponent club. Otherwise, the appearance of Harper on the pitch would have remained de-humanised as a 'coon'³.

Two years later, I was sitting on the seat at Celtic Park and witnessed what I have introduced as the 'Jungle Tale' at the beginning of the previous chapter. The presence of Harper seems to me to have become a touchstone of the culture of racism among Celtic supporters by the time I witnessed him being transformed into infra-human by the small Celtic fanatic. A fanzine letter reported a similar incident a few weeks before, which is worth introducing at some length since it is not the description of a single incident. It also clearly shows how racism survives and how anti-racist action, whatever form it takes and however morally conscious it may be, can be forced to decrease its tone in the actual confrontation.

Early in the second half a guy sitting just behind us had a go at Kevin Harper calling him a black bastard. As I always do when I hear this I turned to him and said there was no need for it. A little later on he started on Jimmy Boco and Tony Rougier as well. By this time I no longer felt inclined towards diplomacy and told him to shut up and that he should be ashamed to call himself a Celtic fan. Big mistake number one for me. What followed absolutely disgusted me with more-quite good few fans-joining in with racist abuse. Of all the fans in the area listening to this garbage, only myself, my wife and one other woman challenged them. I then called the stewards and asked that one of the loudest morons be thrown out. Ten out of ten for the Hibs stewards as the guy was promptly turfed out. Things calmed down for about five minutes, apart from the guy's mate pulling at my hair, a bit sad really I know, but there you go. Eventually it became open season with every possible racist insult being thrown at the black Hibs players. Things deteriorated to the stage that my wife, myself and my son had to be moved to another part of the ground because of the abuse we were getting. The amazing thing is that more Celtic fans did not stand up against these

morons. In fact we ended up being slated as in the eyes of others it is alright to abuse someone because of their colour...we keep going on about how we are the best supporters and how the club has done so much to stamp out bigotry whereas Rangers have done nothing...We have a great club and a proud tradition, but how proud can we be of that tradition if we can't get rid of racism and sectarianism? We keep boasting about how we are the best fans in the world. Tell that to Kevin Harper, Tony Rougier and Jimmy Boco...not forgetting Henrik Larsson, Regi Blinker, Pierre, Paul Elliot etc...⁴

The actual, witnessed contradiction between the idealism of the true 'Celticness' with 'a proud tradition' and the reality, is not simply that there are some racists on the Celtic side. More important to note is the fact that the anti-racist action taken by the writer and his wife was only effective for a short while. After a certain duration of tentative quasi-non-racist space, they were exposed to the harsh reality that it was them, not the abuser, who lost their place from the stand. Their moral and political correctness eventually ignited a more severe wave of racist abuse among Celtic supporters as a result of the spectacular effect of surpassing the differences among the Celtic crowds.

The comparison of the density of melanin between Walters and Elliot, and the black Irish-Scot Catholicism of Harper, are all made to work either as the entrance condition of inclusion or as the reason for the negation of entrance⁵. Both utterances of 'Walters is a real black' and 'He's(Harper) a Mick' may symbolically function as the assessment of the acceptability of both players through the recognition of authenticity, as 'black' and as 'Catholic' respectively. While it may have been wrong to see those incidents happen only on the terrain of language use since both players were at least 'contingently' included, it is still urgent to ask how it was possible for the subjects of those speech acts to speak BOTH the negative recognition, which equates with exclusion, AND the positive inclusion. Both directions are available to those who occupy the stand and wait for the right moment to express, verbally and physically, their approval or disapproval of a particular player, by confusing his doing with his being.

As for such a racist performative utterance, this manageable subject position is not necessarily available to the black players on the pitch but looks ready-made to those who on the stand abuse them. I watched them being abused and keeping silent themselves when overt racism took place. When the writer of the quoted

letter and his family were expelled from their original seats, they put themselves outside a norm spread around them, the norm that the unevenness of racism generated in the stadium. They were normalising themselves to a different kind of subjectivisation from the dominant, racist one at that part of the stand. Their alternative positioning has something to do with a part of the current, 'official' collective imaginary of Celtic fandom.

In response to the racist abuse he suffered, Harper put himself in a clear subject position when he reportedly commented that 'it's not my problem, it's your problem'⁶. For Harper himself, it had been crystal clear that it was not his own black body that generated the racism he had experienced. It was by what he describes as 'you' that he was positioned outside the non-racist utopia. In other words, despite being Scottish his position did not seem to belong to the norm that supposedly navigates a certain people to sharing the sameness. Despite being a Catholic and a Hibs player the opponent crowd who have a similar background to Harper's did not appreciate his blackness. Harper was initially not recognised as the embodiment of what the Celtic supporters I have introduced are entitled to invest their affect. Through his utterance of 'you', however, Harper has made it public that he was aware of his position through experiencing those simultaneous practices of 'othering' and subjectivisation. Moreover, Harper refused to be seen as the referent of the simultaneity of being the source of the problem of racism and being the victim of racism. Instead, he 'de-semanticised' the object of those two distinctive but closely interlocked types of being. The sign of problematisation and victimisation is separated from the racist pleasure as well as from the racialised pleasure. This 'shocking' separation of the signifier from the signified is what Roland Barthes called 'seismology', a 'technique better than a semiology'⁷. It works at the limit of semiotics, but with the domain of symbolism, where the normativity of racialisation is problematised through the seismological act of de-normalisation.

8.2 'Militant Particularism' and the Politics of Post-'Boys Against Bigotry'

In addition to the fact that the active intervention into 'terrace' racism among their own fans has been surpassed, a series of the testimony of witnessing such racism among Celtic supporters as what I described as the 'Jungle tale' must be an

annoying fact for those who are involved in the campaign 'Bhoys Against Bigotry'⁸. The side-effect of this launching was, as one *NTV* issue points out, a predictable one. The campaign was largely ignored by the Scottish media and football authorities⁹. Furthermore, cynicism, caricature and parody at re-signification and appropriation of anti-Irish and anti-Catholic 'racist' stereotypes, vocabularies, images and abuse were counter-presented by the oppositions.

The 'Bhoys Against Bigotry' was instantly welcomed by the Rangers' counterpart not as an affirmative action but as a good resource for accumulating sectarian divisions. One of the Rangers' fanzines, *The Blues Brothers*, suggested that they started the 'Bears Against Buggery' campaign when the *Daily Record* claimed that two people involved in the Celtic Bhoys Club were committed for child sexual abuse against young boys of the club¹⁰. This betrayal of the affirmative action was brought in by the Rangers side with explicitly homophobic language. Overall, it was received as social paranoia of the self-victimisation of Celtic.

Despite the unpopularity of Celtic's action, the presence of Paul Elliott throughout the campaign may give an impression that the focus of the campaign is well beyond the racism that seems to be fabricated through sectarian divides. In particular, from fanzines to more political social activist media, the campaign is regarded as the materialisation of what, to the fans' and supporters' belief, Celtic stands for¹¹. The following match programme comment by Andrew Smiths seems to a certain extent to represent the official discourse of the campaign.

What really got on my goat was the racist moron-a supposed Celtic fan-sitting behind me. He seemed incapable of making reference to Falkirk without using the grossly offensive term 'nigger', so offensive indeed that during the OJ Simpson trial it was referred to simply as "the 'n' word". "Get into the nigger Celtic" was one comment, "dae they no' feed they niggers before they send them oot?" another...My friend snapped, and I was proud of him for doing so. Frankly if we are serious about the club's Social Charter, we should not sit in silence and put up with this crap anymore. You might not be surprised to learn that the racist didn't take kindly to being told he was one. When I chipped in, he redirected his abuse towards me, throwing in a threat for good measure. He desisted from using the 'n' word thereafter last Saturday. Okay, he may revert to doing so next time we

encounter black opponents. But, in a small way, it demonstrated that taking a stand CAN have a positive affect¹².

The Social Charter, also known as the 'Social Mission Statement', says that one of the aims of Celtic is 'to promote Celtic as a club for all people, regardless of sex, age, religion, race or ability'. This idealism could convert the statement to a reality, the reality that the letter in the previous section has proved to be extremely difficult to deal with. However, since the launching of the campaign, the appeal to the fellow fans has never stopped, urging them to take action and to blame other Scottish institutions, notably Rangers, for ignoring the chance of corporation. Rangers are always the reference point to which the rightness and correctness of the 'us' is compared.

Reflecting on the rhetoric of anti-racism, the actual action taken by some Celtic fans towards their fellow fans, and its failure at direct encounter, the attempt to create the equivalence between sectarian suffering and anti-racist idioms and moral basis, might be referred to a certain pattern of what Raymond Williams called 'militant particularism'¹³. The aforementioned 'neighbourhood nationalism' might also be considered as a cultural and ethical base for a specific variety of 'militant particularism'. However, this notion is expected to place emphasis on the more general practice of the sublimating transformation of a particular community from 'its immediate direct relations to others' to 'the general abstract term for a whole social-political system', and on the loss of that 'direct local mode' in this process of transformation and the effort to regain it to create new meanings of it¹⁴.

The launching of the 'BAB' gave those local, vernacular, disintegrated, and militant voices of 'particularism' an official basis on which the concrete experiences depend for their legitimacy and identity with the club. The institutionalised anti-sectarianism and anti-racism initiative also functions as a constant reminder of the geographical, spatial tie of the club with a specific community of the East End of Glasgow. Spatially embedded engagement with a particular community objective is a key element in building up a strong tie between grass-rooted 'militant particularism' and the institutional realisation of its agenda. David Harvey's re-valuation of this Williams' notion repeatedly insists on the significance of the 'embeddedness of the working class political actions' in place¹⁵. The particularities and specificities of actual place are deeply incorporated into political and social actions taken by particular communities over a

particularly local and affirmative agenda. Wherever the fans come to the game, wherever those letters of anti-racism are sent off, and wherever the actual fans reside, the re-invention of the east end, particularly Celtic Park, is a locus of the dialogue between anti-sectarianism and the more general level of anti-racism.

Among the members and their companions of the supporters' club that I accompanied, overtly religious sectarian language such as 'Prods' is inhibited whilst 'Gers', 'Huns' or 'Blue nose' were acceptable in public. While the anthems of the 'Jungle' like 'Field of Atherny' and 'You'll Never Walk Alone' are sung, re-affirming that they are 'our song', the so-called 'Irish rebel songs' such as 'Nation Once Again' and 'Soldiers' Song' are carefully chosen at particular moments in particular places. Above all, songs including lyrics regarding disastrous previous events, such as the 'Ibrox Disaster' in 1971 or songs celebrating the history, achievement and failure of the militant Irish Republicanism are sung but not perfectly shared with those who are sensitive of their political connotations.

When Jo, one of my informants, realised that a London-based male supporter, A, was singing a song relating to the 'Ibrox Disaster', his attempt to stop him singing nearly led to physical confrontation. Jo shouted, 'stop it, you idiot, fucking bigot'¹⁶. A was neither a regular of the supporters' club nor a regular of the pub. Later, he claimed that he was not a typical working class fan and he knew what he was doing. He described himself as an 'educated bugger'. If his sense of place allowed him to feel sufficiently safe to sing the otherwise detested song, then his selective ability in choosing the right song in the right place appeared to fail to adapt itself to the invisible code of rituals. Fandom is not slow to suggest an analytical scheme to resolve the problem that their own culture is required to tackle.

However, Harvey is also aware that 'the potentiality for militant particularism embedded in place runs the risk of sliding back into a parochialist politics'¹⁷. Despite its critical view of the club's official discourse, fanzine *NTV* has been substantially supportive of the club managing director Fergus McCann who had been occupying the post for between 1994 and 1999. *NTV* praised McCann's achievement by saying that he 'gave Celtic back to the fans'¹⁸. In addition to the official commencement of the BAB it was McCann's first achievement to abolish the plan of constructing a new stadium in Cambusrang. This plan was strongly

opposed by the supporters. Instead, he renovated Celtic Park to a 60,000 all seater stadium, registered more than 50,000 season ticket holders, gave Celtic the fifth highest average attendance in the world and the eighth richest club in Britain, and Celtic Park the biggest club ground in Britain.¹⁹

Although Celtic accommodates cultural and political fractions within the fandom, the official effort to mask up those disintegrated qualities are marked out by the revelation that three former independent fanzine editors have been employed full-time under the McCann regime to work on the official club magazine, *The Celtic View*. It is certainly debatable whether those recruitments are the successful intervention by the ordinary fan sub-cultures into the mainstream club activity, or whether they are the absorption of a radical, critical stance towards the club that is increasingly industrialised as a profit making machine. This is not only a symbolical explanation of the fanzine editors' employment. The sense of 'place' is crucial from the outset of the current situation of Celtic because the first thing McCann did was to secure the place of Celtic Park as it was. The elements of sub-culture are symbolically as well as materially embedded in a place where the sub-cultural movements have come to depend on the 'parochialist politics' for their imaginary sense of community.

8.3 Ethnographic Dilemma and the Difficult Practice of Anti-racism

The issue 61 of *NTV* introduced a letter that expressed the writer's disgust of hearing 'IRA rule okay' voiced by a section of Celtic supporters²⁰. The writer raised three main reasons why certain fans chant sectarian slogans which are explicitly Republican and Irish Nationalist. Firstly, it is because of habit, 'since most of us began attending Celtic games as children we tended to copy what we heard older fans singing and chanting'. Secondly, it is regarded as fun to sing those songs. It is the evidence of the existence of the 90 minutes bigots. Finally, the writer admitted that there is hatred. In this case, Celtic is used 'as a platform to voice their intolerance of others, contrary to the essence of what this club stands for'. He ended his contribution by suggesting that

times are changing, attitudes are changing, and it's time for certain fans to change as well. C'mon guys. If we changed the parhead board then we can change anything²¹.

Although I totally agree with the appeal for immediate action to confront the terrace racism, there is what can be called an ethnographic dilemma. I must admit that I did not take any action when I witnessed the 'Jungle tale'. With no excuse for this silence, I also admit that, even though I did not feel any intimidation, I was kept silent by my own intuition that the abuse was just a boy's own expression of something that had to be an emotional release and that the elder man's murmuring was just a murmuring, not abuse. The boy's shout could be dismissed as a child's having 'fun', as the second reason for the sectarian behaviour shows. The man's murmur could also be dismissed just as a private emotion with no public offense.

I must note too that all the examples that I have quoted so far are anti-racist actions taken by what would be called the 'insiders' of Celtic fandom. Having known some critical situations that even some supporters dwelling inside the fandom are forced to keep silent about or to move away when taking a certain anti-racist action, I, non-white and ethnographer, both of which counted as 'outsider', might have been exposed to the possibly harsher intimidation. It is also possible, however, that the ambivalence of being an 'outsider' might have worked well by making my presence nearly a non-existence among predominantly white crowds.

If it was possible to presume that the boy mimed the elder man's racist utterance as a habit, its seriousness may decrease on the grounds that it was merely child play. Thus, whatever consequence it may lead to, the mimetic relationality of one action to another, the similarity and the repetition, are the key to understanding the racist speech act. It is the performativity which enables such people as that boy to situate himself superior to someone he abuses with no real understanding of what his actions and words might mean and how they might be taken. It is his mimetic faculty rather than his mastery of intentionality that are the main mechanisms of racialisation constantly taking place inside the ground.

If the mimetic nature of racist utterance is assumed, the careless employment of the notion of 'habit' as a reason for racism is highly inappropriate because this way of thinking may treat racist performance as a fundamentally and originally innocent but occasionally ill-treated nature of action and behaviour. Even racist abuse can sometimes be justified on the grounds that strong verbal abuse could be effective as an encouragement for the targeted players. Given that the recent

dominant currency of racist abuse is directed to non-white players from the opponent fans, abuse might function as a reactive device to make the fighting spirit and the required aggression as fueled as possible. However, this hypothesis can only be appropriate when the gravity of club belonging is much greater than the racist cosmology in which the coupling of the dominant and the dominated, of the superior and the inferior, is applied straightforwardly to the categorisation of human being.

Through the anti-racist sentiments and actions, and habit and fun which are regarded as the primary cause of the explicitly sectarian and racist being have now become seriously contested by and negotiated with the discursive power of the 'social mission' and the BAB. However, while the code of conduct is consciously imposed on fans' behaviour, the balancing practice that enforces a judgment of 'less' or 'more' bigoted and sectarian remains the chief axis of differentiation of self and other. At the sensitive edge between cultural absolutism and cultural relativism, this practice of othering can be more explicitly found in what I thought was the approval of the political correctness of Celtic's and the supporters' anti-sectarian initiatives.

I put a simple question as to this contrast during a joint interview session through which the issue about 'song' developed into the domain of contextualisation of race and racism.

---Is there a contrast between public opinion about Rangers and about Celtic that the similar kind of strong songs are treated very differently? Is it that contrast between Scottish and Irish?

Chris: I don't know, I mean, ah'm a Catholic but Scottish and I like Scotland so, ah'don think 'contrast' is the right word tae explain that.

---what else?

Chris: Well, ah'don't know, but songs are songs whatever we sing and they sing, but it's perhaps important why we sing the song we sing, why they sing a thing like 'Sash'. I wouldn't mind singing a rebel song though ah'm a Scottish

Stuart: Media blame us sing a sectarian stuff. We blame the Huns sing the 'Sash' or 'Billy Boys' kind of songs.

---I said 'that's a contrast' between the treatment of Rangers and Celtic' the other day.

Stuart: Both sing a song, but it's us always being criticised. It's politics, religion, something different from football. We play fut'ba and we like fut'ba. But for some, football and politics is the same because of the history, because of what they have experienced. Anyway.

---Is it because of the politics? I think, yes, 'contrast' isn't a good word perhaps. How about, let's say it's not symmetry between us and Rangers. The content of the song and meaning of the song is totally different from the content of the song they sing. How about this?

Stuart: I understand whit' you mean, but it's nae symmetry. If you see it as symmetry, we could be as political as they are, their sectarian shit. Irish community is, well, WAS suffering enough because the harsh treatment by the Scottish establishment. You know, they are upper class, they are dominant. You know, and racism. Their fanzine is like BNP propaganda. BNP, and National Front members were used tae coming to Ibrox and give the knock, people their propaganda. The members of UDA and UVF are always there. Many sympathisers are there. This is Glasgow, ye know. Those people come over here from Northern Ireland. They're sectarian and racist. UDA is a kind of National Front like organisation, isn't it? Anyway, they provoked Celtic fans and a lot of fights happened. They have extreme right wing people on their side.

---Sectarian racist is bigot too?

Chris: Aye, absolutely. Not all of them, that's important, but absolutely, they hate different culture. They hate Catholics that's why they hate Celtic. They are bigoted because of hatred. You see racist and sectarian motivated by the hatred. Sad people really. But it's their problem, man.

---You mean they hate Celtic because we are Catholic, then they wouldn't hate Celtic if Celtic wasn't a Catholic club?

Stuart and Chris: Absolutely right.

Stuart: We'd have had a different name if a Catholic priest didn't give it a go. Anyway, look, Rangers fans have no problem with Hearts fans. They have no problem. The Dons, Dundee, the Saints, they've no problem. That's the reality.²²

According to the narrative of Chris and Stuart, it seems that although the potential correspondence between Celtic-ness and Catholicism is not remote, it is

primarily made to happen by the other's perception of 'enemy'. Even if 'this is Glasgow', or perhaps *because* 'this is Glasgow', anti-Catholicism comes over easily and is transformed easily to the local context from Northern Ireland. Referring to Unionist politics and the presence of the Loyalist Paramilitary as the 'difference', Stuart and Chris are well aware of the over-arching effect of being labeled as Catholic across the Irish Sea but see the mingling relation of sectarianism with racism as their 'difference' from 'us'.

On the other hand, during the interview with Mairi, I have found a strong objection to what I had introduced from those four interviewees. Mairi did not want to pursue this 'political difference' between Celtic and Rangers in whatever sense.

Mairi: Ah' don't want to talk about it. I'm not saying it's a war like bloody shoot out and it's not because I don't know those things. I know it very well. I was born and bred Glaswegian. But I don't believe the politics anymore, Ah' don't believe the sectarian Catholic-Protestant bloody crossing, ah'don't believe the mutual accusation of sectarian, bigot, racist whatever. Rangers fans put Celtic fans in torture, Celtic fans always have a go with Rangers fans, and, I had enough by now. It's sensationalised by the media. People demand those stories. I've heard bad racist abuse, I've seen someone taunting black players, but it's a problem of society and I donae deny that. But ah' don't believe that particularly Rangers fans are racist. And the good part of Rangers fans, I don't say everyone, majority of them don't believe that either. I'm sure about that. It's out of date.

---So you don't deny the historical relationship with sectarian background and racism?

Mairi: No ah' don't, I know the fundamental problem with it, but that's different from football. Oh, I had enough of it. Catholics founded Celtic, Protestant made Rangers. All the stereotype is making a fuss of it and, it's simply not true. Celtic had many many Protestant players. Many many Catholics support Rangers as well. They are, one of the finest football clubs in Britain. No doubt about that. We have the problem of racism, but it's not a disease of football. It's a social thing, political and religious thing, no football thing, ye' know...

---But some of them, I don't say who, but they said they became Celtic fans because they thought Celtic was much better than Rangers, I mean friendly, family atmosphere and fans are not as violent as Rangers fans, and...

Mairi: Ah' think that's true. No doubt about that. But then why they did nae go to Hibs? Thistle? If they are Glaswegian. Ah' mean, I suppose it's because Celtic play good football than others. Ah' don't think whether they're more bigoted than us is the first choice reason. I mean ah'don't know, but ah' do think so, to be honest. People keep telling me endlessly that Glasgow is a sectarian city and this, it really depresses me. There's a wide spread bias against us in this country. Pathetic, really. I've lost resentment. I've no anger anymore or, just not pleasant, you know. Just pathetic 'cos I like Glasgow. It's my hometown. Why don't we enjoy footie as footie...Their(people) bias is as bad as the media's strange partial view of it. It's all about media hype. Sensationalisation, ye' know better than me, don't ye? Tabloids are terrible, heavily biased against Celtic²³...

Mairi's anguish about the depth of sectarianism and its unnecessary proliferation by all the stereotypes attached to it by the media was so strong that I was in fact reluctant to pose the topic to her. Although she was extremely articulate and talkative about whatever I asked, and although her anger against both racism and sectarianism (real and represented) was crystal clear, her narrative of racism was inclined to divert the demand to know the reality of the Old Firm fandom. With her cool head that knows literally everything about the sectarian reality, her following remark implies that her passion moved her speech towards somehow twisting direction.

D'ye support one club because it is less racist than others apart from how good football they show us? I won't do that. To me whit they can show us is what does matter. Whit' team we support and they support is a different thing from which's more often give a shit to black players, do you know what ah'm saying? Racist doesn't represent the club. Racism doesn't represent fut'ba either. We play fut'ba, right? We donae play race game, right? As I said, ah'm sure some Rangers fans are more racist, far worse than Celtic fans, but ah' don't think it's a nice idea to pick up a black fan and ask him if he hates Rangers because of their problem of racism.

I must note that her statement cannot be judged by a simple binary criteria of total negation or total affirmation of sectarianism and racism. Her effort to repair the de-railed line of the Old Firm imagery and her affection for the culture are invested to make football independent. It is important not to confuse this practice of affect with a naive footballisation, in other words, culturalisation, of the political, which is easily associated with the liberalist claim of anti-racism that would assert to keep politics out of football. The simple politicisation of football is not involved here either because, while acknowledging infiltration of the extra-football politics into the football public sphere, her statement is also aware of the inevitable social nature of football and of the difficulty of the negotiation with it.

8.4 'United Colours of Celtic': Towards the Reinvention of Multiculturalism

Whatever the actual outcome might have been, it is not possible to dismiss the 'BAB' because it surely began to invite formerly less voiced sections of the fandom to speak out or to be represented. When the campaign was launched in 1996, *NTV* immediately dug out a history of a black Celtic player in the early 1950s. The fact that Jamaican American Gilbert 'Black Arrow' Heron joined Celtic in 1951 was 're-discovered' when his son, Gil-Scott Heron, who made some popular sub-anthem classics of the black civil right movements in the 1970s, was introduced as the symbolic figure of anti-racism²⁴. Gilbert Heron has been made into an iconic historical figure more than 25 years after he stayed in Scotland for only a couple of seasons. Although his athleticism seems to have been genuine, it is far more interesting and valuable for the present purpose to see how his old brief Celtic career was transformed into a legendary 'fact' to show the early realisation of the multi-ethnic character of Celtic as a club.

The rediscovered introduction of Gil Heron's career seems to have marked a shift of emphasis from racism against black players to the equal participation of non-white fans with the more visible involvement of non-white fans. *NTV* number 64 features a letter from the one Tim Saqlain, Pakistani-Scot, which appeared on a two page spread with an old photograph of Gil-Scott Heron. Although the letter can be summarised as an appeal that Celtic fans need to do something to attract more ethnically diverse fans from more diverse communities, it is worth quoting at length because it provides a logical explanation of a widespread pattern of

exclusion of non-white ethnicities among the British football fandom. It also well articulates a 'Celtic-ness' with the ethic of the anti-racism movement through its own popular knowledge from a fan's point of view. The letter begins with the usual re-confirmation of the social contribution Celtic has made to help the discriminated Irish in Scotland. That legacy, according to Saqlain, gives 'you an identity and a place in society' even if the Irish-Scots are not strictly a minority anymore. Then it continues;

These days the position vacated by your antecedents is filled by a variety of ethnic groups, those of Pakistani descent being the largest. But during a match, if anyone cares to look around for a moment, finding a coloured face among the crowd is as easy as trying to stomach one of the old Parkhead pies. Even although throughout Celtic's illustrious history there have been some fine black players, there is, sadly, a dearth of regular fans from the non-traditional backgrounds. The only time it appears that non-Scottish(or Irish) fans are ever mentioned is when supporters clubs in far-flung places like Goa(India) are highlighted; but hardly ever a word for domestic ones, who might be feeling a wee bit left out. I myself am of non-Irish descent (not even a Tommy Coynesque long lost granny) but have spent my whole life in Scotland. Sadly this is still not qualification enough for certain people who prefer to recognise me as a 'f---n Paki' or a 'black bastard' - even though, ironically, I'm not actually black but brown, so I guess being colour blind is one of their problems... Anyone who wants to feel superior by demeaning others who were born with a different shade of skin colour should basically GET A LIFE²⁵.

The position of ethnic minority is articulated with the *raison-d'être* of the club. The reason for the rare regular attendance of those who have a 'non-traditional background' is the exclusive measure that is shared among certain people whose criteria of qualification is the proportion of melanin, or non-melanin, in the skin. Saqlain, positioning himself convincingly as 'insider' with the display of a football tongue, 'old Parkhead pie', makes an interesting observation when he points out that 'being colour blind is one of their problems'. He uses the notion of 'colour blind' as the incapability to specify the exact gradation of different shade of coloured skin. However, in comparison to one of the earlier examples of racist remark on Walters and Elliot, such as 'real black', 'real darkie' and 'proper

nigger', and their inferioritised negative, 'coffee-coloured', whether being colour blind or colour conscious does not in practice make a difference as an outcome of the racialisation. Both seeing colours properly and improperly work towards the same consequence of overt racism.

Saqlain warned that although he himself has never been racially abused at a match he has been to watch, that is 'not to say that racist attitudes don't exist'. In a later part of the letter he cautions that, in order to prevent the backlash against the 'Bhoys Against Bigotry' campaign getting worse, it is necessary to promote more education ('no one is born a racist, just unintelligent'), public prosecution ('each case should be dealt with as it comes along as there are only a handful of the more hardened type at Parkhead') and maintenance of the tradition ('formed to help out the poor and discriminated against'). In succession to those points, he maintains that

(T)he primary challenge is bringing in fans from ethnic communities who have been put off attending games by the idea of listening to coloured players being subjected to racist taunts. Firstly, it has to be acknowledged that most are not born into the club but rather choose it, so circumstances play a big part²⁶.

My primary concern with this statement is that this claim highlights a very essential, even existential problem of the ways in which the fandom operates. The letter claims that supporting Celtic is neither self-evident nor taken for granted as much as being a racist is by nature. For some, 'the most are not born into the club' may sound less acceptable than what their own self-belief constantly reminds themselves of is their own reason for supporting Celtic. For six among eleven interview partners, it was 'blood', 'nature', 'no choice' and 'family' that determined their reason for supporting Celtic. The family seems to be the most important reason. Ontological reasoning for supporting Celtic faces the toughest trial ever by having questioned its historical authenticity and its direct, local, and vernacular tie with the fandom. The meaning of community is subjected to change its primal form of the signified when Saqlain asserts that

whether you're a Tim, a Billy, a Muslim, or an atheist, black or white or all shades in between, Celtic is for everybody, supported by many from all sorts of diverse backgrounds all over the world many of whom have never seen the team live in action²⁷.

This forecasts a potential of another type of rationalisation of the existing form of fandom. The appeal of the global, trans-national and outer-local claim of being a fan is clearly exhibited in this statement. The direct experience is not privileged as the absolutely indispensable reason for taking part in the fandom. Racial and ethnic egalitarianism may be achieved at the expense of the locality that has long presupposed the direct connection and association based on the blood line and kinship.

In fact, this indirect, long-distance emotional attachment to Celtic has long been a crucial part of the fandom itself. In this sense, the claim is not particularly new. The international network of the Celtic supporters club is one of the largest and most powerful institutional webs among the world-wide sporting organisations throughout the planet. It is well beyond Europe and nearly fully covers every area of the ruins of the British Empire where Irish migration has carved its traces. Even in the issues of *NTV* I have been looking at through this section, the posting addresses of contributions, letters and the 'pen-pal wanted' corner covers almost every continent, from Australia, Brazil, Canada, both east and west coast of the United States, Spain, Denmark, Germany, and South Africa. It is hardly surprising that migration and exile from both Ireland and Scotland is the main reason for building the network²⁸. To put it short, although the scale is world-wide, the network itself is still considerably relying on the human connection of friend, family, relative and kinship. These originally rooted, traceable lines consist of the existing Celtic Supporters Club network.

This world-wide-ness is multi-racial too. The Celtic Supporters' Club in Zambia is the first officially registered club in the African continent. Then, another was established in then Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) by Catholic missionary fathers. The Rhodesia Celtic Supporters' Club declared itself to be a multi-racial organisation even under the semi-apartheid regime of the Ian Smith government in the early 1970s²⁹.

What differentiates Saqlain's appeal from this multi-racial network is that he suggests that the fandom should include even a Billy, an atheist and a Muslim all of whom are not traditionally expected to be Celts. The gravity of sectarian antagonism and religious authenticity are intentionally lifted by this claim. By lowering the hurdle of 'cultural right' to be a Celtic fan, the global egalitarian,

pluralist thinking absorbs another anti-racist sentiment expressed by a different supporter called Martin.

In recent years Celtic fans have developed friendships with fellow football fans from all over Europe. What links us all together is our love of football and our abhorrence of racism. Unlike the Huns, people do like us and we do care....³⁰

The straight affirmative utterance of 'people do like us and we do care' is initiated by the perception that Celtic and the supporters have established unofficial intimate association with other European clubs' supporter groups. With no irony, no-nonsense and no ambiguity³¹, this declaration of friendship appears, at first glance, opposed to what a more regimental , marching tune of 'Hail Hail' renders;

Hail, hail, Celts are here
What the hell do we care
What the hell do we care...

In the context of pure athleticism, this pre-match and post-match walk anthem is a manifesto of the 'never give-up' attacking football of Celtic. In a larger context, this is a clear sign of disobedience to the difficult total environment where Celtic and Celtic fans receive every possible severe treatment from those who collectively cast a bias, prejudice and discrimination against Celtic. Racism within their own fandom is also one of the elements of the environment which Celtic fans now experience. That is why Saqlain urged readers 'not to care what animals say, what the hell should you care?'

Apparently, the quickest achievement of the non-sectarian, non-religious utopia looks certain in the economic, commercial and financial part of the football industry. Although it is not the recent prime example of the rapid merchantisation of football goods or of the growing revenue from the contract with satellite broadcasting companies, a joint advertisement of the 'Littlewoods' Pools and the Football Trust, appearing on a page of a home match programme during the 1996-7 season, perfectly foresees an ideal composition of the football spectatorship (See Picture 2 in the next page).

Race and gender are mixed up, the Celtic scarf and the Rangers scarf appear comfortably together. While the mixed display of green and blue at the same part

[Picture 2, from Match Programme, vs Raith Rovers, February 17 1996]

Football wins with Littlewoods and the Football Trust every Saturday



Littlewoods Pools pay out millions to winners every week and together with Littlewoods Spot the Ball put over £30 million back into football every year through the Football Trust.

Football also receives £8 million a year for the use of fixtures on coupons and Littlewoods is the game's biggest benefactor.

The Football Trust is helping the game at all levels. Clubs are building new grounds, stands, seating and roofing.

The support of the Football Trust and the success of Littlewoods is vital for football's future. When you enter Littlewoods new *easy to enter* coupon, offering the best odds of a jackpot win, you are helping the Football Trust to assist your Club to develop its facilities, comfort and safety.



LITTLEWOODS
£MILLIONS MUST BE WON EVERY WEEK



of the stand is never likely, the inclusion of three black men and two white women, out of about 14 faces appearing, seems to partially accomplish the representation of multicultural sociality of the Old Firm fandom. Business interests, money in the more direct sense, works first and takes a long-sighted view of the anticipated future of utopian reality. The catch-phrase itself, 'United Colours of Celtic', is a copy of Benetton, a top-runner of multicultural, global corporatism.

8.5 'Different Colour of Green'

However, even though the powerful multicultural corporatism may implicate the significance of differences, the worldliness of 'United Colours of Celtic' can be drawn to an unexpected interpretation of the difference in the following way.

In Islam wearing green items of clothing is holy (i.e. it gets you plus marks from God). It was Mohammed's favourite colour apparently. Puts a whole new meaning on being seen in green doesn't it? ³²

This short remark by the same author Saqlain goes beyond the simple pluralist view of cultural difference. Besides its lighthearted tone, it proposes a radical translation of the meaning of green from the excessive Irish Catholicism to Islamic sacred symbolism. This is obviously not to propose a total take-over of St. Patrick's emerald shamrock. No matter how serious it is, or whether or not it is merely joking, it is worth attention for two reasons.

Firstly, it recalls the significance as to what colour the players and the supporters wear. The sociality of the shirt is materialised as a sign of showing solidarity and could be visualised as more a powerful iconic force than skin colour. Secondly, it is suggestive of the possibility of wearing, cheering and respecting a single colour as a signifier of two meanings. Green can be understood and identified as the colour of simultaneity of co-existing values among the Celtic fandom. Although the religious elements are still unavoidable, it would be undeniable that the excessive connotation of Catholic character might be, if not entirely, diminished.

This observation may sound too utopian. Nevertheless, it is extremely important in terms of the timing of the manifestation of Muslim-ness in a place where every possible meaning of 'tradition' can be attached to local football

supporting communities of either Celtic or Rangers. It was four months after the take-over bid of Partick Thistle FC by someone of Punjabi descent, once a Clyde shipyard apprentice lathe-turner, now millionaire restaurateur, Charan Singh Gill, was marred by a racist remark by the club chairman Jim Oliver³³.

Oliver, chairman of a club struggling both on the football field and with financial difficulties, allegedly responded to Labour MP George Galloway's suggestion of the take-over by a group of Asian businessmen in August 1995, that he would not sell 'simply to satisfy the wishes of some Indians with a curry shop'.³⁴ His comment ignited debates lasting about a week, regarding whether his remark was the anti-Asian racism. Paul Dimeo and Gerry Finn pointed out, in their well balanced observation, that the issues have converged on the re-confirmation of the mythology of the club tradition as 'non-racist, non-bigoted, non-sectarian'³⁵. Partick Thistle, known as the 'Jags', have been regarded as the neutral third party, the club for those who detest the Celtic and Rangers antagonism to support and most importantly a Scottish club unlike Celtic's Irish and Rangers' British expressionism.

In the course of the debate there were several appearances of both overt and inferential racisms in the form of joking, by employing various stereotypes of Asians, about the fact that Asians, more accurately, Punjabis, are the protagonists of the take over bid of the Scottish club with 'non-racist' tradition. Dimeo and Finn concluded that because of this mythology of a 'non-racist' there was a clear tendency, among those who criticised both Oliver and Galloway for racism and hijacking football for a political cause respectively, that Asian involvement might 'bring a situation similar to sectarianism. So the reputed tolerance and openness of Thistle is to be preserved by discouraging 'Asian' participation'³⁶.

The definition of the meaning of 'Scottishness', that is, being 'Scottish' as a football club, becomes a focal point here. As a type of inferential racism, there was a fear that Asian involvement would generate racial differences within the fandom, which they seemed to wish to avoid. Secondly, the fandoms of both Celtic and Rangers have become the negative referential point for the defense of the Thistle. The coupling of football and the excess of ethnicised religion can find its place in Galloway's criticism of Oliver that 'in the 1950s a Partick Thistle chairman remarked at an annual meeting that the only way Thistle could compete in Glasgow against Celtic and Rangers would be if a third religion were invented.

Glasgow's Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Jains ARE that third religion³⁷. Whether this 1950s view of religious mixing is true or false, there is in this description a blueprint of a multiculturally ethnicised religious cartography outside the Old Firm but essentially in relation to the cultural and social tradition, or collective imaginary, of what the Old Firm have created. Hence, imagining the 'third religion' makes it clearly possible to constitute a different topology of ethnicised religious rivalry from the interlocking dichotomy of Christian sectarian relationality. It might have been possible outside the Old Firm closure, but that imagination was materialised strictly with reference to the trace, history and memory that the Old Firm contributed to the imagery of Glasgow's football culture. However, Celtic's strong Irish imagery and strict religious connotation may now look more dislocated than ever. A notable example is that along the official line of 'working with community', Celtic hosted the first Asian Football Championship in the autumn of 1999 in association with the Scottish Asian Sports Association³⁸. The Celtic-Rangers border seemed to be less important when former Rangers reserve Jazz Juttlas participated in the tournament .

Reducing these currencies to the category of a mere gesture or 'public stunt' would be counter-productive not because they are not gestures, but because even if they were, it is possible to understand them as symptomatic, as the constitutive elements of the collective imaginary of Celtic fandom. However, this collective imaginary is by no means a homogenised entity as I have already introduced the significant inner fractions within the fandom. Among those fractions, from the official anti-racism campaign to individual actions against the witnessed racist abuse, the public appeal against it, the confrontation to sectarian singing, and the antipathy towards what Rangers seems to them to represent, there are mutual negotiations over, attempts of appropriations of, a meaning of being a 'real' Celtic fan. Individuals in those fractions initiate themselves by their actions to who they imagine they should be and what they wish they should look like. The Celtic-ness is imagined prior to the affirmative action. In this sense, this ideal pattern of identification with being 'Celts' proceeds to individual utterance, performance and incorporate practice. Although those practices lead to constructing the self through referring to both the ideal and otherness of, most notably, Rangers culture, the recognition of the internal fractions, internal 'other', produces an uncertainty in the fandom.

This uncertainty becomes more explicit when a speech act of 'us' or 'our' collective imaginary has been made possible with reference to the other that appears in the form of Rangers collective imagery. The boundary by which 'us' is constructed is never stable or fixed even within Celtic fandom. It is the sense of universality, commonality or the long assumed plane of affect that are in crisis, exposed to the sharp contrast between the loss and the regaining of the fans' fascination with what they think they are fascinated with. This is not merely a politics negotiated between the old and the new. It is the process of negotiation among the attempts or wills to pursue their sovereign power towards what they feel themselves committed to.

8.6 Conclusion: 'Tradition' or the Re-ontologisation of Whiteness

Harper's criticism, 'it's your problem', epitomises the heart of the issue that I have discussed throughout the chapter. Besides the different club belonging, Harper's usage of 'your' resounds with the strong critical tone of Saqlain's utterance of 'their problem'. Both demonstrative pronouns contain a section of Celtic fans. Frannie, James, Jim, Chris and Stuart, all of whom told me that, despite the racism of a section of Celtic fans, the serious depth of racism is far worse on the Rangers side. This different objectivisation may indicate that the different pattern of 'friend and enemy' thinking may pose a critical question on a kind of taken-for-grantedness of the coupling of being Celt and a group of people who would not be racially abused beyond being called 'Fenian'. No matter how the notion of 'tradition' is contaminated with a tone of whiteness, there is a certain feeling of anxiety while acknowledging the transitional, necessary tendency of the multicultural cosmopolitanism of fandom. Between the inevitability and the necessity, the green/blue colour line and the black/white colour line are still active in negotiation to de-value one by the force of the other. It is a never ending, symbolic as well as cultural process and practice. Being a member of a relatively new, small, powerless, liberal and morally working class, socially lower middle class supporters' club seems to demand some of the interview partners to express their ambivalent evaluation of the present state of fandom. The followings are their narratives on the potential racial diversity in their intimate environment.

---Are there any black friends in the (supporters') club, past and present?

Mairi: Ah, no. I know what you want to ask me. That's what we, not only this club, also the (Celtic's) PR section and other supporters' clubs have to tackle now. Ah'm nae saying we need to have someone from ethnic minority or something, ye'know. We just need to assure people that whoever you are, wherever you come from, Celtic and this club is an enjoyable one. Very friendly. Ya, in the 'Jungle', nearly 100% are white, if you like. But it's safe, totally safe place to be, ye' know that, don't you? But one condition, you really really have to love Celtic and football...Ah, we don't do nothing special, I mean we don't have to. Coming to join the supporters' club is 100% voluntary. No recruit, no promotion. We just show us be there and just waiting someone. There's no bar in us. As I said, the only condition is, you've got to know whit' Celtic stands for. Whit Celtic means to you. So ah don' care who you are if you meet the condition, ah don' do anything other than that. Celtic is a very special club to me. Very Scottish and working class, we've got tremendous loyal supporters. And proud of it. We've got the tradition, real working class football club. So I do care who the hell you are if you said you are a supporter. I mean, if you don' like it, whoever you are, black, white, whatever, you don' have to.

Another supporter, Ian, who took me around pubs most frequently during the fieldwork, expressed the similar attitude towards the multicultural fandom.

---Glasgow has a big population of south Asians and you have none of them in this club. Well, I rarely see non-white people coming here and drink except those two Nigerian students the other night. Do you think you have to do something about it, I mean do you mind this...

Ian: No, no. why should we mind? We'd have been delighted if we had a lad or two from Africa or the Caribbean or wherever. Ah' think there's supporters association in South Africa, and Zimbabwe, perhaps, ah'm not sure, but it would be very nice to know somebody from other countries. As far as you support the club, you love Celtic and you pay respect to our tradition, I mean the history of the club, you are entitled to be here. Basically, Celtic fans are tremendous, friendly people.

---But some exception? Like B pub and people were a bit intimidating when we went there.

Ian: Aye, them hard-liners. As I said, B is their grave, ye' know. But they're no bad people actually. The atmosphere of QB was very different, wasn't it? My area (Queens Park, south of the town) have no scary faces. That's normal and that's the majority.

Stuart's view is much more class oriented than others when he stressed on the working class element rather than ethnic one in Celtic fandom.

---I think honestly that this club is very warm and welcome atmosphere to me. But is it always the case to everybody from, say Africa or Asia or...because I think still the tradition of Celtic is something Irish and Catholic and most people think so.

Stuart: Aye, Ah'm sure we are still very much so, if ye' like, but Irish Catholic, AND working class. Don't forget that. May have been the Irish poor but it happened to be Irish. I donae longer care about that, to be honest. If you want to come, you come. If you don't, you don't. Simple as that. Well, it's no use of comparing which has more black supporters and Asian supporters between Rangers and Celtic, ye' know.

Meanwhile, for Jim, the ethnicity of Celtic has to lead to cosmopolitanism rather than ethnic nationalism.

---Now we've got so many foreign players, many nationalities and different ethnicities and races. But fans are not that diverse...

Jim: This is Glasgow, and this is Celtic, ye'know. Ah'm not against multi-national squad, ye'know. No problem, ah'don't even understand why some people see it as a problem. Ye see, we're multicultural fur a good part of 100 years! Ah'm serious, ye'know. Brother Walfrid is not a Scottish, he's an Irishman. And many players came from Ireland, many great players...

In addition to Gill Heron, Celtic had seen some 'foreign' players in the first team regulars when cosmopolitanism was not a reality in Scottish game. Jock Stein signed Icelandic utility player Johannes Edvaldsson in the late 1970s. Two Polish, striker Dariusz Dziekanowski, and left-back and the captain of Poland Dariusz Wdowczyk, were regarded as one of the better signings by Billy McNeill. Liam Brady brought in Albanian Rudi Vata, the first Albanian player in British football and now the captain of the national team. He succeeded Paul Elliot both as solid centre-back and as supporters' cult-hero status. However, most part of the duration of 'fur a good part of 100 years' signifies at best the co-presence of only

two, or perhaps three or four different nationalities, namely Irish and Scottish, and English and Welsh.

It is impossible to overlook the racialised quality of those nationalities as white. Certainly a new type of ontological thinking of simultaneity, in which being both black and Irish or being both black and Scottish is never contradictory, is required to promote this utterance of the multicultural to the current global trend. The difficult task is to come to terms with the fact that even if this logic of coupling is widely appreciated, it is inevitable to add the racialised adjective 'black' to the pre-given name of nation, or to live and experience the otherwise unthinkable utopia of the outer-national, multi-racial reality of football. The necessity to add the adjective 'black' proves that despite the visible effort of relativising the peculiarity of blackness the normative power of whiteness is still in force.

In the Old Firm fandom, being powerfully chained to club belonging by the team colours, sectarian classification appears to surpass the colour line of race. However, insisting on their political correctness and accusing the other side of the Old Firm, anti-racism could animate the antagonism of sectarian cosmology. Centralised to the normative power of whiteness, race tirelessly seeks for the place to work to differentiate and determine one's position within the cosmology of the Old Firm.

I have recognised that in addition to the 'BAB' campaign and some liberal anti-racist and anti-sectarian movements, there is an ethical attitude among the informants in waiting the participation and positive contribution of non-white players and fans. I am one of those who unconditionally share this ethical basis of Celtic fandom. However, the affective utterance of 'tradition' in the extracted narratives appears to be unaware of the normativity of racialising power of the cultural boundary. 'Tradition' exists prior to the contact with what is regarded as external to it. In their narrative, the tradition should remain unchanged but has to be adopted by those who want to be a Celtic fan. The constitution of Celtic fandom oscillates between a property which a defined people exclusively can possess and a process in which active negotiation takes place between the radical thinking of racial and ethnic multiculturalism, the unstable but affective commitment to the tradition and the residue of sectarian cultures.

Notes.

¹ *The Herald*, 16 December 1996.

² Back, Crabbe and Solomos, 2001., p. 30.

³ Bill Murray also picks up this Harper incident. However, it is also predictably usual that his argument has turned out to be more concerned with 'signing a Catholic' in Scotland than racism itself (Murray, 2000/1998., p.44).

⁴ Albie and Anne O'Neill, *Bhoyzone*, Issue 13, March 1998, P. 21.

⁵ See Chapter 7 for the details about the experiences of Walters and Elliott.

⁶ *The Big Issue in Scotland*, No. 92, October 1996, p. 36.

⁷ Barthes, R. 1986, p. 214.

⁸ See Chapter 6 for the background and the details of the campaign.

⁹ *Not The View*, Issue 59, p. 6.

¹⁰ This issue featured the allegation on page 34 and 35, with a photograph of some male Celtic supporters taking off their pants and exposing their groins (Issue 12). See also Murray, 2000/1998, p. 165.

¹¹ *Not The View*, *Bhoyzone*, *Tiocfaidh Aa La* are among them. Militant anti-racist/fascist print media such as *Fighting Talk* and *Red Action* also regularly feature the on-going campaign (I would like to thank Ben Gidley for this information). The nuances between 'fanzine' sub-culture and political activism is delicately different as to the point where the real 'enemy' of the campaign is. Both genres have a tendency to set up the Rangers imagery as the prominent enemy.

¹² Quoted from a column by Andrew Smiths. It was a Scottish Cup fourth round tie against Raith Rovers on 17th of February 1996.

¹³ Williams, 1989, p. 249. Williams's original intention was to theorise the renovation of the British working class communities.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 115-7.

¹⁵ Harvey, 1996, p. 29.

¹⁶ On 2nd January 1971, 66 Rangers fans were crushed to death in Stairway 13 at Ibrox Stadium. 145 people were injured. This tragedy became a tale because the Stairway 13 had been the place of a series of accidents in , 1961, 1967 and 1969.

¹⁷ Harvey, op. cit., p. 324.

¹⁸ *NTV* No 78, 1999, p. 29.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *NTV* No 61, 1996, p. 17.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² It was a joint interview with Stuart and Chris.

²³ Mairi's distrust of Scottish newspapers also reaches at broadsheets; 'I don't even read the *Herald*, I read the *Scotsman*, it's a political reason, you know. The *Herald* is much better now, but still, I don't like them'. The Glasgow based *Herald* is known to have been pro-Unionist (in both Irish and Scottish terms).

²⁴ Gilbert Heron, a professional photographer off the pitch and a poet in his later life, played for amateur sides Chicago Stings and Detroit Corinthians when Celtic made their north American tour in the summer of 1951. He was signed as centre forward before the 1951-2 season. 'Bad luck' was the most often used word when the story of his Celtic career was told because the 'linesman could not credit anyone could be so fast off the mark and he kept being given off-side' (MacBride, Connor and Sheridan, 1994., p.185). After a short spell at Third Lanark and Kidderminster Harriers, he went back to Detroit. Before he joined Celtic, he played boxing, sprinting and soccer. In his Scotland days, he also played cricket

²⁵ *NTV*, No 64, 1996, p. 16.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ In Europe, particularly with St. Pauli and Borussia Dortmund both in Germany, Celtic fans have regular connections.

²⁹ Campbell and Woods, 1992, 221.

³⁰ *NTV* No 54, 1995, p. 12.

³¹ This phrase may be an instant reminder of the 'informal Millwall canon', 'No One Likes We Don't Care'. Garry Robson gives a smart interpretation of this anthem as the expressed anger and contestation against the media myth of the 'Millwall archetype' (Robson, 2000, p. 125). Although the song may have been originally improvised against the media mythology of Millwall fandom, Robson reads the anthem as an expressive ritual of the ambiguous identification of the fans with

their own localised, but more publicly held collective imaginary, operating at the social domain between 'affectively restrained respectability *and* the exultation of *being* Millwall' (ibid., p. 126). The anthem signifies BOTH, according to Robson, at the very moment of the ritualised expressive practice. Thus, the lyrics could be transcribed as 'we DO care' about public perception and reputation, and at the same time as 'we DO care' about the ontological depth of the Millwall fandom. It is neither my intention in this thesis nor a current objective to conduct a comparative observation of the quality or component of the south London working class masculinity with the combined collective imaginary of working class culture with the naive, almost reformist moral high of Glasgow Catholics.

³² *NTV* No 54, 1995, p. 12.

³³ Outside the football world, it was also one year before the general election that chose the Labour candidate of the Govan constituency, Mohammad Sarwar, as the first Muslim MP in Britain and disowned him for electoral fraud two months later. Govan used to be one of the biggest shipyard workers' communities, but contrary to its public image as a total 'Rangers area' and Protestant working class area because of the Ibrox stadium and the history of shipyard labour, has more than one-third of the ethnic minority communities of Glasgow in its constituency.

³⁴ Cited in Dimeo and Finn, 1998., p.128. This comment was made in response to Glasgow MP George Galloway's public announcement that a group of wealthy Asian business people would be ready to take a stake of the club. The debate involved Oliver, Galloway, Gill, influential voices from the Glasgow Asian communities, Thistle fans, and Thistle fan press journalists. The British manner of naming is inclined to categorise a wide range of geographical ancestries as a single group of 'Asians'. As Dimeo and Finn noted, this manner itself is a product of the power relationship. Although English media rarely report it, anti-'Asians' racist violence in Glasgow is well known. On Friday 13 February 1998, 15 year old school boy Imran Khan in Shawland was attacked by white teenager Colin Gilmour and later died in a hospital. Khan was eventually killed after a series of bullying incidents against him at school. Although it did not lead to murder, Jason Wotherspoon told the court that he was ordered by his boss Stefan King through his head steward Derek Menzies at the night club he worked not to let Asians in. According to Wotherspoon, he ignored the order and was sacked immediately. While he sought a clear explanation for this sacking, he was also threatened that 'Glasgow is a small city and we know where you work. Phone calls will be made to your employer. Things can happen' (*The Daily Record*, 12 December 1999).

³⁵ The issue was widened from whether Galloway's real intention was to win the Asian votes for the coming general election, to why Asian participation at the highest level of Scottish football was not developing, to how to promote more Asian youngsters to football.

³⁶ Dimeo and Finn, op. cit., p.135.

³⁷ *Scotland on Sunday*, 3 September 1995, cited in Dimeo and Finn, op. cit., p.136.

³⁸ The summer of the same year, former England international John Barnes was appointed as head coach, along with Kenny Dalglish as general director of football. Barnes became the first non-white first team manager in the top leagues in Britain except Ruud Gullit, but was sacked after the 1-3 Scottish Cup defeat by the first division side Inverness Caledonian Thistle. It was after only eight months, 29 games in charge, when he became the shortest serving first team manager in the history of Celtic. Initially I intended to discuss the experience of Barnes and the significance of his involvement with Celtic and the fandom. However, his unexpectedly quick departure made it difficult for me to address the context and significance of the Barnes era of Celtic.

Summary of Second Half

Beginning with the genealogical study of 'Fenian bastard', I have observed that 'race' has been articulated with masculinity as a dominant force in refining the imagery of supporters, the fandom and the culture in general. The co-existence of inferiority and physical strength in 'Fenians' is partly a historical legacy of anti-Irish Catholic racism and partly a consequence of the development of modern football in Britain. In the scene of actual sectarian violence on the streets, on the terrace and in the grass-rooted discourses of the fandom, masculinity defines the realm in which race operates through both sectarian thinking and racism.

There were some crucial moments at which not the singular masculinity but plural masculinities can be problematised in terms of the relation of whiteness to other, different racialised qualities in the Old Firm fandom. I employed between the Bahktinian typology of 'classical' and 'grotesque' masculinities and the vertical power relation between hegemonic and subaltern masculinities. The spectacle of masculinities is displayed through their cross-cutting inter-section.

In that spectacle, a certain quality of whiteness is activated in the field of the gendered public sphere¹. Some Celtic supporters showed their aggressive disobedience to anti-racist actions taken by the fellow Celtic supporters. If the 'classical statue' is the embodiment of the modernised, bourgeois reason, then the unruly, nearly criminalised behaviour of a fan who 'is pulling at hair' of the man who took anti-racist, rational, correct action can be classified as the subversive expression of anti-discipline, anti-regulation or even 'carnavalesque' direct action². Celtic attempted to police the 'grotesque' masculinity by means of the 'Boys Against Bigotry'. However, when that attempt was countered with the 'Bears Against Buggery', it did not merely remind the public of the child-sexual abuse case, but also exercises the power of homophobic language and sustains

that male-homosexuality is placed outside the norm. It also signifies the official, liberal anti-racist campaign as gay or effeminate, assuming that what is opposed to the norm of hetero-sexuality is placed lower in the normative structure which reifies male-homosexuality in this way³.

The Old Firm cosmology makes it impossible for liberally motivated political actions to pursue their goal by containing the meaning of the movement strictly within the pre-existing rivalry between 'us' and 'them'. It prevents the overarching rationale of moral code from being unconditionally shared and realised in the context of the fandom. Thus, humanist liberalism resigns to club belonging. When club belonging finds the moment of correspondence with sectarian residue, 'race' is constructed and its role is allocated to ambivalence. The surface of human skin and the chemical surface of the team shirt negotiate over the entitlement of 'us'.

When Paul Elliott's physicality is described as 'exceptional' for the standard of Celtic centre-half, his blackness works in an ambivalent way. While his physical strength is entirely appreciated, his authoritative presence is interpreted as 'exceptional' for the Celtic standard. While his athletic ability is placed higher than the predecessors of his position are, that physicality is not included in the line of Celtic tradition. When Walters showed his commitment to the tradition of Rangers culture and the fans and the fanzine accepted his willingness and gave him a certain position in the Rangers collective imaginary, his black manhood was valorised at a higher position than others, most notably Celtic black players. When Bob Marley's 'hyper-masculinity' occupies a certain sound-scape in Celtic Park and his iconic image is imagined in line with Henrik Larsson's dreadlocks, Larsson, a man of few words, and his dread-lock hair, his skill, his pace and his football-intelligence are symbolised as anti-racist potential of the Celtic cultures.

What should not be misunderstood in those examples is that the relative valorisation of black masculinities cannot be realised without fixing the difference as partial racial essence. In other words, those 'inclusions' of black manhood are a consequence of the co-habitation of anti-racism and a racially essentialist view of human being. Even the fact that the positive reference to blackness necessitates the positive language of essentialism indicates the danger of jumping up to the non-race utopian thinking. The twisting irony is that, represented on the colours of the shirts and the emblems, 'tradition' powerfully works both as the cultural

boundary of exclusion and as the ethical basis of the 'neighbourhood nationalism' of anti-racism. The cosmopolitan transition of the football environment surely tests the relevancy of seeing the 'tradition' as an immortal origin of the identification. Once the surface of either green and white or blue is taken off, the politics of racialisation turns out to be the normalisation of human categories with colour line.

Those who can enunciate 'our tradition' and set up the criteria of entitlement through the tradition have a power that makes them choose the subjective position to which the dominant part of Celtic fandom is assigned. Having been exposed to the hegemonic view which sees Celtic as the source of sectarianism, unacceptable nationalism and racism, the Celtic fandom may be required to establish their own singularity. Between the radical transformation of tradition itself and what they believe is their tradition, the Celtic imaginary may need to devise how to imagine, narrate and commemorate the tradition not as a property of the nationalised and racialised community but as a process in which different cultural forces can take part. Thus, the singularity is consigned to the multiracial, multicultural cosmopolitan transition but not exclusively defined by this currency. The fact that the 'tradition' is repeatedly reflected and that the fandom is facing a novel reality undoubtedly generates the increasing sense of necessity of re-inventing the constituting quality of belonging and entitlement.

Notes.

¹ See Chapter 5 for more specific reference to this distinction by Stallybrass and White.

² Stallybrass and White, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³ This mechanism is elaborated by Eva K. Sedgwick when she notes that 'homosociality' is differentiated from 'homosexuality', because the former maintains and activates the same gender bonding through the shared sense of fear and hatred of the latter (1985, pp. 1-20).

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to reconceptualise the way that sectarianism is understood. The journey for this objective began by breaking with the foundational thinking of sectarian culture and ended with the debate on the rather banal idea of 'tradition'. Overall, my argument has been concerned with the social process in which the banality of 'tradition' is negotiated in ordinary cultural experiences in Celtic fandom. This banality is significant because it is through those ordinary experiences at the actual site of football that identity and belonging become the resources by which the boundary of 'us', the fandom, is circumscribed through the negotiation between inclusion and exclusion. No matter how trivial it may be, the repetition of performative ritual and the exchange of language and idiom on football create the location where the very ordinariness of football refines a variety of boundaries of 'race' and nation and articulates their complex inter-relations with a particular mode of belonging and entitlement.

I have exemplified this argument through the previous 8 chapters that are divided into two halves. In the first half, I focused on affect in club belonging. The second half shifted the focus to racial and national differences because the affective economy is activated through such differences. In this concluding chapter, I wish to re-integrate the previous argument around three mutually cross-cutting fields of negotiation: of foundational sectarianism and transitional cosmopolitanism, of love/pleasure and hate/terror, and of whiteness and differences. This will be followed by the summary of the ethics and politics of ethnographic research. Then, the final paragraphs will propose the necessity of the 'politicisation of the aesthetic of football arts' as an emerging agenda in the field of critical cultural studies of mass sports.

The fundamental problem of foundationalism is that it sees club belonging and entitlement as essentially embedded in ethnicised religious and geographical

locality that justifies sectarian polarisation as cultural property. As we saw in chapter 1, the portrait of Donald Findlay exemplified the residual potential of die-hard foundationalism not only by his own affection but also by virtue of both the criticism and the support. Either way, the culture of the sectarian predicament is confirmed as a historical and social truth. It is not my intention to enforce the value judgement of good or bad on the foundational thinking because it works both to empower and dis-empower the cultural force in becoming a member of either community. As I noted in chapter 7, even Neil Lennon explicitly claimed the ethnicised absolute value of being Irish to understand the significance of Celtic and the tiny Irish tricolour at the terrace of a deprived council house in Parkhead showed the never retrievable affection to the Irish imaginary. Gascoigne's flute-miming performance of Protestant Orangeman re-ignited the gradually fading expression of the essentialised cultural value.

Such a performativity as the mock Orangeman is extremely important not to represent the cultural essence but to essentialise the identity of those who are identified with the performance, fixing the unbreakable origin as the reason for the coherent support. It is true that while the colour of shirt generates the iconised symbolic power that fixes someone's existence on either side of the dichotomy, it is the performative action and speech act, including shouting, chanting and abusing, that leads the identity to either projection or abjection. This power of fixation is proliferated when the green and white Hoops appear both on the body of the victims of sectarian atrocity and on the suspected IRA bomber, as I have respectively introduced in chapter 6 and chapter 1. Both Thomas McFadden and Michael Dickson wore the Celtic colour but the meaning the public discourses attached to them was totally opposite. The Celtic shirt constructed the exterior which had made it possible and likely for the foundational modes to be firmly conceived under the auspice of the imaginal geography that segregates a particular location as a more likely Celtic area. Socio-pathology and culturalism reproduces this pattern of identification through the media and academic discourses.

Some East End pubs that are described as the 'hard-liners' grave' may be the enclaves of the foundational tradition. Sectarian foundation needs secrecy to bind the coherence of community and to elastically reproduce it. It is reproduced, however, not by the self-sustainable rituals but the encounter with otherness. This encounter takes place not only through sectarianised performance and abuse of

Rangers contingents, but also through racist abuse towards black players and the reactive effort to recover the ethics of liberal populism.

In this encounter, anxiety, fear and the coping strategies that are worked by the nervous system are in fact shared by both sides of foundationalism and transitional cosmopolitanism. While it proves how dense the temporal and spatial homogeneity of foundational thinking has become when it is forced to negotiate with outer-community otherness, black players and non-white fans are also exposed to the constant reminder of that density either through harsh treatment or through contingent inclusion. As I argued in chapter 2, the negative recognition followed by the mis-recognition of my presence in a Glasgow street has exemplified how powerful the sectarian dichotomy is. This encounter also epitomised the incapability of the sectarianised dichotomy in recognising what was not given a place in their already defined cultural repertoire.

Although the influx of foreign players and their lack of an ontologised emotional tie with the Old Firm cosmology may have irritated Ian Ferguson in chapter 1, the irresistible currency of cosmopolitanisation, lined with the necessity of recruiting foreign players and of commercialisation, opened up other horizons where some novel attempts to re-establish the fandom have been proposed. The historical oscillation between the Irish, Scottish and British national imagination is re-inscribed in the claim of the 'multicultural for 100 years'. Through chapter 7 and 8, I described the way that the 'tradition' of multiracial, multicultural Celtic is re-invented by re-writing the history of black players, promoting anti-sectarian, the anti-racist social mission, playing some Bob Marley songs, and claiming a new Celtic identity. It is important that this negotiation is never a clear-cut, 'either-or' formality because of the possibility of what might be called cosmopolitan sectarianism. The highly charged competitiveness of the spectacle of football may overwhelm the diversity, reshuffling it along the fixed line of dichotomy that is made to cut across the binary of ethnicised religious differences. Therefore, I have pointed out in chapter 4 that the Old Firm cosmology is constructed by the artificial, social technology of combining the sectarian cosmology with the competitive rivalry on the football ground. Two, different public spheres are made to appear united as one.

While the effort to separate those two spheres by denouncing the sloppy use of the word sectarianism has increasingly become effective, there are certain

moments when the ethnicised foundation of sectarianism becomes almost synonymous with the 'tradition' of Celtic fandom. This is the second complex field of negotiation I wish to address in this conclusion. For, the rigidity of ethnicised and locally embedded 'reason' for supporting Celtic may be invested in love for the self and hate towards the other. In short, doing the sectarian itself can be a resource of pleasure, although it may eventually end in terror. The affective economy of pleasure and terror is directed to the representation of either love or hate. This makes club belonging coincide with an ethnic nationalism that establishes the overarching quality signified by being a Catholic and the love for Celtic. As discussed in chapter 3, this element of the formation of Celtic fandom is arbitrarily but extremely powerfully articulated with the performing rites of wearing the green and white Hoops.

Showing one's colour in public may be the expression of the private, individual emotional investment in the object that is distinguished by the colour from the other. That act can result in creating a plausible solidarity with the fandom, but, as shown in chapter 4, it can also make a volatile environment in the stadium and the terror of street murders of those teenage Celtic fans. As Findlay's confession has vividly exemplified, the overwhelming power of sectarianisation frames the way that the individual is transformed to the social. While this mechanism may endorse that the private is always political, the range of the political is determined firstly as sectarian in the Old Firm cosmology. By singing, raising the flag and wearing the shirt, love tends to be identified with sectarianised self-other relationships and the name of 'culture' prevents this mode of identification from being eradicated from the 'tradition'.

The mixture of the pleasure of football and the pain of divided public life, and the chaotic blend of celebrated worldly working class cultures and religious hatred, make it impossible to draw an absolutely clear sketch of what is and is not sectarianised. Although the divide of club belonging does not necessarily correspond with the affective distinction of pleasure and terror, an assumption of 'pure-hatred' as the symptom of the Old Firm cosmology makes it possible for this correspondence to be regarded as authentically real.

I have developed a complex understanding of this relationship between sectarianism, cosmopolitanism, love and hate through the notion of folding. My notion of the folding of love into hate and vice versa, and of sectarianism into

cosmopolitanism and vice versa, aims to name this complex process. In the summary of the first half of the thesis I outlined this idea in detail. My argument is not that love and hate manifest as a simple opposition but rather *one axis operates as the modality in which another is experienced*. The same is applied to the relationship between sectarianism and cosmopolitanism.

Even the enunciation of Thorn, who was introduced in chapter 1 as one of the cosmopolitan contingents in the recent Old Firm transition, '(B)ut I could never hate any of the Celtic players', assumes the existence and employment of 'pure hatred' among the players. It does not imply that there is certain hate among Rangers players when playing Celtic, but indicates as though the Old Firm game demands the players to hate each other. In the spectacle of the 'Mayhem in Paradise' and the description in the section of 'Jungle Fever', both argued in chapter 4, the callings of 'Fenians', 'Huns' and even the 'Masons' give the new identity to the players, the crowds and the officials, and then re-shuffle them into two destined camps that appear to be mutually distinguished by either investing love or hate.

This is the moment when the fandom becomes regarded as a pseudo-religious cosmology that demands of the followers their devotion and loyalty. However, it is misleading to think that Celtic fandom can be seen as a cosmological structure because of their predominantly Catholic cultural background or Rangers' Protestant imaginary. I have suggested in chapter 4, instead, that the rites carried out in the location of spectacle generate the secular space where supporters can behave as if they practise what can look like a religious ceremony such as collective chanting at a defined time. Then, the existing matrix is attached afterwards to the fanatic environment so that foundational thinking of love and hate become active as if the competing fandoms are fighting over their mutually oppositional fundamentalist values.

Despite all the strong indication of the binary code of affective investment, pleasure and terror are not mutually exchangeable. It is not that the sectarianised agency functions as the exterior that conveys that emotional energy. As elaborated in the cases of the moral economy of the crowds and the articulation of Celtic's playing style with diasporic imagination, the pleasure of supporting and of being a supporter can motivate singularly further affective investment without objectifying the other as the target of hatred. This can be considered as the

negation of politics may be interpreted as the appreciation of safety, pleasure and above all the pure joy of football that denounces the extra-football affair as political. The history of sectarian incidents justifies this claim when, as I noted in chapter 5, some interview partners expressed their disgust at the apparently excessive religious hatred, for example, sighing that 'we had enough'.

Another defensive logic of 'purity' of football may be found in the hate of the irresistible tide of commercialisation and in the love for the lost days of locally rooted working class everyday life. Purchasing retail goods, including kit, scarf and supporter's club membership is imminently associated with the phenomenal transformation of the football industry into a systematically commercialised, commodified and manipulative realm of regulation and mobilisation of popular pleasures that are accommodated with the force of capital and market. Support for Findlay is expressed as anti-thesis of the chairman David Murray's pro-commercial line of management. Chapter 7 featured Paul Gascoigne as the agent of the unruly working class masculinity that is regained at the site where the re-gentrification of the football environment seems inevitable. The overtly Irish Republican and Nationalist display among Celtic fans can be interpreted as a manifest of the still active desire of remaining a part of Celtic as an uncompromising working class institution. Those are the acts that aim at keeping football out of the profit-making machine.

However, purifying the public sphere of football without the political and economic part also sits together with the entire denial of the dynamic process and practice of identification of fans and players with what the club is expected to represent. The denial of this empowering practice maintains a static, ahistorical idea of tradition and fails to theorise the tradition as the 'changing same'. In short, the negation of the political only opens up a space for a certain politics to operate in the fandom. Chapter 7 portrayed this case as the silent terror experienced by some Celtic supporters who attempted to discredit racial abuse in their own camp shows. However, as noted in chapter 8, despite the fact that the harsh treatment would be followed by the naïve silence at the site of racism, doing nothing is not an option. Even customarily ritualised performances of attacking Rangers imagery with religiously inscribed language is increasingly prosecuted. Now cosmopolitanisation is most quickly initiated by creating a multiracial environment both in the player recruitment and in the fan basis. Without the

eloquence of political correctness, the existence of actual anti-racism among Celtic fans can be understood as their love and pleasure for the club but the hate for those who disrespect what they perceive as the ethics of the club.

This anti-racist and anti-sectarian stance was defined in chapter 7 as a form of 'neighbourhood nationalism'. It can be observed when Celtic fans celebrated Elliott's physical display, applauding him as one of the 'Bhoys', but abused Walters as a Rangers player. It can also be seen that they racially abused Harper while at the same time ethnically accepting his Scottish-Catholic background. This cultural mechanism of inclusion, exclusion and 'contingent inclusion' of racialised otherness is also the work of the affective investment of love and hate. It is not that the practice of othering is always-already the consequence of the heavy investment of love and hate. It is rather articulated in the ways in which pleasure is consumed by sensing the superiority to the object of terrorising racism. The sense of superiority and inferiority is artificially constituted as absorbing the fear and anxiety of the racialised others. Although becoming one of 'us' may eliminate the fear, anxiety and uncertainty, there is no guarantee that the love of club belonging is eternally prioritised to other social attributions. The difference between the love for the 'self' and the 'hate' of the other are always in negotiation and it is always in a process of constant differentiation through which club colours, sectarian divide and the racialised colour line are intersected.

What I have emphasised through the discussion of ritual and communication among clubs, fans and supporters, is that 'race' and nation are socially constructed through the repetitive performance at the actual, concrete site of football where the performance itself acts upon the sociality of football. This is a key point of the third field of negotiation. Therefore, racial and national differences are themselves the sociality evoked through the relationship between belonging, entitlement and identity, and combined with those processes of self-other relationality. The politics of articulation and dis-articulation of anti-Irish Catholic, sectarian racism, with the racism against non-white populations is powerfully intersected with club belonging. It is not a simple intersection of the axis of 'sectarian versus anti-sectarian' with the axis of 'racist versus anti-racist'. The topography of 'race' in Celtic fandom has to be addressed in a structure that commands different levels and angles to differentiate the self from the other along the racialised line.

Becoming a fan by doing what fans do is the essential part of this process of differentiation. Accumulation of narrative and historical recollection are represented through the repetition of rituals. Therefore, rituals are articulated so strongly with living memory, reality and experience in community that, despite the challenge imposed by the global currency in the football industry, the fandom could appear to enjoy the consistent and stable coherence of 'tradition'. In tradition, the national belonging of Celtic imagery, among other differences, renders the basis of sameness in the fandom with a less unitary root but the more diverse possibility of constructing the fandom. When Celtic fandom label their enemy as 'Huns', the national imaginary of Celtic becomes closer to the British one. In turn, when they are called Fenians and call themselves Fenians, their imaginary is associated with anti-colonial forces that are regarded as dangerous, unpredictable and uncontrollable and as the population that should be assimilated with the 'host' country's dominant civic values. With the debates over the legitimacy of the Irish tricolour, the rebel songs and Republican slogans, the stereotyped Irish imagery never diminishes the foreign traces in comparison to the Unionist and Loyalist blue of Rangers. The historical retrospection of 'multicultural for 100 years' and the re-invention of multicultural tradition under the banner of the 'united colours of Celtic' act in concert with the attempt to establish the commonness in Celtic fandom along with the capacity of keeping differences.

However, there is no doubt that, whether Irish imagery or Scottish-British imagery, the racialised pattern of the dominant imagery of Celtic fandom is considered white. As I argued in chapter 7, the fact that racialised otherness is almost always attuned to the non-whites shows that blackness is always already peculiar whereas whiteness is constructed as an unmarked character that normalises it as the referential standard of other racial categories. Whiteness emerges as a racialised category when in the context of 'neighbourhood nationalism' the relative gravity of the club colours is compared almost exclusively to the colour of skin. Through the uneven development of racist cultures, those who have racially abused Walters in turn loudly cheered Elliott because of the latter's club belonging. This instrumentality of racist actions produces the abusers as white and lets them remain so while they exercise the normalising power to place at will those black players 'in' or 'out'. For those who

can make choices, the difference of the relative gravity between club colour and skin colour is manipulatable.

Ethical awareness of the mobility of the bar that differentiates the target of racism from those who are contingently included underlines the instrumentality of racial abuse, insults and name-calling. Then, the racialised boundary between inclusion and exclusion becomes ambiguous. In this way, 'whiteness' is negotiated with difference in the affirmative action taken in Celtic fandom. It is negotiated, not determined, because, as many interview partners asserted in chapter 8, the qualification and entitlement of culturally becoming a member of Celtic fandom is approved by the degree of assimilation. The extent to which one is becoming a Celtic fan is judged with reference to the culture of those who can navigate themselves to the position where they do not need to bet a stake of racialised difference to become a member.

I have also argued in chapter 7 that because of its fluidity whiteness is far from homogenised. The genealogy of 'Fenian bastard' in chapter 5 and the analysis of the public image and discourse of Gascoigne and the comparison with Rogan and Lennon in chapter 7 have proved that there are different kinds of whiteness intersecting the variants of masculinities in the Old Firm. The Nineteenth century creation of 'Fenians' spawns a series of grotesque masculine bodies whose imagery is connected in the contemporary context to the unruly body of the IRA commanders. The strong resonance of this imagery keeps Celtic fandom not exactly as white as ideal, modern and classic whiteness. This imagery is evoked through the loud crowds with Irish colours in the fully packed Celtic Park. Once whiteness is problematised as a racialised quality, the vicissitude of race is set to work in dismantling the whiteness in general and then distributing its plural component to the dominant and the subordinate, of which hierarchical order is incepted according to the articulation with other social categories such as nation, religion and gender. The peculiarity of Irish-Catholics in the Scottish sub-nationalist cultural value is transformed to Celtic's still debated foreignness through this articulation.

Leaving the power of whiteness unproblematised and recycling the stereotype at a variety of sites of public life from caricature to media and scholarly style discourses to the verbal exchanges at the terrace, the difference within the Old Firm cosmology has come to the point where cultural relativism may be enforced

by essentialising the respectively ethnicised characteristics. The apparently egalitarian approach to sectarian phenomenon, stressing on 'just different, nothing less, nothing more', in fact, contributes to fixing the resources of identification and directs them to ethnicised absolutism. Since differences are recognised in relation to sameness, something that can be maintained as a principle of differentiating otherness is necessary. It is, I have argued, whiteness as an inter-linking quality of two rival camps. It becomes an overarching category of both sectarian cosmology and the Old Firm cosmology. These tribal communities necessitate a transcendent factor to highlight as much as possible on their difference.

There are many patterns of 'doings' that are experienced as a shared condition by which one's behaviour is primarily polarised and then exposed to the temptation of sectarianisation. They are: the similarity of performative rituals, the parodic miming of one's ritual by another, the appropriation of a particular music tune with different lyrics and above all the exchange of historical knowledge which only those who are already familiar with the history, legend and folklore could possibly know. In comparison, other forms of sociality such as religion, nationality and club belonging function as dividing criteria. Thus, 'race' itself becomes a line between those who can interpret, no matter how terrorising or pleasant, the history and culture of being a part of the fandom as their own history and culture, and those who have to struggle to obtain the cultural passport to even conditionally gain the entitlement of doing what the members of the fandom do.

Even though it is a difficult and complicated task, I have noted some radical symptoms to create the more cosmopolitan ecology derived from the negotiation between whiteness and differences. They are: challenging the Scottish myth of racial tolerance and the provincial nationalism that attributes racism to the English culture, rejecting the qualitative minoritisation and victimisation of Irish-Catholics and its straight application to the football context, deconstructing the fixed line between indigenous and incomer, reflecting on the historical diversity of the players' cultural belonging, and intervening into the apparently legendary meaning of the colour of green. It is necessary to state that these are inconclusive and far from the final consequence of the transition.

Through the argument of those three fields of negotiation, the thesis has come to address sectarianism in the realm of the performative, temporal and contingent.

This task necessitated epistemological as well as ethical endeavour. The epistemological labour practised through the work was intended to cultivate the novel relationship between theory and ethnographic experience. As explained in the Introduction, the principle of foundational thinking in sectarianism lies in the matter-of-factness of the view that the Old Firm cultures are indispensably relational, inter-locked and inter-dependent. Incidents, action and speech acts are rationalised as the linear causality by the already known and segregated idioms and vocabulary. Theory might have tended to analyse, explain and then even endorse this linear relationality on the ground that one is not recognised without reference to another.

Instead of applying available theories, I have tried mainly in chapter 2 and onward to theorise the ways in which this relationality is eventually constructed, and then made to appear to be pre-given and fixed, being perceived as if it is 'a matter of fact'. Positivist sociology is apt to naturalise the distinction between theory and practice. My view, however, is that that distinction itself is a consequence of empiricist enterprise in pursuing the pre-existing fact prior to perception. This empiricist epistemology is well conspired with foundational sectarian thinking which pre-empts any cultural phenomenon as reducible to the binary matrix. Instead, I have suggested that the possible attribution of the sectarian binary can be displaced from the commonplace frame of reference to the moment when sectarianism is conceived as such in the field of ethnographic encounter. Through the sensible contact with human, land and sound scape in ethnography, the intellectual tension that emerges from this encounter empowers theory to be actively articulated with the epistemological turn itself.

Committed to the interactive communication rather than empiricist dichotomy of theory and practice, I have assigned the function of 'perspicuous contrast' to the critical engagement with ethnographic field. It is not adequate to say that the involvement of a researcher in the field entails power relations with what is to be documented, accounted and narrated. Despite one's awareness of the power relation, which is often uneven, a researcher must and can write. It is this final privilege that requires an ethical, and therefore political stance to be crystallised by a new experiment in the field of critical ethnography.

'Perspicuous contrast' works when the position of researcher is placed at the unstable edge between inclusion in and exclusion from the field. Particular codes

of a community may overturn the positionality of subject and object either by pushing the researcher's position out of the community or by temporally treating it as one of 'us'. While the room for the researcher to choose what to write remains available, the degree of accessibility may be largely left for those whom the researcher wants to document. The power of the gaze can be always shifting, which in fact drives the ethnographic inter-play further rather than interrupting it. I mentioned 'experiment' because, in the midst of the inter-play with the field, exoticisation has made it possible for me to obtain the common ground of knowing and talking about football and Celtic while keeping our mutual social differences intact. In the section of 'exchange of exoticism' in chapter 2, exoticism which is normally negatively understood as a mode of reification of the other, enabled the interaction to be more productive by inventing and consuming mutual nativity.

At the expense of nationalisation as Japanese, racialisation as asian and genderisation as male, 'perspicuous contrast' worked well in the way that the partially essentialised categories are apprehended without losing the moment of social construction at the site of encounter with otherness. The quality of exoticised other is not strategically and deliberately conceived but contingently constructed and over-determined by the necessity of inter-connection between myself and the field for ethical reasons. The quality of otherness I brought in was accepted as a gift so that the circular movement of exchange would cultivate further the undocumented elements.

This epistemological and ethical stance was not a ready-made preference prior to the ethnography. It was literally a product of fieldwork itself. There is no finality in my attempt because the negotiation of Celtic fandom with sectarianism and their effort of de-sectarianisation are still on-going. I have only touched upon this ever on-going cultural politics in the context of the inter-local, national and outer-national development of modern mass sport events in the urban space. This contextualisation is commonly shared by the critical studies of modern mass sports. I would like to figure out new research agendas from this rather accustomed horizon of critical cultural studies.

Commenting on the evolution of modern sports in the age of mass entertainment, and above all after Auschwitz, Theodor Adorno's tormented observation of the significance of sports severely criticised the pitfall of the

pursuit of efficiency and rationalisation of modern sportive expressionism¹. Among other western Marxists, Jean-Marie Brohm severely criticised modern mass sports for its fetishism and reification of the human body². John Hoberman, from a similar angle, equates the rationalisation of the modern evolution of sport with the regimentalisation of cosmopolis, the temporal and spatial efficiency in the factory and the authoritarian regime of human control³. However, it was Adorno rather than anybody else who was aware of the inadequacy of such a one-dimensional view of mass sports as a device of the top-down totalitarian power of state, capital or authoritarian regime over the temporal and spatial constraint of the body of players and crowds. For Adorno, the authoritarian aspect of modern sport is so flexible that it keeps a certain time and space for irrationality to be released on the collective scale. Adorno urged that the significant ambivalence of sport be taken more seriously as the collective irrational is pushed out of the rationalising process and confined in the sporting public sphere. I wish to take his warning seriously as a starting point of the further investigation of sport, culture and society.

On the one hand, it (sport) can have an Anti-barbaric and anti-sadistic effect of fair play, a spirit of chivalry, and consideration for the weak. On the other hand, in many of its varieties and practices it can promote aggression, brutality and sadism, above all in people who do not expose themselves to the exertion and discipline required by sports but instead merely watch: that is those who regularly shout from the sidelines⁴.

Adorno was right to be aware that the sadistic expressionism of football crowds is a necessary outcome of the authoritarian regimental structure of modern sports. When the 'shout from the sidelines' differentiates human dignity from infra-human barbarity, and determines race and nation as the over-arching category and simultaneously as the hierarchical line between them, the study of football fandom may be merely regarded as either a socio-pathological diagnosis or the empiricist ratification of authoritarian populism.

Indeed, a joyful excitement at a beautiful goal and an angry gesture at a doubtful penalty decision may be seen as the sub-product of rational regimentalisation of the body and space, which is otherwise a prohibited release of emotion. Authoritarianism needs the rational apparatus that allows the irrational to be released. However, the noise, sound and smell of the fellow

crowds are never homogenised as something that is produced by those who 'merely watch'. In addition to Adorno's observation of ambivalence, I want to suggest that there is another dimension in the spectacle of sport.

Making the solidarity visible by wearing the same strip may be one of the ways in which the militant and regimental encampment of urban tribes is conceived on a mass scale. However, there still remains a fundamental difference to the totalitarian and authoritarian display of disciplined human bodies. As the two colours of the competing teams are unexchangeable, there are always non-monolithic patterns of visible and visual differences. As the ultimate anonymity of the individual is impossible in the stadium due to the moral economy of fandom, the subject of illocutionary speech acts of shouts, abuse or applause, is also articulated with the unexchangeable quality of who they are. While the intensity of the rivalry promotes differentiation and othering to the complex politics of 'race' and nation, what is necessary to produce the singularity of a fandom is the differences in commonness. Football spectacle insures the differences through the commonness of emplacing the body in the position of playing the game as a player and of participating in it as a supporter.

To see the constant differentiation through commonness in football spectacle is the key to the singularity of the affective community of fandom, which I think is the dimension Adorno did not figure out. In this line, I would like to develop further issues from the marveled 'shout' from a Portuguese official at the occasion of Celtic's European triumph in Lisbon 35 years ago, 'this attacking play! This is the real meaning of football, this is the true game'. I have proposed that this moment of aestheticisation of play can be politically empowering since the route-work was necessary to establish the same quality between the Celtic imaginary and the 'attacking football'. It was necessary to animate the outer-national, trans-cultural diasporic imagination in order to bridge them and to seek for this possibly singular characterisation of the culture of Celtic. This argument would prove that it is possible to practise the affective investment of sensation and pleasure, and, to paraphrase Walter Benjamin's proposition of the 'politicisation of art', the 'politicisation of the aesthetic of football art'.

Although the actuality of Celtic fandom unsteadily oscillates between ethnicised tradition and cosmopolitan multiculturalism, I would argue that this unsteady oscillation is itself the symptom of an emerging new sensibility of Celtic

fandom. It will be a hard but worthwhile project to articulate the new sensibility with the 'politicisation of the aesthetic of football art'. It is not, however, the achievement of cosmopolitanisation to merely see sectarian hostility replaced by the racially and ethnically diverse players playing for Celtic. As it is already evident at the level of international football as well as in the English Premier League, the appearance of the multicultural and multiracial squad produces another mode of racial essentialism by attributing each individual player's ability to the field of naturalised or even 'scientific' racial genetics. 'Natural gift' and 'physical capability' are reduced to the racialised characteristic.

Furthermore, the powerful dichotomy in football idioms arise in the binary description of individualism and organisation, of skill and commitment, of rhythm and pace, and of physical instinct and tactical mindedness. This line of difference corresponds to the racialised difference of the players' body. The body is reified through racialisation and then distributed into either side of the binary elements so as to be acknowledgeable and intelligible. The fetishism of the racialised body re-values the homology between a particular visual appearance and the interiority. This re-valuation re-draws a line between inferior and superior, and prepares defined places for both racialised essences in a single vertical order of human classification. Consequently, racial stereotype may be re-distributed and biological racism may be restored.

Hoberman forcefully terms the current multi-racial sports as 'a Darwinian theater'⁵ where, sustaining the evolutionist interpretation of black physical superiority and the intellectual inferiority, the Nineteenth century myth of racial taxonomy is reproduced by the success of black athletes in America. However, I would argue that it is an extremely one-dimensional understanding that the racialisation in sports is the mere re-circulation of the myth of racial biology. Now that I have discussed the locally articulated and unevenly normalised character of racism in football, it is misleading to think that only one pattern of racialisation prevails in a variety of fields of sports and the fandom. Indeed, it is not that a positive interpretation of racialised characteristics may transform the race thinking. There is a danger in a seemingly positive discourse that the beauty of a particular skill, a play or a scene is embodied as the archetype of a particular race and nation. This is a pitfall of the apolitical aesthetic of football. It unconditionally assumes a uninterrupted line between the football art and racial

and national imagery although there is no fixed, necessary correspondence between them. As the football art cannot be detached from the practice of embodiment, the 'politicisation of the aesthetic of football art' has to be a constant reminder of the rupture in the cultural politics of race and nation.

It would be an essential task to seek for the theorisation in which the 'politicisation of the aesthetic of football art' can be materialised in the ordinary communication within football fandom. With the ever growing television revenue, the neo-liberalist opportunism among the players after the Bosman ruling, and the increasing gap between the millionaire star players and the lower division players, between more affordable supporters and less affordable fans, and between elite clubs and smaller clubs, the cosmopolitanisation of football cultures in localised sites is constantly exposed to the effect of political economy. The multiculturalism and commercialisation of football are the two extreme edges of the same chain. The new politics of 'class' explicitly becomes evident in the football universe.

The novel sensibility in football has to be discussed in this intermingling context in-between political economy and affective economy. It is to ask how global capitalism operates to work the contemporary football public sphere, what its objective is, what kind of outcome this operation brings by means of the politics of belonging and entitlement, how this politics can be addressed in both fields of affective and political economy, what kind of power relation is activated and reproduced, what function this power relation is assigned in the class struggle, and finally how the 'politicisation of the aesthetic of football art' can claim its significance in the power relation. Before declaring the arrival of 'post-fandom'⁶, the cultural politics of fandom is still worth an intensive analysis as to the ways in which the anatomy of emotion, senses and nerves may contribute to disclosing what is otherwise underestimated as merely cultural.

Notes.

¹ Adorno, 1998; 1969.

² Brohm, 1989; 1976.

³ Hoberman, 1984.

⁴ Adorno, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-7.

⁵ Hoberman, 1997, p. 13.

⁶ Readhead, 1997.

Appendix 1

The Area of the Fieldwork

Actual name of the streets, places and areas constructing the 'imaginal' boundary of East End can be as follows. It could be expanded at the largest from the area around Glasgow Cross and the Barras Market on the western edge to council housing estate areas in Easter House on the eastern, as well as from Cambuslang in south to the old tenements neighbourhoods in Springburn in north. At the narrowest, situating Celtic Park in the centre, looked over by Eastern Necropolis across Janefield Road, the areas like Bridgeton, Calton, Dalmarnock, and Parkhead could be called East End. Two main streets, Gallowgate and London Road, are running through those areas and along the River Clyde, Glasgow Green is separating the central part of the city from East End.

Regular meeting places (pubs, cafes, and bars) shown in the initials

M: High Street. 15 minutes walking distance to Parkhead. Eastern edge of the city centre. Base for FG Celtic supporters club. Usual place for pre- and post - match drink for non-members. Run by a Rangers daft proprietor. Big screen but neither special 'Celtic colour' nor any football colours found. Described by one of the members as 'spiritual home'.

M in West End: Haugh Road. The same name as the High Street bar. Off Argyle Street. Close to University of Glasgow. A regular place for a part of the FG members. No football colour, no big screen. Despite its location in the heart of Indian and Pakistani cultural milieu, majority of the customers are white.

The DT: Dawnhill Street in Partick. Occasional gathering place for away game. This pub appeared in Brian Wilson's official centenary book about the history of

Celtic. Elderly male dominant pub. Lightly Celtic colours. Not walking distance from Parkhead.

B: Gallowgate. One of the well-known 'Celtic pubs'. Described as 'hard-liner's grave', 'Republican pub' and 'full of traditions'. Interior decoration is numerous memorabilia from 1890s photograph to John F. Kennedy's big poster. Big flags of Irish tricolour, Celtic Harp, and Hoop are hanged from the roof. Regular customers are literally regular people. The person who took me there told me that he 'was scared' every time he went in although he rarely dropped in that pub. On the match day particularly, the atmosphere is intense and exclusive.

B6: Gallowgate. The opposite of the road to B. Named after 1967's Lisbon Lions' triumph of European Cup. Colour is green rather than Green, White and Orange. More club oriented than B which is more concerned with the linkage between then club and Irish manifestation.

QB: Victoria Road. Queens Park area. Not walking distance from Parkhead. Not particularly Celtic colour. For some of the informants, this is the place for 'afters'. Meeting place with non-members of FG.

Mc: Torrisdale Street, near Queens Park station. Run by the 'Caesar', Celtic legend Billy McNeill. This fact tells more than any colour or decoration. Sociable than other publicly known 'Celtic pubs'.

Appendix 2

Witnessed Matches

(a): Away games

Season (Manager/ Head Coach)	Date	Opposition	Result	Scorer of Celtic
1995-6 (Tommy Burns)	17 February	Raith Rovers	2-0	Thom, Donnelly
1996-7 (Tommy Burns)	12 October	Motherwell	1-0	van Hooijdonk
	28 December	Dunfermline	4-2	Cadete 2, van Hooijdonk, Donnelly
	(a) 2 January (Ibrox)	Rangers	1-3	Di Canio
	1 March	Hearts of Midlothian	2-0	Cadete, Di Canio
	20 April	Aberdeen	3-0	Cadete 2, Donnelly
1997-8 (Wim Jansen)	20 September	Aberdeen	2-0	Larsson 2
	(a) 1 November (East End Park)	Dunfermline	2-0	Blinker, Larsson
	20 December	Dundee United	4-0	Thom 2, Larsson 2
	(a) 10 January (Fir Park)	Motherwell	1-1	Lambert
	15 March	Dundee United	1-1	Donnelly
	28 April	Hibernian	0-0	
	9 May	St. Johnston	2-0	Larsson, Brattbakk

Appendix 3

Interview Details

All the date and place of interviews were fixed by the interview partners. Places we met for interviews were pubs, bars, cafes, workplaces and their own homes. Every vocabularies attached to 'Occupation', 'First Celtic experience' and 'Reason for support' are as told by the interviewee.

Name (Initial)	Generation	Gender	Occupation	First Celtic experience	Reason for support
Frannie(FB)	mid 20	m	factory worker	primary school	family
Mairi(MD)	early 40	f	media	5 or 6 years old	blood
Gerry(GD)	late 30	m	school teacher	since born	nature
Stuart(SG)	early 30	m	professional	school	friends and Catholic school
Ian(IG)	mid 30	m	chemical plant worker	ten years (since1988)	their Double
Jo(JMa)	mid 30	m	solicitor	kid	Catholic school
Chris(CM)	late 20	m	labo researcher	teenager	dislike Rangers
Jim(JMc)	late 20	m	electric sales	kid	friends and family
Caroline (CS)	late 20	f	public sector office worker	quite recent	friendly atmosphere of the club
Michael (MS)	early 20	m	office worker	baby	nature, no choice

Appendix 4

Songs and Chants

Celtic side

'Hail, Hail'

Hail, hail Celtic, sing we proudly
Hail, hail Celtic, sing we all
Glasgow, Scottish and League Cup,
Celtic, they will pick them up
And they'll prove themselves the champions of them all

Hail hail, the Celts are here
What the hell do we care
What the hell do we care
Hail hail the Celts are here
What the hell do we care now

'Over and Over'

O-ver and O-ver, we will follow you,
O-ver and O-ver, we will see you through,
We are Celtic supporters, faithful through and through,
and over and over, we will follow you.

If you go to Germany, you will see us there,
France or Spain its all the same,
We'll go any where,
We'll be there to cheer you,
as you travel round,
you can take us anywhere, we won't let you down.

If you go to Lisbon, we'll go once again,
In Zaire you'll find us there calling out your name,
when you need supporting, you will always know,
we'll be right there with you, every where you go.

'You'll Never Walk Alone'

When you walk through a storm
Hold your head up high
And don't be afraid of the dark
At the end of the storm, there's a golden sky
And the sweet silver song of lark
Walk on through the wind
Walk on through the rain
Though your dreams be tossed and blown
Walk on, walk on, with hope in your heart
And you'll never walk alone
You'll never walk alone

'Field of Atherny'

By a lonely prison wall
I heard a young man calling
Nothing matters Mary when you're free
Against the Famine and the Crown
I rebelled, they cut me down
Now you must raise our child with dignity

Low lie the field of Atherny
Where once we watched the small free birds fly
Our love was on the wing
We had dreams and songs to sing
It's lonely round the fields of Atherny

'Soldier's Song'

We'll sing song, a soldier's song,
With cheering rousing chorus,
As round our blazing fires we throng,
The starry heavens o'er us;
Impatient for the coming fight,
And as we wait the morning's light,
Here in the silence of the night,
We'll chant a soldier's song.

Soldiers are we
whose lives are pledged to Ireland;
Some have come
from a land beyond the wave.
Sworn to be free,
No more our ancient sire land
Shall shelter the despot or the slave.
Tonight we man the gap of danger
In Erin's cause, come woe or weal
'Mid cannons' roar and rifles peal,

We'll chant a soldier's song

In valley green, on towering crag,
Our fathers fought before us,
And conquered 'neath the same old flag
That's proudly floating o'er us.
We're children of a fighting race,
That never yet has known disgrace,
And as we march, the foe to face,
We'll chant a soldier's song

Sons of the Gael! Men of the Pale!
The long watched day is breaking;
The serried ranks of Inisfail
Shall set the Tyrant quaking.
Our camp fires now are burning low;
See in the east a silv'ry glow,
Out yonder waits the Saxon foe,
So chant a soldier's song.

Rangers side

'Follow, Follow'

Follow, follow, we will follow Rangers,
Anywhere, everywhere, we will follow on,
Follow, follow, we will follow Rangers,
If they go to Dublin, we will follow on
For there's not a team like the Glasgow Rangers
No not one, no not one
An there's not a hair on a baldly-heided nun
No not one
There never shall be one.

'Billy Boys'

Hello, hello, we are the Billy Boys
Hello, hello, you can tell us by our noise
We're up to our knees in fenian blood, surrender or you'll die
For we are the Billy Boys

'The Sash My Father Wore'

Sure it's old but it is beautiful
And its colours they are fine
It was worn at Derry, Aughrim, Inneskillin, and the Boyne
My father wore it as a youth
In the bygone days of yore

And it's on the twelfth I love to wear
The sash my father wore

'Derry's Walls'

The time has scarce gone by boys, two hundred years ago,
When Rebels on old Derry's Walls their faces dare not show;
When James and all his rebel band came up to Bishops Gate;
With heart and hand and sword and sheild we caused them to retreat;

Then work and don't surrender but come when duty calls,
With heart and hand, and sword and shield - we'll guard old Derry's Walls.

The blood it did flow in the streams for many a winter's night,
They knew the Lord was on their side, to help them in the fight;
They only stood upon the walls determined for to fight,
To fight and gain the victory and hoist the Crimson high;

At last, at last with one broadside the heavens sent their maze,
The boom was broke that crosses Foyle's shores and James he was dismayed;
The Banner, boys that floated, was run aloft with joy,
God bless the hands that broke the boom and saved Apprentice Boys.
Chorus The Green Grassy Slopes

Some folks sing of mountains and valleys
Where the wild flowers abundantly grow,
And some of the wave-crested billows
That dash 'neath the waters below.
But I'm going to speak of a river,
And I hope in the chorus you'll join
Of the deeds that were done by King William,
On the green grassy slopes of the Boyne.

On the green grassy slopes of the Boyne,
Where the Orangemen with William did join,
And fought for our glorious deliv'rance
On the green grassy Slopes of the Boyne.

On the banks of that beautiful river,
There the bones of our forefathers lie,
Awaiting the sound of the trumpet
To call them to glory on high.
In our hearts we will cherish their memories,
And we all like true Brethren will join.
And praise God for sending us King William,
To the green Grassy slopes of the Boyne.

Orangemen will be loyal and steady,
For no matter what'er may betide,
We will still mind our war-cry "No Surrender!"

So long as we've God on our side,
And if ever our service is needed.
Then we all like true Brethren will join,
And fight, like valliant King William,
On the green grassy slopes of the Boyne.

Appendix 5

Celtic FC Social Mission Statement



CELTIC FOOTBALL CLUB SOCIAL MISSION STATEMENT

Celtic Football Club
Celtic Park
Glasgow G40 3RE
Tel: 0141 556 2611
Fax: 0141 551 8106

Introduction

Celtic Football Club is legendary and as with most legends as much myth as fact surrounds its history and what the Club stands for today. The Social Mission Statement aims to simply define what the Club stands for and seeks to promote within society.

History

Celtic Football Club was founded in 1888. Its principal founder was a Marist Brother named Walfrid. The Club had two principal aims:

- The first aim was to raise funds to provide food for the poor of the East End of Glasgow, an area of the City that was greatly impoverished and had a high rate of infant mortality.
- Within the East End was a large Irish community and friction was growing between the native Glaswegians and the new influx of Irish. Brother Walfrid saw the need for social integration and his vision was a football club that Scottish and Irish, Protestants and Catholics alike could support. A new football club would be a vehicle to bring the communities together and this was the second aim. The Marist brother sought for the Club to have both a Scottish and Irish identity and hence, the Club's name "Celtic" came about, representing a bridge of cultures across the Irish sea.

Current Positioning Of Celtic Football Club

Celtic Football Club is a Scottish football club with proud Irish links. The primary business of Celtic is as a football club. It is run on a professional business basis with no political agenda. However, the Club has a wider role and the responsibility of being a major Scottish social institution promoting health, well-being and social integration.

Who is Celtic Football Club For?

Celtic Football Club is for people who want to support a football club that strives for excellence in Scotland and in Europe, is proud of its history, supportive of its local community and seeks to support the following aims:

"To maximise all opportunities to disassociate the Club from sectarianism and bigotry of any kind. To promote Celtic as a club for all people, regardless of sex, age, religion, race or ability."

Summary

Celtic is a club for everyone who believes in football as a medium for healthy pleasure, entertainment and social integration. The Club always has been and always will simply aim to be the team of the people.



Celtic Football Club is a limited liability company.
Registered office: Celtic Park, Glasgow G40 3RE
Registered office: Celtic Park, Glasgow G40 3RE

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