Performing the Jersey - Subjectivity, Identity, and Change within the Scottish Football Culture
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# Performing the jersey

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Introduction

Before the days of cable television it was almost impossible to watch Scottish Football in Sweden. As such, my father would listen to all important Celtic games on the radio. He would go into his bedroom, close the door and listen intently to the crackling, yet passionate voices which tried vigorously to transmit scenes of green grass, screaming crowds, twenty-two men, and a ball, to all the people who lacked the good fortune of being at the stadium. I remember one occasion especially well: it was a Saturday in May, 1998; I was twelve years old and stood in the hall. As I peered through my parents bedroom door, I caught my father kissing the radio as it announced Celtic’s winning goal; the goal which stopped their opponents, Rangers, from winning ten Scottish leagues in a row. He was crying, laughing and yelling, all at once. And after the game had finished, he came down stairs, and we celebrated by putting on our favourite Celtic CD. Dancing, while singing classic Celtic songs, we revelled in ‘our’ victory.

The memory of this day is dear to me, along with many other recollections I have of amazing afternoons which were spent singing (and sometimes crying), first with my father and, later also with his friends. Because when cable TV finally did come to my hometown Malmö in 1999, we formed a network. We joined forces with other people, (though mainly white, heterosexual men of working-class backgrounds), who, like us, loved Celtic, and thus wanted to watch them as often as they could. And together we sang the same songs which my father and I had danced to on that aforementioned day: the 9th of May 1998. In fact, he and I still sing many of those songs on a weekly basis, as do hundreds of thousands of other fans.

Yet, some of these songs, as well as others performed by various Scottish clubs, have become increasingly criticised, and in some cases banned, for containing discriminatory, or bigoted ideas and language; an example of this critical shift can be gauged by e.g. the Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) Bill, which was passed by the Scottish Parliament on the 14th of December, 2011, and enacted on the 1st of March of the following year. The bill introduces new legislation which criminalizes offensive or threatening behaviour “likely to incite public disorder at certain football matches, and [which] provides for a criminal offence concerning the sending of communications which contain threats of serious violence or which contain threats intended to incite religious hatred” (The Scottish Parliament,
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This law is quite unique for a number of reasons. First, because it is specific to Scotland. Secondly, because it is a national law introduced to tackle the problem of mainly one city: Glasgow, and its famous rivalry between Celtic and Rangers, known as the ‘Old Firm’. Obviously bigoted rivalries exist all over Scotland - all over the world for that matter - but the ‘Old Firm’ is considered one of the most exaggerated rivalries in Europe. What is more, the law was passed soon after the 2011 Scottish cup final, in which two players were sent off, 13 players were given yellow cards, and Celtic’s manager, Neil Lennon pushed Rangers’ assistant manager Ally McCoist. The BBC reports that “Scotland's First Minister Alex Salmond held a summit in Edinburgh with representatives from Celtic, Rangers, Scottish football authorities and Strathclyde Police to discuss ways to combat disorder associated with the fixture between Glasgow's main two rival clubs” (BBC, 2011). Scotland’s justice secretary, Kenny MacAskill, claims that “the majority of Scots - 91% - support tougher action to tackle the problem [of sectarianism]” (STV, 2013). However, the law has been met with resistance from different groups of football fans, who argue that the laws infringe on free expression.

A Feminist Football Fan

As both a feminist academic, and a football fan, I find myself in an uncomfortable position, which tears me between, on the one hand, my belief in actively combating and resisting bigotry and discrimination, and on the other hand, my fear of criminalising and policing a culture that I love, especially one that has strong ties to the working class culture, with which my parents so strongly identify. Therefore, I want to analyse Scottish Football Culture through a perspective, which I will call ‘being your jersey’. This idea was inspired by a piece written by postcolonial historian Raj Sekhar Basu you eloquently argues that in UK football culture you inevitably become “your jersey- which [is] charged with symbolism, history and rootedness in a particular place” (Badu, p. 122). It is with the point of departure, of using the jersey as a symbol of identity, which is created e.g. through the practice of singing, that I will begin my research. As such, I

1 Sectarianism in Glasgow takes the form of religious and political sectarian rivalry between Roman Catholics and Protestants
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will now discuss my idea in more detail, as well as present the questions which are going to guide me through this process.

1.2 Research Proposal and Questions

Before presenting my questions, I want to address why I have decided to work with metaphor and material of the football jersey, and not with any other football-paraphernalia: Why not a scarf, a flag, or a hat? I argue that, although these items carry meaning, they can all be ‘stuffed into a pocket’, in other words hid, if your fan-status needs to be concealed. The jersey, on the other hand is worn; it makes an undeniable statement about who you support, and consequently who you are. Furthermore, I have decided to analyse the football-jersey as I understand it to be a privileged example of the relationship between matter and discourse. Hence, in this research, the jersey will figure, not only as an item of clothing which we can put on, and sweat in on a hot summer’s day, but also as a nodal-point for the discourses which work to animate and constrain the football-fan subject. The intention of my research is to discuss the relationship between the jersey – both the metaphorical and the literal- and the subject which puts it on. Inspired by queer theory, but mainly by queer-theorist and post-structuralist philosopher Judith Butler, it is my contention that subjects are created in the repetition of norms, which lay embedded in discourse. Thus, I argue that the fan-subject – and in the case of this research: the ‘Scottish football-fan’ - is created in the meeting and subsequent relationship with various discourses which become embodied by the jersey. I argue that, in using the jersey in this way, I am permitted to engage with the understanding that subjectivity is constantly being produced and reproduced, depending on where a subject finds itself, both physically and emotionally. What is more, the jersey allows me to - in the words of cultural and historical geographer Hayden Lorimer - “better cope with our self-evidently-more-than-human, more-than-textual, multisensual worlds” (Lorimer, 2005: 83), and also consider “how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions” (Lorimer, p. 84).

Intrinsic to the concept of the jersey, and what it says about identity, is cultural theorist Stuart Hall’s concept of signifying practices, which argues that meaning doesn’t inhere in things,
but is instead constructed and produced. As stated by Hall: signifying practices are “practices [which] produce meanings that *make things mean*” (Hall, 1997: 24). Hence, by analysing a number of signifying practices related to Scottish football-culture such as famous football songs, and jokes; personal memories and anecdotes, laws and past research, I will untwine the fabric of the jersey to uncloze the norms which lay within it, hence asking: what identity/identities is/are represented by different football jerseys, and what performances do they solicit? Furthermore, I will suggest that the norms surrounding football fandom are often linked to perceived club-heritage and thus, I will use the concept of authorized heritage discourse, developed by cultural historian Laurajane Smith, to ask: who is framed as entitled to tell the story of football, and which fans are important in the grand-narrative of the Scottish football-saga? As such, I will consider how white, working-class, masculine, heterosexuality, is produced and reproduced in the Scottish football-fan context. Ultimately, I will use the work of post-structuralist philosopher Michel Foucault to briefly consider how the Scottish legal system is adding to discourse which surrounds Scottish football, and are hence, modifying the Scottish ‘football-fan-identity’ and the subsequent performance of the fan-subject. Considering that the 2012 laws mainly affects Celtic and Rangers fans, my research will primarily focus on these teams.

I will now reflect over previous research regarding football and identity and thus explain how my enquiry will add to the field of study.

1.3 Previous research

Considering the immense popularity of football, it is understandable that social scientific researchers have studied many aspects of its culture. However, I have identified two topics of enquiry that seem to permeate many of the debates which surround the sport; first, fan-identity and its relation to space (stadiums, towns, cities, nations etc.), and as such its relations to ethnicity, national identity and race – or *racism*. Secondly – which is perhaps a little less discussed than the first – is the link between football and masculinities. These investigations have tended to focus on violence (hooliganism, alcohol) and the consequential policing of this. I will now discuss some of the literature which demonstrates the prevalence of these conversations within social scientific research, and then conclude how my enquiry will elaborate on this discussion, offering a different angle from which to study this immensely popular culture.
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Footbals ability to construct collective identity has been studied by many social science scholars from various disciplines including geography, (Shobe, 2008; Bale, 2001 [1993]; Hague & Mercer, 1998), sociology (Mangan, 2002 [1996]; Sugden & Tomlinson, 2002; Giulianotti, 1999; Maguire, 1999) and anthropology (MacClancy, 1996). One of the leading books on the connection between identity and football is called Sports, Space and City, and was written by social geographer, John Bale in 1993 (reprinted in 2008). Bale argues that “football in its modern form provides what is arguably the major focus for collective identification in modern Britain and much of the rest of the world” (Bale, p. 55). His pioneering work, which connects identity to place and space, has gone on to inspire many scholars, both within and outside of his chosen discipline. Furthermore, his concepts are now widely recognized by sports sociologists and sports historians as being central to their studies. Sport, Space and the City is often cited as a source of ideas and concepts that inform such studies.

Extending the study of identity and its relation to space, many sports sociologist have raised awareness regarding the cultures of racism and extreme nationalism that exist in football. In Fanatics! Power, Identity and Fandom in Football, edited by cultural theorist Adam Brown, the contributors discuss topics ranging from “the English media’s xenophobic coverage of Euro 96, to the demonisation of Eric Cantona and anti-Asian racism in Scotland” (Brown, 1998: i). Furthermore, the book goes on to discuss media representations of national identity, as well as the interplay of national, religious and club identities among football fans in England, Scotland, Ireland, Portugal, Italy and Scandinavia.

With regard to studies concerning the relationship between masculinity and hooliganism, many leave the category of ‘masculinity’ uncontested, inferring its self-evidence, as can be seen in this piece written by anthropologist Jessica S.R Robinson:

Hooliganism first rose to public attention as a problem in the 1960s. Sections of football crowds developed ad hoc match-day alliances, usually between groups of young men. They would join together and stake out the goal-end terraces of football grounds as their ‘territory’. They excluded older and rival fans and over time these ‘youth ends’ came to define local masculine reputations (Robinson, 2010: 1013).
The ‘naturalised’ connection between ‘being a man’ and violence within the sub-culture of hooliganism is discussed in several text which I have used for this research (Basu, 2006, Weed. 2006, Williams, 2006). Furthermore, all the research touches on how the fear of exaggerated displays of violence, helped push through measures to control football environments. As expressed by Williams, the modernization programme which aimed to control hooliganism “involved a new Foucauldian emphasis on in-ground CCTV football crowd surveillance and a measurable intensification of the formal and informal regulation of the English football crowd” (Williams, p. 98). From this quote, we can also see how the two enquires sometimes overlap and fuse into one another, with regard to the construction of ‘safe-spaces’, identity and control.

Having presented a brief summary of the debates which are popular within the football-field (pun intended), I will explain how my research will add to it.

With this study I intend to extend the understandings of both these well-studied areas, by moving the focus of enquiry from the concept of collective-identity onto the performing fan-subject. An important part of this shift, will involve the use of exciting empirical material, such as songs and jokes, which might not be as available to people who aren’t part of the Scottish football community. In analysing the relationship between fan-performance, and these practices, I hope to problematise the view that identity is fixed, and thus destabilize identity categories such as, masculinity, heterosexuality, whiteness and class. I will also - inspired by Butler, and Foucault -analyse ways in which the subject’s performance is affected by legal discourse, in a constraining as well as a productive way. I argue that, in examining Scottish football cultures from this perspective, I will add to the understanding of the popular debates regarding ‘identity’, masculinity and control. But in what ways is this enquiry relevant for Intersectional Gender Studies? I will now go on to clarify its importance within my field of research.

1.4 Relevance for Intersectional Gender Studies

It is my contention that the analysis of the jersey-identity is relevant to Intersectional Gender Studies for two main reasons. First, I am inspired by many great feminist scholars (Haraway, hooks, Lykke etc) who stress the importance for feminist researchers, to start our work from a location of private struggle. And as I discussed in the first part of my introduction, the topic of
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football-fan identity is of deep importance to me on a personal level: I am a lifelong Celtic-fan, and a feminist, who feels genuinely perplexed about my position: first, regarding the disparities between the perceived identity of the football fan, and my own person; secondly, and subsequently, regarding the stand I should take on the recent legislation within the Scottish football community. I am not known for my support of heavy-handed police control, but neither am I usually associated with sustaining discriminatory practices. As put so eloquently by gender theorist, Sara Ahmed “you cannot always close the gap between how you feel and how you should feel” (Ahmed, 2010: 2), and in the case of the recent developments in Scotland, I don’t even know what to feel.

Ahmed also writes passionately about the role of the feminist figure of ‘Killjoy’, the one who questions hir surrounding environment and practices, and thus seems to become the problem zhe creates (Ahmed, p. 1). As I have written in the past, I argue that, as feminists we shouldn’t fear conflict. However, when sitting at our metaphorical family dinner table, pub-table, or inside the football-stadium, understanding what is at play, might help minimize tension. Like hooks argues: theory can offer words of healing (hooks: 1994: p 74). Hence, despite playing the part of the ‘football-killjoy’ to a certain extent throughout this research, my aim is to understand a complex web of relations, and perhaps - inspired by feminist theorist Clare Hemmings - “draw on a broader range of affect” (Hemmings, 2012: 148) which includes rage, but also privileges passion, frustration and a desire for connection. Hemmings suggests that we should move away from rooting feminist transformation in identity, and work towards modes of engagement which start from the affective dissonance experience. I agree with this contention, considering that ‘identity’ itself - as in my case - is often in conflict. Social transformation doesn’t need unity, but emotion. And, despite that “affective dissonance cannot guarantee feminist politicisation or even a resistant mode, [it might lead to] a sense of injustice and then a desire to rectify that” (Hemmings, p. 157). As such, I hope this research will affect feminists, football-fans, and those who are both, thus inspiring an impassioned discussion. Who knows; it might lead to a ‘desire to rectify feminist and football injustices’.

The second reason why this research is relevant for Intersectional Gender Studies, is that it will add to the field by examining concepts such as white working-classness, masculinity, and
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heterosexuality, and how the tensions between these social relations inter/intra-act through the lense of the jersey-perspective. I will then examine various football-fan performances and the problems that these sometimes create. My use of the word ‘problems’ here, refers to the e.g. sexist, racists, sectarian and/or homophobic practices which form part of Scottish football culture. However, I should add that I am aware that the use of this word, might beg the question: a problem for whom? as wisely asked by linguist and cultural critic, Norman Fairclough (Fairclough: 2001, p. 125). I agree with Fairclough that defining what a problem is, is a central concern for scholars of social sciences, who are “inevitably caught up in social controversy and debate for choosing to focus on certain features of social life as ‘problems’” (Fairclough, p. 125).

That said, in light of the ongoing debate which is taking place both within the traditional media and on many internet forums regarding football-fan identity in Scotland, I argue that this research is relevant and necessary, both outside of, as well as inside academia.

1.5 Research outline

Having briefly introduced my area of enquiry, I shall now lead you through the various chapters of this research. First, in the next chapter – chapter two- I shall describe, in greater detail, the concepts that weave the jersey together, i.e. discourse, identity, subjectivity, performativity, cultural heritage and power - as well as discuss the methods that I will use to untwine the fabrics of the jersey. In addition to this, I will present my original empirical material and the choices behind these. In chapter three, I will go on to ‘unweave’ the fabric of the jersey by analysing two famous football songs, which are regularly performed in the football stands, hence exposing the norms regarding class, race, gender and sexuality.

In chapter four, I will consider how these norms are performed, or subverted by the jersey-subjects and then argue that no one can ever fully embody the jersey. I will consider the ‘hegemonic jersey’ as well as my own performance. In the final and fifth chapter I will discuss how the law is challenging the jersey-performance, by analysing two songs that have been banned as a result of the 2012 law. Furthermore, I will consider how this law produces identity, as much as it constrains it. I will end by discussing how this research has helped to further

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2 Intra-action is an idea developed Karen Barad, and supported by Nina Lykke. Intra-action refers to an interplay between non-bounded phenomena, which interpenetrate and mutually transform each other” (Lykke, p. 51)
expose the fractured nature of identity, and suggest ways that these revelations might help move forward, as a ‘fractured’-collective.

2. The Jersey

2.1 The theories behind the jersey-identity

I would now like to take some time to present the theories that help ‘weave’ the jersey together, and will thus be central throughout this research. As I have discussed in past papers, I endorse what feminist theorist Nina Lykke has described as a “cross-fertilization between theoretical and methodological tools that were previously separated by disciplinary [or epistemological], borders” (Lykke, 2010: 27). My conviction has grown out of a number of experiences, though is mainly a consequence of the cross-disciplinary nature of my undergraduate degree, and the anxiety which I felt when I encountered conflicting theories, without being given the possibility of addressing these in a ‘correct’ academic fashion. I believe the root of my discomfort is best summed up by post-modern feminist theorist, Donna Haraway, when she argues that: “theoretical and practical struggle against unity-through-domination or unity-through-incorporation ironically not only undermines the justifications for patriarchy, colonialism, humanism, positivism, essentialism, scientism, and other unlamented -isms, but all claims for an organic or natural standpoint” (Haraway, 1991: 124). As such, I will stitch together my metaphorical jersey by combining a number of concepts and theories which reflect the intersectional analytical potential of the jersey-subject. First, I will consider the meaning of the concept of discourse.

2.1.1 Discourse

The concept of ‘discourse’ is used more than often within humanities studies, and will also be used extensively throughout this research. But what does it really mean? The Oxford Dictionaries offers three definitions of the noun ‘discourse’. First, a “written or spoken communication or debate. [Secondly, as a countable noun] a formal discussion of a topic in speech or writing. [And lastly, a from linguistics perspective], a connected series of utterances; a text or conversation” (Oxford Dictionaries). All of these definitions connect discourse to
language in some way, however, discourses past and irrefutable link to language has been challenged by the Foucauldian interpretation of the term, which is the interpretation that this research will centre around. Hall - inspired by Foucault - argues that discourse be understood as “a group of statements which provide a language for talking about - a way of representing knowledge about - a particular topic at a particular historical moment. [However,] since all practices entail meaning and meanings shape and influence what we do - our conduct - all practices have a discursive aspect” (Hall, 2001: 72). As such ‘discourse’, as I will use it, isn’t interested in language per se, but meaning, and although people often use language to draw or create meaning from, and in, situations “we use the term discourse to emphasize the fact that every social configuration is meaningful” (Hall, p. 73). As I mentioned before, Hall uses the term signifying practices as an umbrella term of that which transmits meaning. Hall clarifies that “elements such as sounds, words, notes, gestures, expressions, clothes [which] are part of our natural and material world, but their importance […] is not what they are, but what they do, their function. They construct meaning and transmit it” (Hall, p. 5). He also argues that language, is in this sense a signifying practice, but urges that we expand on our understanding of the meaning of language. He explains that:

Turning up at football matches with banners and slogans, with faces and bodies painted in certain colours or inscribed with certain symbols can also be thought of as ‘like a language’ – in so far as it is a symbolic practice which gives meaning or expression to the idea of belonging to a national culture, or identification with one’s local community. (Hall, p. 5)

It is with this understanding in mind that I use the jersey as a type of language, which carries meaning. I will now discuss how discourse is connected to the concepts of identity and subjectivity, and then go on to analyse how these relate to performativity.

2.1.2 Identity, subjectivity and performativity

Having defined the concept of discourse, I find it is necessary to explain my take on ‘identity’, as I aim to understand which identity/identities is/are produced and contained within different football jerseys. ‘Identity’, as I define it, is also closely linked to the concept of ‘discourse’. Like
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many feminists theorists, I object to the traditional concept of identity, often figured as the all-empowered, autonomous ‘I’, who can exist outside of discourse. Thus, I find it necessary to problematise this notion of identity. I agree with feminist professor Chris Weedon when she argues that “identities may be socially, culturally and institutionally assigned, as in the case, for instance, of gender or citizenship, where state institutions, civil society and social and cultural practices produce the discourses within which gendered subjectivity and citizens are constituted” (Weedon, 2004:6). As such, identity - or in the case of this paper, jersey-identity/identities’ - is/are socially assigned by clubs. I would, as such, justify my use of the concept jersey-identity, as that which “recruits subjects to identify with the identities on offer” (Weedon, p.6, my italics). In other words, discourses construct different identities which are later performed by subjects in various way.

Throughout this research I will also ask what performances the jerseys solicit. With this question, I separate the jersey-identity’, from those who might come to identify as football fans; as argued by Weedon “we assume identities and become [performing] subjects” (Weedon, p.6, my italics). Hall, inspired by Foucault, reiterates this sentiment when he writes:

Subjects have the attributes that we would expect as these are defined by [...] discourse: the madman. the hysterical woman, the homosexual, the individualized criminal, [ or in this case, the football-fan] and so on [...] They – we- must locate themselves/ourselves in the position from which the discourse makes most sense, and thus become its ‘subjects’ but ‘subjecting’ ourselves to its meanings, powers and regulations. All discourses, then, construct subject-positions from which alone they make sense (Hall, p. 80, original emphasis).

This idea regarding subjects finding their location within discourse, is extended by Butler, when she defines the process of subject-formation as a “compulsory repetition of prior and subjectivating norms, ones which cannot be thrown off at will, but which work, animate, and constrain the gendered subject, and which are also the resources from which resistance, subversion, displacement are to be forged” (Butler, 1993: 22). It is also important to stress that the subject isn’t locked within one position. In other words, “the ‘I’ [- Sarah, feminist football-fan, Celtic-supporter] - has no story of her own that is not also the story of a relationship - or to a set of relations - to a set of norms” (Stephenson, 2011: 97). As such, the football-fan, like any
other subject, is never total. As argued by Haraway: “the knowing self is partial in all its guises, never finished, whole, simply there and original; it is always constructed and stitched together imperfectly” (Haraway, 1991: 193); we are constantly moving between subject-positions. ‘I’-Sarah the daughter - is different from ‘I’ - Sarah the partner. Identity is not fully constrained within one body but tied to its relationships, both with humans and nonhumans, in its surroundings.

I would like to stress that, although this theory, known as performativity, has traditionally focused on the study of language, there has been a conscious effort from theorists who use the performative, such as Butler, to stress that it not be reduced to language only. Butler argues that:

The performative needs to be rethought not only as an act that an official language-user wields in order to implement already authorized effect, but precisely as social ritual, as one of the very modalities of practice that are powerful and hard to resist precisely because they are silent, insidious and insinuating” (Butler, 1997: 159).

I agree with this contention, and furthermore argue that this ‘rethinking’ can be helped by Hall’s concept of signifying practice, which extends the understanding of language, as I previously mentioned. In addition, Butlers instance on the analysis of ‘social rituals’ has awoken a particular interest in me with regard to the jersey, as I argue that it can be linked to a club’s cultural heritage. I will now clarify how these rituals are connected to culture, heritage and power. However, before expanding on this idea, I find it necessary to discuss and define the concept of culture, in order to demonstrate the ways in which Scottish football in fact constitutes a culture with a heritage that informs its practices.

2.1.3 What is Culture?
Throughout the past section, I attempted to offer my understanding of the terms ‘identity’ and subjectivity. Now, I want to discuss what happens to the subject when it meets people who claim a similar identity to their own. For instance, what happens when I meet another Swede in Barcelona, where I live; or if I randomly run into another Celtic fan; or another feminist? Often, in these meetings, a feeling of connection occurs. And it is this connection that I would define as
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a shared culture. As such, there exists a strong tie between the subject, identity and culture. Stuart Hall reiterates this understanding when he argues that people who belong to shared culture:

[...] Are able to communicate because [they] share broadly the same maps, and thus make sense of or interpret the world in roughly similar ways. This is indeed what it means when we say that we 'belong to the same culture'. Because we interpret the world in roughly similar ways, we are able to build up a shared culture of meanings and thus construct a social world which we inhabit together” (Hall, 1997: 18)

This idea regarding the cultural, is dependent on member of it to use the same *representational system*, meaning that we use the same “signs and symbols - whether they are sounds, written word, electronically produced images, musical notes, even objects - to stand for or represent to other people our concepts, ideas and feelings” (Hall, p. 1). In other words, we share signifying practices. However, despite the fact that this understanding of culture privileges language, it doesn’t mean that this is the only way through which culture is created. As suggested by Thrift and Lorimer, non, pre or more than representational aspects of life should be taken into account as well, and this feeling has subsequently been supported by authors who “range across post-structuralism, performance studies, science and technology studies, feminist theory, anthropology, phenomenology and ethno-inquiries” (Lorimer, p 84). This insight will allow me to study and discuss customs such as drinking, back-slapping, air-punching, and other ‘maps’ that are meaningful within a football community,

As I have argued in past papers, to a certain extent, each bar, pub, stadium, or gang, has their own ‘culture’ with respect to their football routine. For instance, in the bar where I watch football with my family we have created seating-rituals and nicknames; made song-choices and developed traditions. However, there are some ‘general’ norms that surround the sport which every Scottish fan is familiar with, though perhaps not in favour of. I want to further examine these ‘shared maps’ through the lens of the jersey. However, before doing so, I will discuss the possible narrated origin of shared cultural meanings; Scottish, or more precisely, Glaswegian football’s *cultural heritage*. 

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2.1.4 Authorized Heritage Discourse

In this section, I want to discuss what I mean by ‘cultural heritage’, as to pinpoint the authorized heritage discourse (AHD) of Scottish football (Smith, 2006). As argued by Smith: ‘heritage’ is produced by “those people who have the ability or authority to ‘speak’ about or ‘for’ heritage” (Smith, p. 12). As such, analysing heritage with regards to the jersey-identity will help clarify who speaks for the football community, and as such, who creates the discourse which regulates fan-performance. It is my understanding, and it will be my argument, that the identity of the jersey - the discourses which solicit a certain performance from football subjects - is gendered, classed, sexualised and raced in line with the games authorized heritage discourse. Basu notes that this often creates “complex combinations of racial dialogue and exclusion [in which] entry [into the football-world] is interlaced with specific terms and conditions” (Basu, 2006: 120). I will now reflect over the ‘heritage’ of Celtic and Rangers, through the consideration of their museums.

For my fourteenth birthday my father took my youngest brother and myself to Glasgow to visit the Celtic Museum, at Parkhead stadium, also known as Paradise. We saw old pictures, vintage jerseys, scarves and boots, as well as glistening, gold trophies, and medals, in silver and in bronze. We wandered around the grounds, decked out in our Celtic-gear, admiring all that ‘we’ had achieved; our eyes glistened with emotion, as we watched old videos, or heard radio-commentary which declared Celtic, the winning team. We read about our history; a club founded in 1888 to raise money for poor Irish workers, who couldn’t get work in protestant Scotland. Irish families looking for accommodation might encounter signs which read: NO DOGS, NO BLACKS, NO IRISH, far into the 20th Century; or perhaps: IRISH NEED NOT APPLY. Celtic’s charitable history made us all swoon with pride.

And I am sure that somewhere, on that same day, on the other side of the city walked another family, hand in hand, to Ibrox, Rangers’ - Celtic’s main rivals - stadium. There, they admired their trophies, their medals, their history. Founded in 1872, and traditionally supported by Protestant Unionists, perhaps my fictional family would be admiring Rangers role in supporting the union between Scotland and England; as I am not a Rangers-fan, I can only guess. But, what I am attempting to convey, is the heritage, both physical and emotional, that is attached to football.
And although I mentioned the Celtic and Rangers museums, it isn’t just these and their content, which I understand to be our cultural heritage. As argued by Smith, I too claim that heritage “may be an economic/and or leisure practice, and/or a social and cultural practice, as I am arguing [it be] meaning and identity making” (Smith, p. 13). Ultimately, the football’s cultural heritage are the practices, language and rituals, that shape the performative identity of the fans: “heritage is [...] a cultural practice, involved in the construction and regulation of a range of values and understandings” (Smith, p. 11), as well as the material goods found in football museums, or in the attics, wardrobes and bedroom floors of fans all over the world.

Having reflected upon the ways that heritage informs present fan-performance, I will consider the ways in which the Scottish law also affects this. I will ground the discussion in Foucault’s theory of power, and Butler’s extension of this.

2.1.5 Power

In this section I will briefly introduce Foucault and Butler’s understandings of power, in order to consider – in chapter five – how the previously mentioned laws have affected Scottish football culture, and in extension the performances of the jersey-subjects, since their introduction in 2012.

So, how should power be analysed and understood? As articulated by Hall, prior to the work of Foucault, power tended to be understood as “radiating in a single direction – from top to bottom – and coming from a specific source – the sovereign, the state, the ruling class, and so on” (Hall, p. 77). However, in light of the political-power struggles which were taking place at the time when Foucault presented his work (1970-80’s) - e.g. “the opposition to the power of men over women, of parents over children, of psychiatry over the mentally ill, of medicine over the population [and] of administration over the ways people live”- (Foucault, 1982: 780), he found it necessary to problematise this one-dimensional understanding of power. Foucault argued that “the main objectives of these struggles [was] to attack not so much ‘such or such’ an institution of power, or group, or elite, or class, but rather a technique, a form of power” (Foucault, p. 781). As such, he concluded that power relations are tied up in all relationships and thus permeate all levels of social existence.
Furthermore, he insisted that power was linked to knowledge. Hall explains that, if we consider power in its relation to knowledge than, “not only [does knowledge linked to power] assume the authority over ‘the truth’ but has the power to make itself true” (Hall, p. 77). Hence, in order to understand what power relations are about, we should focus on the point of tension, and “investigate the forms of resistance and attempts made to dissociate these relations” (Foucault, p. 780). Butler considers this move away from individuals or groups with power, toward a set of practices in which power, through knowledge, is actualized, to be an important “departure away from the conceptual model of sovereignty” (Butler, 1997: 79). I agree with Butler’s contention, and argue that, with regard to the complex nature of identity, attaching power to one sovereign group or individual is ultimately flawed.

Butler builds on Foucault’s theory of power to critique the ways theorists have understood power in relation to sovereign. As such she develops ideas regarding power and censorship, claiming that:

Neither the law nor hate speech are uttered exclusively by a singular subject. The racial [or for sake of argument the sexist, homophobic, or sectarian] slur is always cited from elsewhere, and in the speaking of it, one chimes with a chorus of racists, producing at that moment the linguistic occasion for an imagined relation to a historically transmitted community of racists. In this sense, racist speech doesn’t originate with the subject, even if it requires the subject for its efficiency, as it surely does. Indeed, racists speech could not act as racist speech if it were not a citation of itself; only because we already know the force from its prior instances do we know it to be so offensive now (Butler, p. 80)

Butler goes on to argue that when the law intents to silence the speaker “the contest between hate speech and the law becomes staged, paradoxically, as a battle between two sovereign powers” (Butler, p. 81).

It is my contention that these ideas offer an interesting point of departure from which to analyse changes within Scottish football-culture, post 2012. Furthermore, I argue that in using these concepts, I will better understand the law’s affect on the performance of the Scottish football-fan subject.
I will now present the methods which I will use in order to consider the questions which are guiding my enquiry.

2.2 Analytical Approaches

Throughout the previous sections, I have established what this research will focus upon, what motivation lays behind it, as well as the theories which lay at the heart of the jersey-identity. Now, I will discuss how I will move forward in answering my research questions. In the vernacular of Cecilia Åsberg, how will I ‘unwrap’ or ‘unpack’ the phenomena that I am studying? (Åsberg, 2012) Or, in other words, what method will I employ? The Oxford Dictionaries defines the term ‘method’ as “a particular procedure for accomplishing or approaching something, especially a systematic or established one.” However, I concur with Fairclough when he urges that we be wary about the concept of ‘method’ as a “sort of transferable skill [..], a tool in a box of tools which can be resorted to when needed and then returned to the box” (Fairclough, p 121). Instead, I find it necessary to stress that methods are intertwined with theories, and as such any ‘method’ that be employed should be understood as a theoretical perspective, whose central concern involves “shifting between genres, discourses and styles” (Fairclough, p. 124). Not a tool in a box, but a tool-box, a whole number of different approaches that, when combined, can help answer the questions that this research seeks to unfold. The idea of theory as a tool-box, as stated by Åsberg in her 2012 lecture on transdisciplinarity, is of the Foucauldian tradition (Åsberg). I was very inspired by this lecture, especially by a key quote used to engage us with the ideas of transdisciplinary research. Åsberg asked us to consider a statement made by cultural studies scholars Franklin, Lury and Stacey in their 2000 book *Global Nature, Global Culture*, which reads:

Feminism offers a long tradition of recognizing the power to define, to make distinctions and to create categories as key to a host of other power effects. Indeed it is increasingly clear that there are no topics or phenomena to which a feminist analysis is not relevant - at which point it becomes useful to consider feminist theory as a hermeneutic tradition, or as a set of techniques, rather than as a fixed set of positions or models (Åsberg Lecture).
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As such, I will fuse various ideas from Fairclough’s, Stuart Hall’s, Judith Butler’s, Foucault’s and Lauranje Smiths’ Critical Discourse Analysis, to create my own ‘method’, which I will call ‘unweaving’ and/or ‘untwining’ the jersey, inspired by the previously mentioned notion of ‘unpacking’. As I discussed in the previous part, I am a firm believer in ‘cross-fertilizing’ concepts, as I argue that maintaining strict disciplinary and conceptual borders, reaffirms the notion of ‘one truth’. As argued by Fairclough, a ‘method’ should remain:

In a dialogical relationship with other social theories and methods, which should engage with them in a ‘transdisciplinary’, rather than just an interdisciplinary way, meaning that the particular co-engagements on particular aspects of the social process may give rise to developments of theory and method which shift the boundaries between different theories and methods (Fairclough, 2001: 121-122)

But how do we use these theories to untwine the jersey? As I stated in my theory discussion my questions centre around the discourses which constitute the Scottish football fan. Hall articulates that:

Discourses are ways of referring to or constructing knowledge about a particular topic of practice: a cluster (or formation) of ideas, images and practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms of knowledge and conduct associated with, a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society. These discursive formations, as they are known, define what is and is not appropriate in our formulation of, and our practices in relation to, a particular subject or site of social activity; what knowledge is considered useful, relevant and 'true' in that context; and what sorts of persons or 'subjects' embody its characteristics (Hall, p. 6)

I want to untwine the fabric that holds the jersey together, to look at the parts that constitutes it - and understand how they are connected, by looking at this ‘cluster of ideas, images and practices’ that constitute the jersey. I will use famous songs that are associated with the Glasgow clubs - some banned, and others not- as an entry-point into this cluster, examining the meaning of the lyrics, as well as the practices around singing these.

The concepts of identity, as discussed previously, will be ‘unpacked’ through the theory of performativity, as presented by Butler. Feminist theorist Andrea M. Stephenson explains that
“given a particular context we may perform a different identity than in another context. Sometimes we perform an identity that fits our context and what is expected. This notion of performativity, however, also allows us the ability to perform an identity that is outside the norm” (Stephenson, p. 99). Hence, I will look at how singing creates a norm to be literally, theatrically performed, or sometimes subverted. Authorized heritage discourse (AHD), suggested by Smith, will help analyse which type of fan creates legitimate practices that are viewed as part of the club heritage, and Foucault's theory of power, will help us to understand what new discourse regarding ‘fan-decency’ is being produced by law, as well as consider what other consequences the law is having. As argued by Foucault and presented by Hall, power “doesn’t only weigh on us a force that says no, but it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse” (Hall, p.77).

By untwining or unweaving the jersey in this manner I hope to contribute to what Lorimer refers to when he describes an “insistence on expanding our once comfortable understanding of ‘the social’ and come to regarded the social as something researchable” (Lorimer, p. 84). I will use all of the tools that I have suggested, however, not always in this precise order. I will now present the empirical material that I will consider in my quest to unweave the jersey.

2.3 Empirical Material

In order to untwine the fabric of the jersey it is necessary to analyse, not only theories, but also the different situations in which the jersey gains meaning. As I have previously mentioned, this research will discuss a number of instances of meaning-making, such as famous football songs, and jokes; personal memories and anecdotes, laws and past research. I have decided to look at these various signifying practices because they offer a broad insight into fan-identity. As argued by feminist sociologist, Susan Leigh Star, feminist theorists should “open up academic writing and other forms of representation [and as such become] more usable, relevant and responsible to our multiple communities” (Bauchspies, Puig de la Bellacasa, 2009: 336). She continues by saying that this methodological weaving renders work “both individual and collective, solitary and group-orientated” (336). I agree with Star’s encouragement and in addition consider that this
type of ‘patch-work’ allows us to efficiently engage with the idea that discourse is more than just language.

I have chosen to analyse four songs which are associated with Celtic and Rangers; two which are still legally performed on the stands, and two which have been banned under the new 2012 laws. All four songs offer insight into the heritage of the clubs, and as such allow us to discuss who and what is important in the grand-narrative of the football-saga. In other words, what norms lay embedded within the jersey, and subsequently inform the jersey-identity/identities, and its subject’s performances. The songs also permit me to contextualise the law, and thus discuss the material affects of its imposition. Furthermore, it facilitates the analysis of the productive- as well as constraining outcomes of the law.

The joke that I will cite is accredited to famous Glaswegian comedian, Billy Connelly. I have chosen to include it because I argue that it demonstrates how humour and violence operates within white, straight, working-class, masculine-cultures. The use of the anecdotes and memories also allow me to share personal and collected stories that demonstrate the language and practice which surrounds the culture.

Having discussed the theories, tools and materials on which this research is based, I will now present the fabric of the jersey by analysing two famous football songs, and thus exposing the norms regarding class, race, gender and sexuality, which hold the jersey together.

3. Unweaving the Scottish Football jersey

In 2010, Christian Derbaix and Alain Decrob from the University of Namur in Belgium conducted an ethnographic study which aimed to understand football fans relationship to their ‘paraphernalia’ (their word). Their research question was why and how fans are increasingly consuming football scarves, shirts or flags and how the consumption of such items translate in the development of individual and collective identities? (Derbaix, Decrop, 2010: 271). They concluded that e.g. the jersey and other football items “are connected with four major consumption functions, i.e. identification, socialisation, expression and sacralisation. [What is more] the consumption of paraphernalia not only supports the creation and expression of private and collective identities, it also helps fans to transcend their existence” (Derbaix, Decrop, p.
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271). Derbaix and Decrop draw on work from sociologist Gary Crawford who claims that fans use sport, and its ‘paraphernalia’ such as jerseys “both for identity construction and for social performance” (Derbaix, Decrop, p. 272). Taking this into account, I believe that using the jersey as a symbol for fan identity is viable. But what shape does this identity take, with regard to gender, class, sexuality, race and dis/ability?

There are many ways in which the jersey-identity is created but, I consider songs to be a privileged example of identity and community building, as they are frequently repeated during games, in the stadium, at the pub, on Youtube, on forums, or adapted “while playing mini-foot” (Derbaix, Decrop). As such, I have decided to examine two typical football songs, one sung by Celtic -, the other by Rangers fans, which have not been banned (at least yet). As I consider football fans to share a culture, I will consider these songs as relics of cultural heritage, and as such frame them as authorized discourse. In doing this I hope to use the songs as a launching pad, from which to analyse various elements, such as class, gender, race, sexuality and dis/ability of jersey identity.

I argue that aspects of our being, for instance our gender, class, sexuality, age, dis/ability and/or race, shouldn’t and can’t be understood as isolated from one another. As expressed by Fairclough: “people who differ in social class, in gender, in nationality, in ethnic or cultural membership and in life experience, produce different ‘performances’ of a particular position” (Fairclough, p. 123). However, for the sake of structure, I have decided to examine different aspects of the jersey-identity’ separately. Naturally, many of the concepts that I will discuss, such as class, gender, sexuality and race, will overlap, as they can’t be meaningfully separated. Nevertheless, I think focusing on these issues apart, will afford some clarity.

However, before beginning the analysis, I find it important to account for my understanding of the term class, especially since it has received some criticism within parts of the feminist academy. I also want to flag, that I am speaking of mainly white experience. As explained by Joan Acker: “some feminist scholars have argued [that the] concept illuminates the economic experience of white men more clearly than that of white women or people of colour because it was developed primarily within a privileged white male perspective” (Acker, 2006a: 1). Acker goes on to suggest that class should be understood in relation to gender and race, and shouldn’t only include its relation to paid labour, stating that:
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Class provides an entry point into complex webs of relations in which capital is accumulated, inequalities are generated, work is accomplished, and gendered and racialized people put together ways of surviving. Class involves the production and distribution of material and nonmaterial things, in which gender and race processes shape class practices and their outcomes (Acker, p. 51).

I agree with this statement regarding class, and I appreciate Acker’s inclusion of the ‘production and distribution of nonmaterial things’. However, Acker generally tends to privilege income as the main indicator of class, as can be seen in her 2006 article Inequality Regimes: Gender, Class and Race in Organisations in which she concludes that “class, as [she uses] the term, refers to enduring and systematic differences in access to and control over resources for provisioning and survival. Those resources are primarily monetary in wealthy industrial societies” (Acker, 2006b: 444). I don’t deny that class has an important financial aspect, but considering that my research will not focus on a person per se, but on a jersey (who probably would struggle to find a job), the relationship between class and economic resources will not be central in this enquiry. There are many interesting economic considerations which I could include in this research, e.g. the purchase of a material jersey allowing you access into a group; or the financial sponsors who advertise all over them. It would be fascinating to consider how capitalist interests intersect with the material jersey. However, due to time and space constraints, I will not be including these considerations in this enquiry. Instead, I will use class as an entry point - as suggested by Acker - into the relationship between a certain type of whiteness, heterosexuality and masculinity, which has historically been tied to football identity. It will be my argument that the jerseys class identity, is not based on a present reality, but drawn from cultural inheritance; from the team’s cultural heritage.

Having briefly discussed class, I will now offer some samples from the songs that I have chosen to consider jersey-identity: The first set of lyrics comes from the first chorus of the traditional Irish folk-song, The fields of Athenry, famously adopted by Celtic fans. It talks about a fictional man named Michael from County Galway in Ireland who has been sentenced to deportation to Australia, for stealing food for his starving family. The second set of lyrics, come from popular Rangers song Every other Saturday, and talks about the traditional walk from the
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I want to draw your attention toward the ways in which white working-class, heterosexual masculinity is inferred throughout both sets of lyrics. I will begin by looking at how white, working-class identity is produced.

By a lonely prison wall, I heard a young girl calling: Michael they are taking you away, for you stole Trevelyn's corn, so they young might see the morn, now the prison ship lies waiting in the bay. (Irish Folk Ballad and Celtic song: The fields of Athenry)

Every other Saturday's 'mah hauf' (my half) day off and its off tae (to) the match I go. Happily we wander doon (down) the Copland Road. Me and mah wee pal (my little friend) Joe. We love tae (to) see the lassies wi' (girls with) their blue scarves on. We love tae (to) hear the boys all roar. But I don't have to tell you that the best of all. We love tae see the Rangers score. (Rangers song: Every other Saturday)

3.1 White, working-class identity
Both of the above mentioned songs have strong ties to a ‘past’, male, working-class identity, which was assigned to men who worked ‘with their hands’, within industries where they often performed “deskilled and routinized jobs” (Collins, 1988: 182). For instance, in the opening lines of Every Saturday Morning, the reference of going to the game after a “hauf” days work, down at the shipyards. Most people who go to the games these days probably haven’t spent the morning working. However, singing about it celebrates the heritage of those who once did; “the real. original supporter”. Furthermore, it creates a sense of pride in the few men (the shipyards provide very masculine occupations), who did work that morning.

In the Celtic song The Fields of Athenry, the references to a working class background are slightly different, and perhaps more subtle. It talks about the Irishman's need to steal to support his family, and thus infers his humble background. What is more, it touches on the Irish’ problems getting work, as I mentioned earlier. As such, the song strengthens the singing fan’s ties to Ireland, even if they have never set foot there. While singing these two songs, the football-stands transform into one humming, working-class voice. As expressed so well by Basu, “for a significant proportion of fans the natural team represents a means through which to associate
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with historically grounded notions of a particular white, working-class [...] identity (Basu, 2006: 121).

It is my contention that the ‘historically grounded’ white, working class identity of the jersey, created in e.g. the practice of singing, permits other traditionally white, working-class customs, such as beer-drinking and ‘taking the piss’ to take centre-stage in Scottish football communities. In bringing up these two practices, I don’t mean to suggest that drinking alcohol and having a ‘laff’ is by any means solely working-class practice, nor that all men who identify as working class are involved in these practices. As articulated by Andrea Stephenson “even those groups who portray themselves as homogenous actually are heterogeneous. In other words, every self and every group, is a multiplicity” (Stephenson: 2011: 99). However, as I discussed earlier, a culture is about ‘shared maps’, and considering my own personal experience as a football fan, and the extensive reading that I have done in preparation for this research, humour and alcohol constitute important ‘football maps’. As I wrote in my past football focused paper, drinking alcohol is still an important part of football fandom. Sport theorist, Mike Weed’s ethnographic study of watching football in pubs includes a quote from an interview with a man who said:

This is weird. We’re all here for the footie, flags everywhere, but I’ve just been to the bar and heard a geezer next to me say: ‘Alright mate - five pints o’ orange juice’. I nearly pissed my pants - I can’t think when I’ve ever seen it before, or after this when I’ll see it again. Just shows you how footie is! (Weed, 2006: 85).

This shows clearly, how alcohol forms a part of the common football practices, and as such also forms part of the jersey-identity’.

In my previous paper, I discussed how humour and banter often disguise discrimination. I now want to consider humour as a practice or custom which forms part of the jersey, in both a positive and a negative way. According to sociologist David L. Collins’ research on British working-class humour the “incessant exchange of caustic wit and rudeness is symptomatic of the close relationships between [white, working-class] men” (Collinson, p. 183). What is more,
“joking relationships enable the articulation of a mutually permitted form of disrespect in an otherwise potentially conflictual situation” (Collinson, p. 182).

As a football fan, I know of many situations where humour, or quick-thinking has helped to defuse a potentially uncomfortable or even dangerous situation. One incident that my father often speaks of, took place a few hours after the game I described in my introduction; the day of the radio. After mine and my father’s living-room celebration, he left to meet a friend in the pub. While ordering a pint he made a passing comment about the game to a man that was standing at the bar. “I am really happy, because my team just won the league”, said my father. The man stared at him: “yeah?” He looked dangerous. “He is crazy”, thought my father, and trying to appease, him he said: “One of your guys (meaning a person of Swedish origin) scored the winning goal: Henrik Larsson.” “One of my guys?” answered the man. “He is black.” “Ah” said my father. “Well I listened to the game on the radio”. My father proceeded to quickly leave the bar.

This anecdote demonstrates an instance of quick-thinking, more than humour, however, it exemplifies problems that the jersey can get you into, as well as get you out of. The jersey gives you quick entry into social situations; it allows you ‘social-access’ to many people considering that 38% of adults in the UK actively ‘follow’ football (Robinson, 2010: 1012) and over a third of men regularly go to pubs to watch games (Weed, 2006: 79). My father, wearing his metaphorical and material jersey, had social permission to speak to the man in the bar because of their location: a sports bar. However, he accidentally spoke to the ‘wrong’ person (a person who showed aggressive and racist tendencies), and as such, had to ‘defuse’ the situation, or risk getting into serious trouble. I argue that humour, is a strategy that the jersey-identity’ can use to connect with fellow fans and rivals alike, as well as grant a quick exit.

With regard to this strategy, famous Glasgow comedian, Billy Connolly, tells a joke about ‘avoiding’ football violence in Glasgow. His story begins with a man - a little bit too drunk for own best - who, one day, makes the mistake of his life by going to the wrong side of the stadium during a Celtic-Rangers game. When his team scores two goals, he thinks his days are numbered, but instead of being killed, he is asked to go and “get [a fan of the opposing team]
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some bovril”. To make sure that he doesn’t escape, the rival tells the man to leave his shoe with him. Upon his return with the Bovril, the man finds a ‘jobbie’ (Scottish word for faeces) in his shoe. The rival instructs him to “put it on”, and the man reluctantly complies. After a while he is asked to go and get Bovril for another fan, and the same procedure is repeated. When the game finally ends, and the man exists the stadium, he is stopped by a journalist who wants him to answer some questions about the ‘Old-Firm’ rivalry. The man answers “It is my sincere opinion that football violence in this country will never end. Not as long as they keep shitting in our shoes, and we keep pissing in their Bovril” (Billy Connolly, 2008).

Football is based on rivalries: a fans role is to support their team, and consequently to oppose the other. This traditionally, split role of the football fan as a supporter/opposer has many interesting consequences, a central one being that football identity is often defined as much by the love for one team, as by the contempt for its main rivals. As such, humour and banter, is a way to avoid “shitting in shoes” and “pissing in bovril”. However, an active ‘banter’ culture, also creates an atmosphere of “social survival of the fittest; the underlying principle behind the pressure to be able to give and take a joke” (Collinson, p. 187). As I have discussed before, this type of ‘humour’ tends to disguise instances of bigotry and discrimination, because what is considered as funny is often a ‘collective-jersey decision’, and not laughing at a joke, is viewed as a rejection of the collective identity. As stated by Basu, traditions of power and identity are consolidated through informal means. He argues that “a fan’s effort to buy a ticket for a game is identified as an attempt to gain access to a symbolic collectivity. Such passports to inclusion [are] issued through informal means and [involve] the assimilation of skills, dispositions, attitude and identity” (Basu, p. 118). He claims that the entry-tickets can be viewed as metaphors for understanding the position of minorities.

But what other ‘identities’ apart from working-classness, are considered neutral or ‘natural’ within the discourse of the jersey? I will now continue to look at how masculinity and heterosexuality is inferred in the beloved football-songs which I have chosen to analyse.

3.2 Masculinity and Heterosexuality

3 Bovril is the trademarked name of a thick, salty meat extract, developed in the 1870s by John Lawson Johnston, which is mixed with hot-water at football matches all over the UK. It is sometimes referred to as ‘beef-tea’. 

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I have decided to write about these two ‘categories’ - masculinity and heterosexuality - together, as these, perhaps more than any others, are often understood as interchangeable. As argued by Butler “gender norms operate by requiring the embodiment of certain ideals of femininity and masculinity, ones which are almost always related to the idealization of the heterosexual bond. In this sense, the initiatory performative ‘It’s a girl!’, anticipates the eventual sanction, ‘I pronounce you man and wife’” (Butler, 1993). This ‘irrefutable connection’ between masculinity and heterosexuality, is also apparent in the chosen football-songs, *The Fields of Athenry*, and *Every Other Saturday*.

In the Celtic songs *The Fields of Athenry*, the first line reads “I heard a young girl calling ‘Michael, they are taking you away’”. Michael - the songs hero - who has stolen to feed his children responds, “"nothing matters, Mary, when you're free. Against the famine and the crown, I rebelled, they brought me down. Now you must raise our child with dignity"”. These lines infer a lot about jersey-masculinity/heterosexuality and the ‘discourse which constructs the ‘identity’ of the Celtic fan: a proud, rebellious Irish father.

In the Rangers song *Every Other Saturday*, the lyrics go: “we love tae (to) see the lassies wi' (girls with) their blue scarves on” which places the song (and the singers) in a hetero-male position. It is not surprising that the songs celebrate the male, heterosexual experience, as football is accepted as a predominantly male sport: as described in Weeds ethnographic study of UK football: “the pub clientele [is] almost exclusively young, white males, most of whom [have] been drinking all day in anticipation of the match” (Weed, p. 76). However, this doesn’t mean that football being male is ‘true’ in the absolute sense. Foucault argues that this type of ‘Truth’ “which would remain so, whatever the period, setting or context” (Hall, p.76) is non-existant. Instead, there are discursive formations which sustain the regime of truth regarding any topic. And these songs, along with many other practices and discourses, construct jersey as masculine, and in extension, as heterosexual.

I would like to stress that this doesn’t mean that being male and heterosexuality, forms an obligatory part of the ‘fan-contract’. I, for instance, am a straight, female fan, and my brother is a male, gay fan. However, wearing the metaphorical jersey, means being invested, in part, in a male, heterosexual, working-class collective; not questioning their dominant voice; adapting. As Basu discussed earlier, we- who can never fully be like ‘Michael’, or like the two lads who just
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finished working in the shipyards - have been given a ‘passport’ which gains us access to a symbolic collective. I find it interesting to consider who issues these ‘passports’. In mine and my brothers case, it was definitely our father. He is a working class man, who was born in Glasgow and has ‘served his time’ as a supporter. As such, he has authority to create discourse and inform club heritage. I would now like to share a story which illustrates this quite well.

When I moved to Barcelona for the first time in 2005, the first thing I did was find a pub that would show the Celtic. I had spent every weekend, since I was around 13, watching the bhoys with my father and his friends, and I wanted to uphold that tradition. I also thought it would be a good way to make friends in a new city, in which I knew no one; having almost grown up in a pub, I knew how easy it was to strike up conversation and make casual acquaintances. I found an Irish pub online where I could follow my team, and then went down there, decked out in my jersey, confident that I would have a great time. But the reality was quite different. For the first few month not one person spoke to me. It wasn’t until after my parents came to visit a few months post my arrival, -when people at the pub met my father - that the bar-clientele began considering me a ‘real’ supporter. “You are Willie Mc Glinn’s daughter, aren’t you?”, some men asked me the weekend after my father went back to Malmo. “No, he is my father”, I felt like saying. Nevertheless, I realised that I - Sarah the fan - could only be truly accepted as a supporter, after my relationship with the ‘authorized’ heritage of the club had been established. I would now like to discuss how these traditions and practices affect the performances of the fans.

4. Performing the jersey

Throughout the previous chapter, I have discussed the various discourses that weave the fabric of the jersey together, and thus tried to ‘untwine’ these slightly. I will now go on to consider, how these different football-norms, are interpreted and performed by various football subjects. As I have discussed, it is my contention that society creates diverse identities -as well as the norms which define these - and we proceed to repeat them. However, as argued by Butler, as well as by

4 The bhoys is the collective name for Celtic supporter. Recently, the use of ‘ghirl’ has become accepted aswell, when referring to a female fan. The first- team, however, are male, and are such ‘the bhoys.'
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Stephenson, the norm “is not the only type of repetition available. [Butler] explains that agency is to be located within the possibility of variation of that repetition” (Stephenson, p. 95). As such, not all jerseys’ are clones of one another. I am not attempting to argue that all individuals who put on a football jersey end up acting in identical ways. Instead, it is my argument that all individual football fans form a relationship with- and position themselves within- the jersey-discourse’. Then they “repeatedly perform [these] modes of subjectivity and identity until these are experienced as if they were second nature” (Weedon, p. 7). As I have mentioned previously, discourse is a complex web “never consistent of one statement, one text, one action or one source” (Hall, p. 72). Hence, there are many ways in which the jersey can be interpreted, and consequently performed.

4.1 The Hegemonic Jersey
According to sociologist Raewyn Connell, hegemony “refers to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life” (Connell, 2005: 77). And as I have discussed in the previous chapter, in the world of Scottish football fandom, the narrative of the older, white, working-class, straight man, is of special importance. This is inferred through songs, rituals, humour, and various other practices. As such, the fabric of the jersey is woven together with threads of these identities. However, it is interesting to consider that, because the jersey speaks the history, politics, culture, fiction, vision and dreams of so many people, there is no one individual that can truly embody it. There are characteristics that may help you gain authority inside of the jersey - that ensure a better ‘fit’ - but even the jerseys’ that hold the right to issue ‘passports’ and ‘entry tickets’, have at some point had their place within it questioned. In my father’s case, he is sometimes questioned because his father wasn’t Catholic; someone else is perhaps ‘suspicious’ become they have a male relative who isn’t interested in football - or (God forbid) supports another team. Hegemony thrives on the fact that it is a “historically mobile relation” (Connell, p. 77), and as such can never be pinned down or defined. It is unattainable, impossible to fully embody. Thus, everyone is always negotiating their relationship with it, trying to perfect the un-perfectible. What is more, there are always many different ‘types’ of jerseys, which I will now go on to discuss.

4.2 Sub-identities
In their ethnographic study, Derbaix and Decrop produced a series of definitions and typologies of different fans. They suggest we use five categories to understand a fans relationship with its team:

[First,] the temporary fan [who] is motivated to exhibit behaviour related to the sports object only for a limited time period (e.g. the World Cup)[...]the local fan [who] is driven by the identification with a geographical area (e.g. the city where s/he lives); the devoted fan [who] breaks time and space boundaries to remain loyal to the team/player whatever the context. S/he is emotionally attached to the consumptive object which is used to maintain his/her self-concept. The term fanatical fan is used to emphasise the high involvement and fan-like behaviour of this fourth type. The fanatical fan engages in more overt supporting behaviour than the devoted fan: ‘the fanatical fans will go to the game and paint their body in the colours of the team, go in costume’ [...] In contrast with the fanatical fan, the dysfunctional fan engages in anti-social, disruptive or deviant behaviour (e.g. [...] hooligans) Such a typology is useful to describe different types of fans and their level of commitment, although different groups may overlap to some degree at different times and for different goals. (Debaix, Decrop, p. 273)

Just by looking at these five different sub-identities within the wider culture of football-fandom, it becomes clear that there is no one-size-fits-all-jersey. All of these subject-positions have come from a shared root: an interest in football. However, with time, and over space, as various individuals haven’t successfully internalized one given football identity, “the basis for dis-identification or counter-identification [has evolved] which involves a rejection of hegemonic identity norms” (Weedon, p. 7). All of these varying jerseys’ hold different positions within the discourse of football-fandom. As such, I would like to discuss my relationship with the jersey, and my performance within in it.

4.3 ‘My’ jersey-performance

Philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari write:
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In becoming wolf, the important things is the position of the mass, and above all the position of subject in relation to the pack or wolf-multiplicity; how the subject joins or does not join the pack, how far away it stays, how it does or does not hold to the multiplicity. (*Deleuze and Guattari in* Stephenson, p. 98).

If we imagine for a minute that the wolf-pack is similar to the jersey-collective, we can begin to discuss how the jersey-identity is created, and individually performed. When we wear the metaphorical or material jersey, we are ‘wearing’ and/or carrying a cultural heritage, sanctioned by past and present authorized voices; an authority which we, as fans, re-instil with every song we sing, pint we drink, story we tell, and curse-word we use. And as we, ‘wander doon/(down in Scottish)’ the road (to see a game, together or alone) our position within this collective is determined; both our relationship with the past - how do I ‘fit in’ the narrative of the club - and the present - where do I stand in relation to the rest. For instance, I can only know whether I am a ‘devoted fan’, in my relationship with the ‘fanatical fan’.

In the words of Deleuzian theorist Andrea Stephenson “every self and every group is a multiplicity. Multiplicity tolerates no dependence on the identical in the subject or in the object. [... And as such we should] become comfortable with our multiplicity, to try to subvert the attempts of the powerful to create unity” (Stephenson, p. 99). Butler has encouraged us to become comfortable with our multiplicity through the concept of performativity, and I suppose that my lived performance, which combines a jersey and feminist identity, as well as many others, is an example of just that.

In my next, and final chapter, I will discuss how the new Scottish law is informing and changing the discourse that surrounds football, and look at what these reveal about the desired performance of the Scottish football-subject.

5. The Power of Scottish Law
In the past chapter I have considered the various discourses which constitute the normative football-subject, and considered how these subsequently produce an array of jersey-performances. I now want to discuss if, and as such, how performance of jersey-identity has changed as a result of the 2012 laws. I will again use songs, as an entry point into the ‘cluster of ideas, images and practices’ which constitutes the jersey, as some of these have changed as a result of the law.

One of the most tangible changes to take place since the introduction of the 2012 laws is the banning of certain football-songs. These days football-fans are not allowed to sing parts of the Celtic song, *Proud to be Irish*, nor the Rangers song, *The Famine Song*, on Scottish football stands (The Daily Record, 2011). They have been banned under the 2012 laws that ‘criminalise behaviour likely to incite public disorder at certain football matches’, as they contain sectarian lyrics, and I want to demonstrate one of the shapes that this rivalry takes. I will only show you parts of the lyrics, due to space constraints. However, I have included full lyrics in the appendix.

*Graffiti on the walls says we're magic, we're magic, Graffiti on the wall... It says oh ah up the 'RA, say ooh ah up the 'RA.* (Banned Part, Proud to be Irish, Celtic Song)

*I often wonder where they would have been we hadn't have taken them in. Fed them and washed them. Thousands in Glasgow alone. From Ireland they came. Brought us nothing but trouble and shame. Well the famine is over. Why don't they go home?* (First verse, Famine Song, Rangers song)

In the Celtic Song, *Proud to be Irish* celebrates the ‘RA, referring to the Irish Republican Army. Considering the terrorist-status of the IRA, Scottish authorities have decided that this part of the song cannot be performed. The Rangers song *The Famine Song* is completely banned, as its lyrics aren’t only considered to be sectarian, but also racists, with regard to the lyrics ‘Why don’t they go home?’.

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5 The name IRA has been in use since the organization was founded in 1921. From 1969 through 1997, the IRA splintered into a number of organizations, all called the IRA. They included: the Official IRA (OIRA), the Provisional IRA (PIRA) the Real IRA (RIRA), and Continuity IRA (CIRA). The association of the IRA with terrorism comes from the paramilitary activities of the Provisional IRA, which is no longer active.
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So, what does the ban of these songs reveal about the desired performance of the Scottish football-subject? It is my argument that, by analysing the ‘point of tension’ as suggested by Foucault, we can better understand a complex web of power-relations that are being carried out. As argued by Butler, and previously presented in section 2.1.5, we should move the discussion away from individuals and groups with power (or lack thereof) and look at a set of practices through which power is actualised.

Bearing this in mind, one of the main points of tension in Scottish football is sectarianism. Thus, there is an interest in defining it, and subsequently attempting to control it. The Scottish legal system has used its law – i.e. the ‘authority’ to create legal truth - to draw a line in the sand and as such conclude which jersey-subjects are on the wrong side of sectarianism. An example of this, is the radical group of Celtic fans –who go under the name of ‘the Green Brigade’- that are no longer allowed to walk the traditional collective-walk ‘doon’ to the stadium together, because the police, using their power to define truth, have named this a demonstration. Hence, these Celtic-fans have to apply for demonstration permits to be able to walk to the stadium together.

With regard to these developments, the Scottish law is creating new rules which are informing fan-performance: if you want to see the game, you have to conform to the new definition of ‘acceptable fan behaviour’. However, both Celtic and Rangers fans are twining the fabric of law - and weaving it into their jersey - in their own distinct ways: some conforming to its message, while others subverting it. I argue that this is what Hall, and Foucault mean, when they state that all power is productive: “the punishment system, for example produces books, treatises, regulation, new strategies of control and resistance, debates in parliament, conversations, confessions, legal briefs and appeals, training regimes for prison officers, and so on” (Hall, p. 77). The Scottish football-law is similarly productive, creating public debate, blogs, forum discussions, protests, conformation and new songs An example of this can be seen in the response to the ban of part of songs, Proud to be Irish. Many Celtic-fans, who have modified the lyrics of the banned part, singing “Ooh ah Samaras, say ooh ah Samaras”, (Samaras is a Greek football player, who currently plays for Celtic), instead of ‘RA. This naturally provokes Rangers fans, who have been known to cry “the bastard is not even playing”.
It is interesting to note that the law has modified the performances to a certain extent, but not only in a constraining way. It has opened up a new space, in which fans can recreate new norms, new lyrics, new heritage: perhaps, based on the songs they ‘used to sing’.

Having considered the power of the Scottish law, and its influence on jersey-performance, I will conclude my thoughts.

6. Final Discussion

Throughout this research, I have considered how various practices – often informed, and influenced by cultural heritage and its authorized ‘speakers’ - create a normative jersey-identity that is ‘put on’, and performed by its jersey-subjects. Furthermore, I have highlighted that the performances of the subjects are never identical to one another; this because the identity of the hegemonic-jersey can never be fully embodied as its meaning is greater than one person can be, or could become. Hence the jersey-subject is egged on by desire to either become the ‘perfect’ jersey, or to challenge what it means to be a one, and each time that these desires are re-enacted, the fabric of the jersey changes.

It is with this in mind that I want to bring you back to the figure of the football-killjoy – whose aim was to understand a complex web of relations, as well as ‘draw on a broader range of affect’ (Hemmings, 2012: 148). Hemmings suggests that we should move away from rooting feminist transformation in identity, and I believe that this research has helped me, and hopefully you, dear reader, to accomplish this. Having studied the Scottish football through the lens of the jersey, I am much more at ease with my ‘conflicting identity’, considering that even if I were ‘only’ a football fan, or ‘only’ a feminist, I could never be ‘perfect’, whole or true. By moving the focus onto the performing fan-subject, I hope I have added knowledge to the well-studied field of football, and in addition, that I have problematized the view that identity is fixed, thus helping to destabilize identity categories such as, masculinity, heterosexuality, whiteness and class.

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Appendix

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<th>Rangers Songs</th>
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<td><em>The Famine Song</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>It was far across the sea, when the devil got a</td>
<td>I often wonder where they would have been</td>
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hold of me
He wouldn't set me free, so he kept me soul for ransom
na na na na na...

I'm a sailor man from Glasgow town,
I've sailed this world around and round
He's the meanest thing that I have found
In all me days of wandering
na na na na na...

Here we go again, we're on the road again.
We're on the road again, we're on the way to paradise.
We love the jungle deep, that's where the lion sleeps
For then those evil eyes, they have no place in paradise
Graffiti on the walls, just as the sun was going down
I see graffiti on the walls - for the Celts! for the Celts!
Graffiti on the walls says we're magic, we're magic,
Graffiti on the wall...

It says oh ah up the 'RA, say ooh ah up the 'RA.
(Banned Part)

We went thru each jungle deep
for the paradise that we did seek
twas no trip for the weak
we're waltzing with the natives.
na na na na na...

From the Amazon to Borneo,
From Africa to Tokyo,
To the darkest jungles of the world,
But nowhere could I lose him.
na na na na na...

Around in circles every way,
He turned to me and he did say,
"I think you're leading me astray,
I want your soul, me boyo!"

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

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

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

Now Timmy don't take it from me
Cause if you know your history
You've persecuted thousands of people
In Ireland alone
You turned on the lights
Fuelled U boats by night
That's how you repay us
It's time to go home.
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na na na na na...

Here we go again, we're on the road again.
We're on the road again, we're on the way to paradise.
We love the jungle deep, that's where the lion sleeps
For then those evil eyes, they have no place in paradise.

Graffiti on the walls, just as the sun was going down
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