

Performing Sectarianism: Terror, Spectacle and Urban Myth in Glasgow Football Cultures

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Introduction

Although the vast majority of football supporters are not religiously persecuting each other, why are the cultures they are involved in sometimes represented as sectarianism? This paper explores the mechanism of this representation by looking at the way that sectarian imagery is articulated with the rigid dichotomy of the relationship between two football clubs in Glasgow, Celtic and Rangers, and their distinctive cultures. Their well-known rivalry, which is often called the Old Firm, has been described as corresponding to the religious sectarianism between the two ethnicised communities of Irish Catholics and Scottish Protestants. The existence of these communities has been regarded as foundationally embedded in religious, local and geographical roots that are attributed to the chronological history of migration, assimilation and settlement of both Catholic and Protestant Irish population in western Scotland. When the fanatic environment of the Old Firm is narrated, this foundational thinking tends to see this fierce rivalry as a direct consequence of pre-existing social and cultural differences, which are ontologised as unquestionably matter-of-fact. Sectarian divide is perceived as being there prior to recognition and conception in discourse.

Turning the back on this foundationalism, I attempt to propose a different, more transitional view of what has been routinely called sectarianism in football. In other words, I am concerned with the way that the public sphere of football as a genre of popular culture and sectarianism as an ethnicised realm of politics are

made to appear as a unitary phenomenon. As a result of that, two separate public spheres become as if they are the same. This 'becoming' is the issue that can be examined through the ways in which terror is generated and experienced as a strong marker of antagonistic bigotry in the spectacle of the game as well as in the city's streets. In addition, I discuss how terror is mythologised and eventually culturalised as the essential component of sectarianism in football.

The Theatre of Power

A football game has its own ecology, pace and temporality. The spectacle of football consists of the combined phenomenon of the actual play displayed on the pitch, its 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', they also overarch those two camps in terms of style, form and pattern of supporting activity as well as denseness of the emotional excitement.

Although the ecology of the game helps to create a relatively autonomous public sphere inside the stadium, this 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. 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, I want to stress that the 'theatre of power' generates sporting fandom as a public sphere. Michel Foucault's premature but radical formulation of 'power' draws a precise sketch of this idea. 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 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 subjection¹.

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 audience. The team to which 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 power and make it run through themselves by running, dribbling, showing commitment, wearing a shirt, performing bodily rituals, chanting, shouting, talking to each other or just being there as part of the spectacle.

I consider that this theatre of power emerged most vividly on 3 May 1999 at Celtic Park, the home stadium of Celtic Football Club. On this day, a decisive Scottish league encounter between Celtic and Rangers was played. Powers act on players' individual bodies when they are watched by the crowd. The landscape and human-scape of the 'Jungle', unique nickname of the Celtic Park stands, shows the striking visibility of green and white. The sound-scape stirs up affective investment by playing 'You'll Never Walk Alone' and the 'Fields of Athenry', which are followed by the supporters' own commands throughout the match. 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 codes of meaning, behaviour and practices which can be signified as 'sectarian' and those agencies act as such subjectively rather than manipulatively.

‘Mayhem in the Paradise’

At that game, Celtic’s French left-back Stephane Mahe was sent-off in the 41st minute, when the home side was nil-one down. It was a match in which if Rangers won they would regain the Scottish league title. The dismissal of Mahe 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 match referee, Hugh Dallas, was hit and injured by a coin thrown from the crowd. He ended up with four stitches because he had been identified as the object of hatred. The concrete statistics aside, the match eventually saw three players, Mahe and Norwegian right 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 and tried instead to talk to the referee. Eventually Mahe went off with tears in his eyes. Afterwards, when Riseth and Wallace got sent-off after they collided and tackled each other, off the ball, Wallace, a black Englishman, re-traced what Mark Walters did ten years earlier, that is, became a black English martyr. The fact that all the sent-off players were foreign nationals does not seem to justify the foundational assumption that Scottish players are more seriously affected by the Old Firm than their foreign colleagues are. It appears that, aware of the potential for explosion, the Scottish players had rather regulated themselves not to get involved in the confrontation.

The day after, ex-Rangers and England captain Terry Butcher described the Old Firm games as ‘the most volatile’². Butcher admitted that the theatre of power got him ‘sucked into the whirlpool’ when he became one of the protagonists of an incident in which three English players, Butcher himself, Chris Woods and Graham Roberts of Rangers, and Scottish player Frank McVennie of Celtic, were involved on 17th October 1987. 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’³. Stevens thought that the foreigners’ lack of understanding led them to the unnecessarily aggressive result. Whatever national, ethnic and racial backgrounds they have, 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 the rationality of the game is maintained. Once the limits are transgressed, the language of violence, madness and bigotry is introduced to secure the expected authenticity of sectarianism.

When Dallas was hit by a coin, the crowds ceased to be spectators in the actual bodily sense. The line between actors and audiences 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 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, as his resentment or frustration might seem to the coin-thrower to echo the resentment or frustration of the player himself.

It has to be noted, though, that the 'hooliganisation' 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, where the players are positioned. On that realm, both players and crowds become entitled to be agents, acting as substitutes for the club.

Constituting the equivalence not only between the self and other, but 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 space and criminalisation, might have forced himself, players and those who take similar positioning to his own, to perceive and live in what Walter Benjamin called the 'state of emergency'⁴. Throwing 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'⁵. Michael Taussig persuasively adds 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'⁶:

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 emergency⁷.

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 that 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 might have taken 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 be represented as excess. The excess is destructive, disturbing and a vulgar reverberation of 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 conveys various elements of what are conventionally regarded as extra-football affairs. When the action is signified as physical hostility, 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.

In the football match alluded to above, the subsequent flow of events, including a pitch invasion, an even 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’⁸ 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 this⁹.

Unlike this quoted assessment, what has ignited the magnitude of the spectacle's 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 similar incident that happened previously 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 a purified sporting term without any interaction with other socialities. However, the ‘scenes like we saw on Sunday’ can be comprehended as off-springs from the inside of the discursive as well as historical universe of the Old Firm football cultures. For instance, being called ‘Scotland's top whistler’ and taking part in the major UEFA and FIFA competitions as the Scottish representative, the referee Dallas is figured as a ‘Mason in black’ who works in

favour of Rangers because of their conspiracy with Scottish Protestant establishments. Mahe's own account that 'if he [Dallas] was sending me off he should have sent the guilty Rangers players off as well' and that 'he ignored many tackles put in by Rangers players' works to reassure the 'conspiracy theory' against Celtic¹⁰. The action of Dallas, the consecutive incidents ignited by the players' mutual physical contact, 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 the 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 properly shaped soldiers of the club. In this sense, the coin-thrower and the four pitch invaders fought a proxy war for 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.

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

The 'mayhem' of May 1999 seems to have reminded sport columnist Kevin Mitchell that contemporary sports, especially football, are a residue of a lost

spiritual royalty. This observation 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 that 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'¹¹, Mitchell reads out 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.

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 managers¹².

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 mass life in modern capitalist class society as an irretrievable alienation of emotional, psychological and material experiences. The 'rioting' of some Celtic supporters may be seen as a desperate gesture to mark a rupture on the surface of what this situationists' catchword assumes. 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. 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 whether such things as unity and homogeneity of fandom have ever existed.

The recent global flow of players and commodification of football seem partly to contribute to reifying the mutually affective link between players and crowds, preventing the spectator from becoming the twelfth player. Only rituals may be able to reactivate this apparently lost linkage. The moment of mimesis is not 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 the mimetic faculty may lead to reinforcing the existing divides. When Rangers regained the Championship in THAT game, some Celtic players expressed their anger at the post-match ‘cuddle’ that Rangers players displayed in front of them and the tormented crowds. 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 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 pre-match drinking. 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-off¹³. 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 the normal 3 o’clock p.m. It meant that the crowd had much more time to get drunk. The second target of the blaming was the SFA, the clubs and BSkyB for fixing the late kick-off and thirdly, the crowds themselves. The essential components of hooligan discourses, such as drinking, 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. One single set of violence is placed in the powerful narrative order from which sectarianism is expected to come out as real.

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 wearing the shirt generates the same effect as purchasing it. As I am now working not on the Economy but on the 'affective economy', I stress that attaching a 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.

This minimum gesture of affect provides an instant recognition of the fandom when combined, for example, with the collective singing of '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'. Here, the imaginary of Celtic fandom is activated by what Paul Connerton calls the 'performative utterance'¹⁴. 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. Connerton notes that,

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 constitution¹⁵.

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'¹⁶. Chanting as 'performative utterance' 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'¹⁷. 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 appear 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.

The Fandom That Has Resulted in Terror and Death

There are times when wearing the shirt proves one's belonging and identity and that, because of this proof, the most vicious outcome emerges, that is, the murder of Celtic fans. In October 1995, Jason Campbell attacked and killed 16 year-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 'footballised' sectarianism than religious bigotry since he was not Catholic. During his sentence in a Scottish prison, however, Campbell demanded a political prisoner status and a move to Maze Prison in Northern Ireland. His appeal was directly handled by the Progressive Unionist Party, which is the political wing of Northern Ireland's Ulster Volunteer Force.

Four years later, being asked about the sectarian elements of the Old Firm, the disgraced ex-Rangers vice chairman Donald Findlay said that 'it bothers me if it leads to violence'¹⁸. When he was caught on video camera singing a hatred song against Catholics, which would later be used as the reason for him to resign, the sectarian elements exactly led to violence. After the game, which coincidentally hosted the 'Mayhem' I described earlier, a 16 year-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. 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 reported as being motivated by football tribalism. Because his mother feared trouble at the stadium, McFadden had watched the game on television and afterward went out. The 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 colour. 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 has to be noted with strong emphasis that Findlay acted as defense lawyer for Scott's murderer, Campbell. Findlay also defended Thomas Longstaff who was jailed for ten years for slashing the throat of another unnamed Celtic fan.

In those incidents, 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, then there would be a clear differentiation between the individual body and the antagonistic symbolism activated by the colours of Celtic. 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 began with chanting their own anthem at each other. Whilst it was the irretrievable masculine ritual that 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.

Fatal Performance: Racialisation through the Sectarian Violence

The more recent murder of another young man wearing the Celtic shirt, Gerald Lawlor, in Belfast, directly involved the Ulster Freedom Fighters. The paramilitary involvement is a sign that shows that what is going on is war, not football violence. I do not intend to paraphrase this incident in Belfast to a series of incidents in Glasgow. Instead, my concern is with the line between sectarian war and what is called 'football violence'. Their recognition of mutual belonging is postulated by their supporting clubs through their bodily performances including wearing the shirt and singing an anthem. 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?'¹⁹. 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 Atherry' 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' that could not stop him avoiding the fatal confrontation. Nevertheless, it was also his affection for Celtic 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' that which made Hutton and 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 Athenry'. Given this, what Hutton stabbed was not McFadden's static individual body but the corporeality of 'Fenian', which was ethnically imagined and then racialised 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'²⁰. 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 body was constructed as an ethnicity.

For the self-proclaimed anti-sectarian among the Celtic fans, McFadden's ethnicised body is seen as equivalent to those of Scott and O'Connor²¹. 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 whole²².

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 utterance of 'fenian' by the murder historicised the killing of McFadden. Judith 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'²³. 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 the 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'²⁴. Re-subordination of the victim is articulated through the racialised idiom with racial hierarchy.

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. Wearing the shirt, that is 'doing', is articulated with being a Catholic that has been the ethnicised equivalence of being an Irish. Accordingly, '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.

The 'Footballisation' of Violence and the Urban Mythology

Celtic launched its own anti-sectarianism, anti-racism campaign, 'Bhoys Against Bigotry (BAB)', in January 1996. It was the first institutionalisation of anti-racism initiated by a single football institution in Scotland. With the launch of the campaign, Celtic published the Social Mission Statement, whose narrative re-inscribed the social role of the club as opposing the discrimination and prejudice against the Irish Catholic population in Scotland. Despite this official campaign,

which is supposed to stand beside 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 politics²⁵. They showed no sign of involvement, nor did they provide even a 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 the club’s indifferent attitude describes that those murders were not ‘officially recognised’²⁶ as racism and that Celtic is not ‘a united and politically progressive club from top to bottom’²⁷. 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’²⁸.

In contrast, Strathclyde Police have dealt with those incidents categorically as ‘football violence’. 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’²⁹. 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’s behaviour of heavy drinking, disorder and undisciplined fanaticism. However, the facts were 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.

Despite the apparent remoteness between those victims and football violence, a certain geographical location contributes to mythologising the incident in a specific urban context, particularly the context of the East End history. 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 that 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 poem reminds us that the murder of Mark Scott may be a re-incarnation of the image of death and violence that 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...³⁰

However little influential his political activity was, his links with the Orange Order and the Ku Klux Klan indisputably show 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 general³¹. 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'³². 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'. Straight, tough and uncompromising images of the Glaswegian masculinity provided good raw material for commercial success particularly in film, music and the media industry³³. 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 bigotry³⁴. 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 level³⁵.

Once again, the symbolic and imaginary 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 such history. It is his 'culturalism' that works within a positivist, essentialist and ethnic nationalist assumption of the binary between myth and reality, nostalgia and actuality, and the symbolic and the iconic.

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, deep sediment 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.

Conclusion

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 Irish. 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 apparatus 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 life³⁶. However, this does not 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 have 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 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'³⁷. 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's formation.

Despite Campbell's gesture of politicising his crime, 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'³⁸. 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. Here, no matter how ironic it may sound, the public sphere of football cultures is forged into sectarianism by way of the intervention of the state.

Notes

¹ Foucault, 1991/1979, pp. 202-3.

² *The Sun*, 4 May 1999.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Benjamin, 1992/1972, p. 248.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

⁶ Taussig, 1992, p. 13.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *The Daily Record*, 4 May 1999.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *The Observer*, *LIFE*, 23 May 1999, p. 17.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *The Observer* 10 May 1999.

¹⁴ Connerton, 1989., p. 59

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Butler, 1997, p.3

¹⁸ *The Scotsman*, 1 June 1999.

¹⁹ *The Daily Record*, 22 September 1999. All the following quotations regarding the Hutton case are from the same source.

²⁰ Feldman, 1991, p. 64.

²¹ Particularly see *Fighting Talk*, of the Anti Fascist Action, which strongly criticised those three murder cases (Issue 21 and 22, 1999).

²² Feldman, op. cit., p.64.

²³ Butler, op. cit., p. 3.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26

- ²⁵ 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 is thought to firmly tie up with the club's 'official' anti-sectarianism policy.
- ²⁶ Cited from an interview with representatives of CFAF (*Fighting Talk*, 21).
- ²⁷ *Fighting Talk*, 21, 1999., p. 16.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- ²⁹ *The Daily Record*, 22 September 1999.
- ³⁰ 'King Billy', by Edwin Morgan, in Thomson, 1990, p. 190.
- ³¹ Burns and Woods, 1997, p. 12.
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- ³³ For example, see McArthur and Kingsley Long's *No Mean City* (1978) for a classic case. One of the notable revival is the Gilles MacKinnon and Billy MacKinnon film, *Small Faces* (1995).
- ³⁴ Spring, 1990, p. 87.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 89.
- ³⁶ See Hall et al (1978, pp. 202-8) for the elaboration of this Gramscian notion.
- ³⁷ Poulantzas, 1978, p. 187.
- ³⁸ *Fighting Talk*, 21, September, 1999, p. 15.

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