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Original Citation

Peat, George (2016) Deconstructing the Hooligan Identity: A Critical Narrative Analysis of Experiences Involving Football Violence. Masters thesis, University of Huddersfield.

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Deconstructing the Hooligan Identity: A Critical Narrative
Analysis of Experiences Involving Football Violence

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A Thesis Submitted to the University of Huddersfield in Fulfilment for the
Requirements for the Degree of Masters By Research In Psychology

Submission Date: 19th September 2016

Dedications and Acknowledgements

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I would like to thank first and foremost the men who participated in this study. I hope I have given the rich data you provided justice. I would also like to thank my two supervisors Jason Roach and Rachel Armitage. The time and effort you have invested in helping me to complete this thesis is truly appreciated. Finally, I would like to thank my family for offering their continued support and allowing me the time and space to complete this thesis.

Abstract

Football violence and the so-called 'football hooligan' have been much discussed, displayed, and theorised across both academic and media platforms. However, little attention has been given to the identities of the men that reside behind the 'football hooligan' label. Using a critical narrative analysis framework, and drawing on key theories in relation to identity, and identity development, this study has looked to explore the identities of a group of men who were involved in football violence from a narrative perspective to gain insight into both their perception of, and role within a group formation, as well as their perception of their identities before, during, and after participation in football violence. The findings of the study reveal how whilst the majority of the men involved in the study self-identified as being part of the same group, their perceptions and experiences of that group differed greatly. As such, the study poses questions to mainstream theories of group behaviour. Furthermore, it represents the uniqueness of a narrative study in this field in its ability to allow for in-depth narrative accounts to be displayed in a subject field that is often wildly stereotyped and generalised.

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Introduction

The term 'football hooligan' is often applied to individuals that are perceived to or have engaged in football violence. Such confrontation is often characterised by physical group engagement between sides that are connected to opposing football clubs. Whilst the numbers associated with such violence, and type of violent engagement may have differed, from 'mob' like confrontation typical of the nineteen seventies to the 'casual' movement of the nineteen eighties and nineties (Marriner, 2015), the group dynamic has remained largely the same. As a result, much research has been conducted and psycho-sociological theories applied that look to explain why group behaviour associated with football violence occurs.

However, little research exists that explores this subject area from the perspective of the individual to understand the identities they form as a result of an engagement in football violence, as well as the perceptions and interpretations they form in relation to the dynamics that surround football hooliganism.

This thesis will look to guide the reader through the narratives of a cohort of men who actively engaged in football violence in order to better understand the individuals who sit behind the term 'football hooligan'. By doing so, this study contributes to the field by offering a different perspective of insight into football hooliganism.

This thesis will begin with a literature review that explores relevant theories of identity as well as outlining and drawing on key findings that exist within football violence related literature and thus looks to give both give theoretical foundation and rationale to the study.

Literature Review

1.1 Identity Formation.

Given one of the focal aims of this study is to gain insight into the self-identities of men who were once involved in football violence, a theoretical framework that offers explanations of identity and how it develops at various stages was essential. The identity formation process (Erikson, 1963) and its subsequent interpretation and elaboration by Jane Kroger (2007) is particularly fitting to the aims of this study in that it discusses the processes a male goes through from adolescent to late adulthood that influence and mould their identity or sense of self.

Erikson (1963) states that the identity formation process begins in early adolescence, which is defined by Kroger (2007) as between the ages of eleven and fourteen years. It is during this period that biological changes occur such as an increase in levels of muscle as well as changes in respiratory and circulatory systems that allow for newfound abilities in strength and endurance (Kroger, 2007). Furthermore, BulCroft (1991) notes that such biological changes can often result in increase peer status and an independence from parents. Consequently, such findings give possible reasons as to why individuals associated with football violence often begin active participation at around this age (Bridge, 2010). In addition, it is during this period of development that friendships and peer groups begin to form and as such become more influential (Cavanagh, 2004). Furthermore, larger peer group dynamics begin to emerge in young adolescence with single sex groups forming with often one leader (Rubin, Bukowski, Laursen, 2009). Such findings give possible reason as to why an individual's identity may start to become moulded and influenced by group behaviour, such as that associated with football violence.

As a male starts to reach late teenage years, between the ages of fifteen to nineteen years, Erikson (1968) notes that their identity is at its most fragile. As a result, he argues that the need for an individual to attach themselves to a group becomes more prevalent, as they seek for justification and reassurances with regards to how they exhibit their identity through behaviour. In addition, within a group formation, what Erikson (1968) refers to as *'totalistic identifications'* (cited in Kroger, 2007, p. 54) begin to emerge whereby the exclusion of others based on what is considered to be different starts to become prevalent within group behaviour. Erikson's (1968) notion here of exclusion based on perceived difference is of interest when paired with findings by Spaiij (2008) that argues that an us versus them mentality is universally prevalent within football violence.

The period between the ages of eighteen to twenty two years labelled by Kroger (2007) as late adolescence features a process relevant to identity formation known as the separation-individuation process (Kroger, 2007). Summarised, the process involves an individual gaining a greater sense of autonomy through taking responsibility for matters that may have been previously left to others, such as parents. In doing so, an individual takes further ownership of their lives. This of relevance with regard to identity formation within a football violence context as a greater sense of autonomy and a resulting detachment from parental influence may result in a greater confidence to engage activities that are related to football violence.

Between the ages of twenty-three through to thirty nine, referred to as early adulthood by Kroger (2007), biological changes occur that have an impact on an individuals sense of self or identity. For example, whilst a male may have a muscular physique in his early twenties, by his late thirties he may have lost much of his muscle mass and replaced it with fat. For a male involved in football violence, during this period of time, their perception about their capabilities to participate in football violence may alter. As well as physical changes, males within this age group are faced with commitments that may increase in priority as they go through this stage of identity formation, such as work or family commitments. Consequently this of interest with regard to how such identities may become more salient over time and as such influence participation in football violence.

The final stage of identity formation that is of significance to this study in that it occurs during the age range of the participants interviewed, is referred to as middle adulthood (Kroger, 2007) and is between the ages of forty to sixty-five. Physical changes such as a more proneness to injury or a weakening in physical performance may cause men in this category to revaluate or question the identities they have formed. For example, men who may have once seen themselves as strong, unbeatable characters within football violence may begin to pick up injuries that may lead them to question their ability to participate. As a result, such physical changes may trigger a gradual move away from football violence. In addition, Kotre and Hall (1990) refer to this stage as being the 'age of responsibility' where factors such as supporting children and being influential within a work setting begin to take precedent over other commitments, such as participating in football violence. Finally, Erikson's (1968) concept of generativity is also prevalent during this stage. Generativity refers to a need to nurture, provide and look after the next generation, with a desire to leave some sort of legacy (Erikson, 1968). It is usually expressed through parenting but can also be expressed through other forms. For example, Marriner (2015) states how a hierarchical system often exists within a football firm whereby 'the youth' will learn from the older men.

1.2. Psychological Explanations of Group Behaviour

One of the objectives of this study is to gain insight into how an individual perceived and interpreted the dynamics of the group that they self-identified as being associated with. As such, it is important that relevant theories that seek to explain group behaviour are explored.

A theory of Social Identity (Tajfel, Turner, 1979) is one such theory. With its foundations forged from a study whereby it was found that participants gave more points to their own group in comparison to members of an out-group (Hogg, 1988), this theory is relevant to this study in that it takes the stance that an in-group versus out-group dynamic exists. Therefore, the foundations of this theory are in line with the logistical foundations of football violence, that is violence occurs when two groups, who perceive the other group to be different, engage in violence.

 Hogg and Abrams (1988) define an individual's social identity as the knowledge that they belong to a social group or category. Stets and Burke (2000) define a social group as being a set of individuals who recognise themselves as members of the same social

group. For example, an individual engaging in football violence will associate themselves with a group, which is united by a support and connection to a particular football team.

Given the in-group, out-group dynamic that is apparent within football violence, the processes behind this dynamic need to be explored. Tajfel *et al* (1979) put forward three mental processes that are associated with their theory of social identity. Tajfel *et al* (1979) argues that people instinctively have a desire to categorise in order to understand and identify others; they refer to this process as self-categorisation. The process is of interest to this study because the result of self-categorisation is an accentuation of the perceived similarities of the self and others in the group, and an accentuation of the perceived differences of those in the out-group (Stets, Burke, 2000). As such, it offers possible insight into why football violence occurs.

The second process is referred to as social identification and is defined as when an individual adopts the identity of the group they have categorised themselves to, and as result their behaviour is defined in reference to the norms of that group (Tajfel *et al,* 1979). This process is of relevance as it may aid understanding regarding how early categorisation into a group in which violence is a norm of that group results in an adoption of a group football violence identity. The final process is referred to as social comparison. Tajfel *et al* (1979) posits that once individuals have categorised and identified themselves as belonging to a particular group, there is then a need to compare their group identification with other groups. The need to do this centres on the connection with individual self-esteem and group membership. This is exacerbated when two groups are identified as rivals, as there is a need to compete in order to main an individual's self-esteem (McLeod, 2008). Such findings are of relevance with regard to the influence of groups on idiosyncratic processes such as self-esteem preservation.

One of the key beliefs that Tajfel *et al* (1979) hold in relation to social identity is that uniformity in perception exists within a group. Tajfel *et al* (1979) argue that it can be generally categorised along cognitive, attitudinal or behavioural pathways. One of the main cognitive outcomes is social stereotyping in relation to in-group and out-group members with an association or identification to a group enhancing this (Haslam, Oakes, McGarty, Turner, Reynolds, Eggins, 1996). Along the attitudinal path, those such as (Hogg, Hardie, 1992) have found that there is uniformity among individuals who are part of a group with regard to how they view that group. For example, some have found that even when group status is relatively low, in-group identification leads to a greater commitment to a group and lesser desire to leave that group (Ellemers, Spears, Doosje, 1997). From a behavioural perspective, even within a low-status group, an individual is more likely to adopt the groups culture, adopt similar stereotypes with regard to the out-group and as such behave in a manner that is representative of the group (Ethier and Deaux, 1994).

Whilst theories surrounding social identity are of interest with regards to giving possible insight into the group behaviour associated with football violence. Given that this study looks to gain insight into the self-identities of men both before, during and after active participation in football violence, it would be naïve to assume that they simply hold one social identity associated with a group involved in football violence. Roccas and Brewer's (2002) theory of social identity complexity is of relevance therefore as it states that individuals hold multiple social identities.

The basis of this theory is an acknowledgement that whilst the number of social groups an individual identifies with is important, what is of interest with regard to this study is how an individual subjectively combines those identities to determine how inclusive those in-group memberships are (Roccas *et al*, 2002). Elaborated, Roccas *et al* (2002)

proposed that an individual's multiple social identities fit along a spectrum of complexity and inclusiveness. At the low end of the complexity dimension, an individual sees an in-group as the intersection of all their group identities, thus creating an exclusive identity category whereby multiple identities are attached to just one single in-group representation, for example males who are associated with a particular football firm. As a result, those who do not share all of the same memberships belonging to the in-group are classed as out-group members. At the opposite end of the complexity spectrum, an individual understands that each of their group memberships incorporates a different group of people as in group members and as a result there is an acknowledgement and acceptance of difference between in-group categories. In relation to the present study, social complexity theory (Roccas *et al*, 2002.) is of relevance in relation to whether the social complexity of those who engage in football violence is low or high, and whether it changes overtime.

Whilst theories relating to social identity are relevant within the context of this study, it is important that theories that offer an alternative view on group dynamics are explored. Role identity theory (Burke, Stets, 2009) is one such theory that moves away from social identity assumptions and instead posits that a group is formed through a set of interrelated individuals, with each individual performing unique but integrated activities, but crucially have an independent perspective, and negotiate the terms of interaction (Burke *et al*, 2009). As such, a role-based identity does not signify a uniformity of perception and behaviour, but more so interconnected uniqueness (Burke *et al*, 2009).

According to role identity theorists such as Burke and Stets (2009), the core of an identity is the categorisation of the self as an occupant of a role, as well as an incorporation of the meanings and expectations associated with that role and its performance. It is such expectations and meanings that ultimately form a set of standards and guides of behaviour that an individual then follows. Furthermore, the categorisation of occupying a role and adopting the behaviour associated with that role is transferred onto others, and therefore the self invokes meaning from naming others in roles with regards to the expectation of that role (Stets, Burke, 1999).

 The functionality of a role is a dependent on the reciprocity and exchange relation from other roles (Stets *et al*, 1999). As a result, negotiation is also key to role performance, as counter roles may exist. Research on role identity found that when behaviours and meanings associated with roles were allowed to negotiate, role identities were verified and as consequently a strong attachment to a group developed (Stets *et al,* 1999). Due to the element of negotiation within group interaction, relations are reciprocal rather than parallel (Stets *et al*, 1999). Micro social structures are then created as individuals perform and negotiate their respective roles.

Whilst role and social identity theories offer explanations of how the identity of someone involved in football violence may change or adapt depending on the group or role in which they occupy, deindividuation theory (Zimbardo, 1969) sees football violence occurring due to a loss of self, or ones identity. In summary, the theory puts forward a hypothesised psychological process whereby a decreased feeling of self-awareness and self-observation results in a weakening of feelings such as guilt, shame and fear and consequently a lowered threshold of exhibiting inhibited behaviours (Kugihara, 2001). Therefore this theory is of interest to this study because it allows for an alternative outlook on identity to be explored.

Zimbardo (1969) cites various variables such as anonymity, an increase in physical arousal and the use of consciousness-altering substances such as drugs and alcohol as

factors that are responsible for producing a deindividuated state. The use of drugs and alcohol are well documented as being part of the football violence scene (Marriner, 2015) and as such Zimbardo's (1969) theory is relatable to this study.

A feeling of anonymity also plays a key role in facilitating a deindividuated state (Diener, 1980). Both field and laboratory based studies have shown that when an individual believes that their identity is unknown, they are more likely to behave in an aggressive and unsociable manner (Silke, 2003). The somewhat classic Zimbardo (1969) study represents the affects of deindividuation in a laboratory setting, displaying how participants who hid their identities through the use of hoods covering their faces were more likely to give electric shocks at a more severe level than other participants whose identities were not hidden. From a 'real world' perspective, those such as Ellison (1995) have demonstrated how anonymity whilst driving leads to aggressive driving behaviour. The findings are of relevance in relation to football violence, in that they offer insight into the impact of a feeling of anonymity in relation to a willingness to engage in activities such as football violence.

A link between deindividuation and acts of violence has also been posited (Watson, 1973, Silke, 2003). Through an exploration of warfare practices in twenty-four separate cultures, Watson (1973) found that acts of serious violence in battle such as killings, mutilations and torture were more likely to be committed by warriors who used facemasks or paint to affectively mask their identity, in comparison to warriors who used no such disguise. A study by Silke (2003) explored the role that anonymity plays in violent assaults in the Northern Ireland. He found that attackers who used disguises showed more aggressive behaviour during assaults. In addition, the anonymity affect was most prevalent in peripheral aggressive behaviour such as acts of vandalism. Whilst both examples portray the affect of anonymity on aggressive behaviour, caution in response to the findings should be used given that alternative explanations to such behaviour do exist. For example, Johnson and Downing (1979) suggest that disguises are deployed as a tool to avoid criminal prosecution when the intent from an individual already exists. However, a study on football violence during the 1990 Italia World Cup found that a reduced sense of self-awareness was frequently associated with levels of aggression within a football ground (Van Heil et al, 2007).

1.3. The Narrative Approach to Identity

Given that one of the aims of this study is to gain insight into how narratives are used to make sense of experiences involving football violence, it is important that the very notion of a narrative is explored.

A narrative identity is defined as *"a person's internalized and evolving life story, integrating the reconstructed past and imagined future with some degree of unity and purpose" (*McAdams *et al*, 2013, p.233). In essence, the process of constructing a narrative identity involves the synthesising of episodic autobiographical memories, with envisioned goals (McAdams *et al*, 2013). As a result of this process, an individual is able to convey him or herself as the person they are at present, how their present identity came about and how their future will develop.

McAdams *et al* (2013) states that the formation of a narrative identity emerges in late adolescence and early adult years. Those such as Habermas and Bluck (2000) cite the reasoning for this as centred on coherence. They argue that it is not until this age that an individual can construct narratives about themselves that exhibit an understanding of how early events effect later events and the ability to organise themes in relation to their life. Such findings are of interest regarding the ability for individuals engaged in football violence to look at experience perceptually and evoke meaning from such experiences. Importantly, McAdams (2013) among others posit that a narrative identity is shaped and built over time via communicative storytelling. Through interaction with others, stories of personal experience go through a process of being edited, retold, and reinterpreted whilst been subjected to social influences. Through this process, an individual gradually develops a broader and more integrative narrative identity (McAdams *et al*, 2013). However, such findings make evident the subjectivity of the stories told within the football violence arena, in that they are conveyed to individuals possibly recounting similar experiences.

The reasoning behind sharing a narrative is also important to consider in relation to the affect that has on the mean-making process. For example, mean making is less apparent when someone is telling a story to entertain, in comparison to when someone is trying to explain himself or herself to someone else (McLean, 2005). In addition, the actions of the listener also matter. Pasupathi and Hoyt (2010) conducted an experiment whereby they manipulated the listener behaviour. They found that when a listener was attentive and responsive, the storyteller gave a more personally elaborated account in comparison to distracted listeners. This is of importance with regard to awareness of the researcher in terms of making sure they are attentive and fully engaged with the accounts presented by the participant.

The relationship between the storyteller and the listener also warrants discussion. One study found that when individuals known to the storyteller agree with their interpretation of a personal story, the storyteller is more likely to grasp the story and incorporate it into their self-understanding of their identity (McClean and Pasupathi, 2011). This of interest in relation to the aim of this study regarding the identities of the men since ceasing involvement in football violence, and whether such identities are preserved through storytelling with the same group.

1.4. Understanding Football Related Violence

With theories of identity reviewed and their relevance discussed, a discussion that looks to shed light on the dynamics associated with football related violence is warranted in order to outline the subject field.

In order to better understand the very origins of football violence Eric Dunning (1988) and colleagues (Murphy, Williams, 1988) looked to a figurational approach based on the work of Elias (1939) to explain why individuals engage in football violence. The concept is based on a notion known as the civilising process. In essence, the process is a progressive movement of moral standards and manners throughout time away from forms of behaviour seen as barbaric. Elias (1939) operationalizes the concept by highlighting the process in relation to the advancement in Middle Ages, the use of forks replacing eating with fingers as a practical example. But also behavioural changes such as a restraint in physical behaviour in public. Central to the process is a notion of internal pacification; whereby certain drives are self-regulated by the adoption of a new set of habits that stress conformity and as such a new psychological condition that has an increased embarrassment threshold. Further explained, the result of a societal civilising process on individual behaviour is a habitual self-restraint due to the new structure of social life caused by the civilising process.

Dunning *et al* (1988) apply the figurational approach in relation to football violence by arguing that whilst the majority of society go through the civilising process, what they refer to as the 'rough' working-class do not and instead form an ordered segmentation, that is a different cultural grouping that is not in touch with civilising tendencies. It is this section of society, referred to as 'rough' working-class that Dunning *et al* (1988) place as being responsible for football violence. They argue that rather than being in touch with behaviour that is result of the civilising process, they instead develop a different set of moral standards that are more in tune and underpinned by 'rough' behaviour, such as rebellious attitudes to conformity. In addition, Dunning *et al* (1988) argue that this section of society have limited employment opportunities as a result of educational failure and poor employment prospects thus resulting in a need to channel and vent frustrations and resentment born through a lack of opportunity caused by the above. Consequently, Dunning *et al* (1988) argue that football violence is a tool that is used to vent such frustrations and is more acceptable to the males associated with this part of society because of their lack of moral standards caused by being exclusive to the civilising process.

Whilst those such as Dunning *et al* (1988) focus on football violence being associated with a particular class of society, others look to explore whether the identities of those involved in football violence feature traits that are universal. For example, Blok (1997) states that whilst a universal interest exists in wanting to engage in violence, there exists a fundamental focus on minor differences and it is this focus that ultimately creates football hooliganism engagement. Freud (1917) labelled this 'the narcissism of minor differences' (cited in Blok, 1997, p. 165) that in summary states that when individual's are alike in most respects, the minor differences are exacerbated and are used as the rationale for the aversion to others. Nevertheless, whilst a focus on minor differences may exist, Anderson (1983) questions whether or not we can discuss football hooliganism in the context of an 'imagined community'? Whereby most

members will never meet each other, yet share a sense of unique togetherness and shared philosophy. Spaaij (2008) argues that the use of social networking has facilitated the community networks with various examples of the sharing of fanzines, video clips and photographs on website forums and social media pages. Furthermore, various studies on football violence have found that shared 'informal rules of engagement' exist that affectively govern the behaviour of so-called football hooligans and thus further incorporates the suggested collective level. For example, those engaging in football violence only do so with other groups who are 'game', and do not involve non-hooligan supporters such as women, children or non-violent male fans (Spaaij, 2008).

Spaaij (2008) among others have identified a number of features that they argue are universal to the identity of someone who engages in football violence. For example, Spaaij (2008) states that among many accounts of individual's that engage in football violence is the discussion of a strong 'buzz' or adrenaline rush when confronting other groups. Apter (1992) places the origins of desire for a so called 'buzz' on the limited opportunities in contemporary western societies for risk taking, and as such crowd behaviour at sporting events is an opportunity to source such excitement. Nevertheless, this does not really offer a solid explanation as to why violence is sourced by some in order to gain said 'buzz', rather than simply seeking it from spectating at a sporting event. Spaaij (2008) posits that the act of fighting is a tool to escape boredom from conventional lifestyles.

Whilst Dunning *et al* (1988) argue that the need to fight in order to gain emotional arousal is mainly associated with lower-working class individuals, Spaaij (2008) somewhat disagrees. He argues that the excitement associated with football violence should not be attached to social class but rather be viewed as a constituent element of football violence worldwide.

Kerr (2005) discusses how the element of fear is closely attached to the 'buzz' feeling that is apparent in accounts of football violence. In particular, the courage to fear relationship that is present when overcoming a quantitatively larger group has been cited as giving the biggest 'buzz'. Furthermore, Kerr (2005) argues that without the risk element, such peak arousal experiences referred to as a 'buzz' are not achievable.

Free and Hughson (2003) discuss how the contested masculinity between hooligan groups is a further feature that is arguably universally applicable. Various studies on football violence have found that hooligan groups will partake in a process of ritual denigration of each other's physical and heterosexual prowess with discourse such as 'real men' versus 'poofs' apparent (Free *et al*, 2003). In addition, examples of hooligan groups using the media to degrade the masculinity of members of other firms. One example of this was when an Ajax hooligan claimed their rivals were 'real pussies' for apparently fleeing a fighting scene (Spaaij, 2008) The aim of such behaviour being to increase a sense of individual masculinity whilst degrading the masculinity of others.

Equally, a degree of admiration and respect towards other hooligan 'firms' is evident, for example a Feyenoord hooligan is quoted as saying *"You have to respect them because of what they have done"* (cited in Spaaij, 2008, p. 378). Such admiration highlights that violent activity and domination are respected and contribute towards the masculine hooligan identity.

Connell (2000) highlights that whilst the contest for hyper masculinity among hooligans is arguably evident, those who engage in football violence do not simply have just one form of masculinity. Indeed they adopt other masculine roles through being parents for example.

Interestingly, whilst there is a collective sense of hyper masculinity among hooligan fans, the dynamics and foundations that make up such masculine identities are often contrasting. Spaaij (2008) discusses how conceptions of hard masculinity among hooligan supporters of FC Barcelona are centred not just on physical capability, but also on political allegiance, with some hooligans associating themselves with neo-fascism in response to opposing fans allegiance to Catalan nationalism. In comparison, hooligan firms associated with West Ham FC display a strong connection between violence and masculinity. An extract from a conversation with a self-identifying West Ham hooligan demonstrates this. *"I walked perfectly normal up until I was about 9 years old, but then I started to walk hard you know, everybody did (*cited in, Spaaij, 2008, p.380).

Messerschmidt (1999) discusses how for some males, their masculine identities are connected to the body. Arguably, the football hooligan scene gives an arena by which the body can be expressed through physical confrontation. However, as Spaaij (2008) notes, the construction of the body is context dependent. On one hand, so called 'skinheads' associated with the club El Espanol view fighting capacity as secondary to mental capacity in relation to overall body strength capacity with a zero tolerance towards drug consumption. On the other hand, Argentinian football hooligans view those who are overweight as more masculine and see partaking in drug consumption as a symbol of hard masculine identity (Spaaij, 2008). Such findings reveal how different perceptions and beliefs exist about what 'is' the identity of a football hooligan.

Emler and Reicher (1995) discuss how those wanting to sustain a reputation face the problem that without constant attention, reputation will decay. As a result, they state that in order to sustain a reputation, one must act in a manner that is consistent with the reputation they claim (Emler et al, 1995). Furthermore, such actions must be visible to the attended audience. In relation to those who engage in football violence, the need to maintain a reputation is universal (Spaaij, 2008) and is sourced through the use of social media, where altercations between groups can be shared across a wider audience, thus maintaining or enhancing the reputation of the group.

At the same time, so called 'reputation repair work' is also existent among hooligan groups (Spaaij, 2008). Such work would occur typically, if one firm 'lost' to another. Such a defeat would be exacerbated in terms of the damage on the group's reputation, if it is 'picked up' by other firms. As a result, past disagreements and clashes between groups can result in hostility and as such result in violent incidents. Whilst reputation management can often involve lower ranked groups trying to take on more established and respected groups in order to increase their reputation, the desire to increase group reputation can also be fulfilled through identifying well respected individuals within an group (such as the leader) and targeting them (Spaaij, 2008).

Spaaij (2008) argues that one of the main features that are universal to football related violence is the defending of so-called home turf, or the attacking of foreign territory such as an opposing groups football ground. This feature emerged predominately through the emergence of 'youth ends' whereby groups of young fans would occupy certain areas of a football ground as their territory and as such the taking of such territory by opposing fans would be seen as a demonstration of toughness, and would increase the firms reputation. As such, during the nineteen seventies and nineteen eighties football ground violence was often common (Spaaij, 2008). However, as police presence and the introduction of CCTV became more commonplace around football grounds, territorial arenas were located to places away from the football ground, and thus altered the relevance and emotional significance of the football ground from the perspective of those engaging in football violence.

Territorial identifications were strictly applicable to groups with the same agenda (Spaaij, 2008). Any altercations with non-hooligan supporters or bystanders would result in a loss of honour rather than an increasing in reputation. However, whilst this is the case broadly speaking, extreme political right-wing factions of hooligan formations have been accounted as attacking non-hooligan fans based on political allegiance or through homophobic or racist motivations. Such differences in 'morale code' highlight the complexity of the 'hooligan' identity.

A case study surrounding the behaviour of inter-city firms who are located within the same city offers interesting findings. In order to facilitate everyday life away from football violence, there is a suppression of the rivalry and an almost further morale code with regards to respectfulness towards individuals from both firms away from established and scheduled confrontation (Spaaij, 2008).

Whilst the engagement in serious violence is commonly associated with football hooliganism, the feelings of solidarity, belonging and friendship are less associated, but arguably more influential in terms of the identity of those who engage in football violence.

Narratives of hooligans associated with West Ham football club reveal how collective experiences with individuals within the group has led to long-lasting friendships which some note are stronger than family relations (cited in Spaaij, 2008). It is arguably a feeling of belonging, connection with close individuals and recognition for their actions that arguably both fosters such friendships and also allows such individuals to feel a sense of personal worth and belonging.

The very nature of what the actions of a hooligan entails means that those within the same group view each other in terms of objects of protection and solidarity, as opposed to aggression. As such, a firm sense of loyalty is created, of which is more strong and apparent in smaller groups rather than bigger peripheral groups (Spaaij, 2008). However, intragroup conflicts are still existent. For example, tensions between older and younger generations have been noted.

As King (2001) discusses, whilst a sense of solidarity and belonging exists within groups, the acquisition of such feelings is only accessible through personal commitment to protect the group, even if that means the possibility of serious injury. Should an individual fail to 'show face' during a confrontation with another firm when members of the same firm 'stood ground', they may quickly lose any sense of belonging associated with the group.

One of the main reasons behind violent confrontation between opposing hooligan firms is to achieve sovereignty (Spaaij, 2008). However, whilst violent confrontations often ensue, sovereignty is often gained through simply taunting or intimidating the opposing group, to the extent where they believe that their cause is lost from the outset, and thus sovereignty is achieved without the use of physical violence (Spaaij, 2008). A further form of gaining sovereignty is the act of parading on 'foreign turf'. Katz (1988) argues that parading allows a group to sustain a strong image, whilst displaying a unity in membership and furthermore projecting a threatening and intimidating demeanour to other groups.

1.5. Desistence from Crime and Criminal Behaviour

Given the nature of football violence, in that for some it is a predominant feature within their lives for a period of time, it was important that some attention was given to theory that offer explanations as to why individuals move away from criminal activity.

One of the most favourable theories regarding desistence from crime is posited by Piquero (2007) who claims that a participation in criminal activity simply fades away the older an individual becomes. This links well with findings by Sampson and Laub (2001) who claim that there is number of factors that influence an individual's move away from criminal activity, namely the formation of a family and entering into established employment that become more significant the older an individual becomes. Such findings are of interest to this study with regard to them offering potential insight into how conflicting identities of those involved in football violence may lead them to eventually form a desistence from it.

Moffitt's (1993) put forward a concept of dual taxonomy of offending. She argues that there are two types of offender, life 'persisters' and adolescent 'limitds'. She claims that life course 'persisters' have neurological problems such as cognitive or learning disabilities that affect their ability to communicate socially or maintain relationships and consequently stay within a criminal circle for much of their lives. Arguably those who engage in football violence are life 'pesisters' in that they commit what is essentially a form of criminal behaviour over often a substantial period of time.

1.6.   Research on perceptions of the identity of individual's involved in football violence

Instances of crowd disorder at footballing events have been well documented by the media since the early nineteen seventies. Notably, those such as Stott, Hoggett and Pearson (2011) highlight instances of negative police perception of individual identity resulting in feelings of 'victimhood' citing the *"indiscriminate and inappropriate use of force against England fans by Italian police during the 1990 world cup"(*Stott *et al*, 2011, p. 381) as an example of this. They argue, that a feeling of 'victimhood' among fans, results in a uniting of 'hooligans' and 'ordinary' fans via a shared feeling of 'victimhood', subsequently result in a feeling of empowerment of fans to retaliate against the police, but also a feeling that such action is 'proper'. This example reveals the possible impact of a negative police perception of the identity of fans but also demonstrates the lack of clarity between the so-called 'hooligan' and non-confrontational fan and as such feeds into the aims of this study regarding gaining deep insight into the identities of those who engage in football violence.

Importantly, there should be caution advised when generalising such examples of negative police perception towards fans. The handling of the two thousand and four European Championships by the Portuguese police is an example of the impact of the police demonstrating a more positive perception of footballing fans. As Reicher (2007) notes, the police adopted a model of crowd management based upon the principles of an elaborated social identity model. The emphasis therefore was on facilitating fan's enjoyment and pushing positive police to fan engagement, rather than focusing on

deterrence and control. Reicher (2007) argues that the result of this was a feeling of police legitimacy and as such a higher desire among fans to self regulate rather than cause disorder. Such findings demonstrate how the perception of identity influences behaviour.

The media have arguably had a strong interest in the identities of individual's involved in football violence. Possibly because reporting on football violence is something of an easy target for the media, given the fact that journalists are present at almost every match across the country and as such the chance of missing a story are slim (Frosdick, Marsh, 2005).

During the 1970's and 1980's as football violence became more frequent and visible, there was arguably a united front in the media with regard to how they perceived the identities of individuals involved in football violence. Headlines such as *"Cage the Animals"* (Daily Mirror, 21st April, 1976) evidently portrayed the perception of such individual's identities. Frosdick *et al* (2005) posit that the media is driven to deliver a sensationalist, barbaric and war like perception of football 'hooligan' identity because it is judged to be as most captivating to the buying public. Arguably, a headline or article citing social psychology explanations of such behaviour may not be quite as attractive to the glancing reader.

Poulton (2007) posits that the media use the term 'football hooliganism' as a cover all for many different types of disorder, from synchronised fan shouting to violent disorder. As such, the identities of those who are actually involved in football violence, and those who are not are merged together under a generalised, rather than identifiable and accurate terminology.

Poulton (2007) goes on to argue that the media's perceived and as such broadcasted identity of an individual involved in football violence is pre set to allow the 'accusing finger of blame' (Poulton, 2007, p. 31) to be set whenever crowd disorder occurs, rather than dealing with the true nature of the social problem. As such, an almost self-fulfilling prophecy is established where the media will look to confirm their predictions and beliefs surrounding the identity and activity of those involved in football related violence. A case example of this is the account of Guardian reporter Charlie Whelan on the behaviour of his fellow reporters during the Euro 2000 football tournament. He explains how once the press had gathered footage of fan disorder they stopped filming, and offered no media account of the fans that had quiet drinks and were harassed and detained by police personnel for no reason (cited in Poulton, 2007, p. 32).

However, the more recent media perception of a football 'hooligan' identity is somewhat less united. The recent disorder in France during the Euro 2016 campaign is an interesting example of this. Whilst the Independent published the following headline; *'England hooligans need self-policing to stop this embarrassment in France- but don't hold your breath" (*The Independent, 16th June, 2016). The Sun had a rather different perception of a similar incident; *"England fans attacked by mob of French hooligans in latest horror attack at Euro 2016" (*The Sun, 20th June, 2016). Poulton (2007) cites a divide in media interest as a possible reason for this. With the suggestion being that some parts of the media may consciously 'de-amplify' crowd disorder so it doesn't undermine bids for England to host major international tournaments (Poulton, 2007).

1.7. What is a 'football hooligan'?

If this study is to explore the identity constructs surrounding the term 'football hooligan', then it is important that a firm definition is sought. However, finding such a definition both among the literature and via a simple defined web search yields an array of different definitions for the set 'football hooligan' terminology. For example, one paper on football hooliganism (Van Heil, Hautman, Cornelis, De Clercq, 2007) cites its definition as

"A distinct form of unruly and destructive behaviour in which participants are supporters or adherents of one or more football clubs or national teams, and is frequently, although not exclusively, evidenced at or immediately before or after matches" (Wikipedia Encyclopaedia, September, 2006).

Surprisingly, the published article cites its definition from a source that is arguably not particularly reputable or respected especially within academia. Perhaps a more reputable source, the BBC, defines hooliganism as "*the violent or aggressive actions of fans at football matches*" (BBC, 2016). However even this definition is contradicted by accounts of fan behaviour presented in the autobiographies of men who were once involved in football violence, such as Jason Marriner (2015).

Such concerns regarding sourcing a definitive definition of football hooliganism is also shared by Redhead (2006) who too states that a direct and universal definition of football hooliganism has never been established.

Rookwood and Pearson (2010) question, with qualitative data reinforcement, the discourse that is used within the media, police and politics that strictly distinguishes between 'the fan' and 'the hooligan'. From data collected from over fifty-nine interviews and twenty-three focus groups they argue that many individuals switch between the category of hooligan, to the category of fan dependent on context and time, for example some 'hooligans' may retire and then continue to go to football matches without getting involved in any disorder. Equally, and perhaps more interestingly, they found that some fans may gradually become more involved in 'hooligan' groups but so subtle was the change that they were able to pin point exactly when this occurred.

A further finding posited by Rockwood *et al* (2010) was that many non-hooligan fans held positive attitudes towards hooliganism. Significantly, their rationale for being in support of hooliganism was in line with some of the features discussed by Spaiij (2008) in relation to what makes a football hooligan identity. Tones of sovereignty and reputation were apparent in some accounts. For example, one account states *"a lot of the lads like it when they hear stories of Liverpool lads being feared" (*cited in, Rockwood *et al*, 2010, p. 158). In addition, many fans stated enjoying watching confrontations between rival hooligan gangs and would therefore be in the peripheral of such altercations. Furthermore, many popular football chants feature discourse that promotes violence. For example, *'How we'll kill them I don't know, cut them up from head to toe, all I know is City's gonna die' (*cited in Rockwood *et al*, 2010, p. 159). Such popular chants arguably suggest the wider acceptance and in some cases modelling of the hooligan narrative across the wider football fandom.

A study conducted by Spaaij (2008) found that the perceived status or potential threat of another group had an affect on the size of the groups involved. For example, an account of a Feyenoord 'hooligan' reveals how when a game between a rival team was taking place many so called 'peripheral' and 'temporary' hooligans were recruited. The

account goes onto discuss how the result of this would be an increase in the 'hooligan' following from roughly one hundred fans to more than four hundred fans. Such findings shed light on the diversity of those who are involved in football violence and as such questions the use of the 'hooligan' tag that brings along with it suggestive and stereotypical attachments that may not be applicable to the individuals involved in football violence.

The Present Study

Whilst an array of studies, and subsequent theories exist that look to shed light and explain group behaviour, such as that associated with football violence, little academic evidence exists that draws a focus on the individuals involved in such disorder, and how themselves as individuals in terms of their identities or sense of self mature and develop alongside a participation in football violence.

Furthermore, as Redhead (2006) notes, there is much debate surrounding a universal definition of a football 'hooligan'. As such, the very label associated to such men is vague. Consequently, this study will look to explore the individuals associated with the label 'hooligan' to further understand if any of the definitions available resonate with the individuals associated with them.

In addition, whilst those such as Spaiij (2008) have put forward a number of features that seem to be universal to the identity associated with the term 'football hooligan', this study will build upon such work to offer a direct insight, through the narratives of the men interviewed, into the dynamics from the perspective of those who were involved.

Whilst field studies have taken place within this subject area that offer an insight into the group dynamics that exist within 'firm's. This study will look to achieve a different perspective on such dynamics through interviewing members of the same group away from the group dynamic itself. Thus allowing for a greater introduction of the self and subsequently a deeper insight into the perceptions of such group dynamics.

Finally, no research currently exists (known to the researcher) that explores the experiences of men involved in football violence from a narrative perspective, that is, to allow for a rhetoric of experiences surrounding first involvement in football violence, right through to leaving football violence. As a result, this study fills a gap in the literature in that it allows for a deeper understanding of the identity of men involved in football violence.

The following aim and objectives have been constructed as a result:

It is the aim of this study to gain insight into the self-identities of men that were once involved in football violence and the narratives they form to make sense of such experiences.

Objective One- To explore the extent to which group theories of identity are applicable to groups of men that engage in football violence.

Objective Two- To explore the perception of individual's who have engaged in football violence towards the group dynamics that existed in the group they associated themselves with.

Objective Three- To explore the identities of the men interviewed since ceasing involvement in football related violence to better understand the extent to which a participation in football violence has impacted their identity.

Objective Four- To explore how an experience of being involved in football violence has influenced perception of those who engage in football violence at present.

Objective Five- To explore how those who at one stage engaged in football violence perceive the term 'hooligan'.

3.0. Methodology

3.1. The Qualitative Approach

At the core of qualitative research is an interest in meaning, and it is this focus that distinguishes it from quantitative research as an independent field. Furthermore, it does not look to test hypotheses, rather it aims to explore how meaning is created through language, rather than adopting a testing framework with numbers as data. In addition, with the focus being on meaning and how such meaning is interpreted, there is no assumption that a researcher will interpret accounts in the same manner, every time (Braun, Clarke, 2013).

One of the main criticisms from the quantitative field, is that essentially there is no one 'right' answer, and thus there is an assumption that qualitative analysis is too fragile and therefore delivers un-meaningful data. However, the contrary is arguably the case. Qualitative research analysis essentially tells one story of many that could be said about one set of given data. However, critically against the above argument, whilst analysis of qualitative data is ones interpretation, that interpretation is still plausible, coherent and grounded in the data (Braun *et al*, 2013).

Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research accepts, embraces and incorporates subjectivity within data. That is, rather than aiming for a quantitative ideal whereby data and knowledge can be gathered in an uncontaminated manner, with no bias. There is an acknowledgment that data is produced and constructed within different contexts, and how we interpret such data is a reflection of the individuals we are and the experiences we have had. Within qualitative research, subjectivity is acknowledged within a contextual analysis, rather than being treated as a bias (Braun *et al*, 2013).

Qualitative research is commonly split between experimental and critical research (Reicher, 2000). Whilst experimental qualitative research is focused on prioritising the interpretations and thoughts participants present in their data, critical research takes more of an interrogative stance towards how language is used to communicate and how individual's realities are communicated through language. As such, this study is critical in its qualitative stance in that it looks to explore how an individual conveys and makes sense of the different and ever-changing realities in which their identities sit through the use of language.

At the basis of any qualitative methodological framework, is a theoretical foundation based upon what are known as ontological and epistemological underpinnings. Ontology is interested in whether or not psychology views reality as separate from human practices, such as conducting research, or whether it isn't possible to separate reality from human practices, and as such knowledge always comes from the perspective of an individual (Braun *et al*, 2013). 'Reality' or variants of reality are therefore set on a continuum with a notion of realism, the belief that 'truth' exists and can be sourced through an application of correct research techniques, to relativism, that posits that there are a number of constructed realities, as a opposed to a single truth (Cromby, Nightingale, 1999). This study sits further towards a more relativist perspective, in that it acknowledges and looks to explore how individual perspective conveys to them, through their narratives, what is their sense of 'real' or 'truth' at various times.

A qualitative study is also underpinned by epistemological assumptions; essentially this is concerned with the legitimacy of knowledge. For example, astrologists believe that an individual's essence is formed through a connection with astronomical alignments when someone was born. On the other hand, personality theory posits that through psychometric testing an individual can be placed on a personality spectrum that would connect them to certain traits and as such make a judgement on who they are as individuals. Whilst some cultures favour and hold belief in astronomy, others believe in the idea that we have a personality and that this can be proven through scientific tests, such as a psychometric test. For example, in most western cultures a scientific epistemology is the more dominant epistemological position and therefore the dominant belief system is that science is true and anything else, such as astronomy is invalid (Braun *et al*, 2013). Summarised, epistemology determines how knowledge is valued within a community, as well as what is interpreted as not valid knowledge. Epistemology can be either realist or relativist, in that there can be a realist front that assumes that truth can be sourced through valid scientific method, or a relativist front that assumes that a single truth is impossible to source because knowledge is based on perspective (Braun *et al,* 2013). From these opposing views sit various epistemological positions. The one that this study has adopted is known as constructivism. In essence, a constructionist view acknowledges that truth is based upon perception, and as perception changes so does truth, therefore there are many 'knowledges' rather than just knowledge (Braun *et al,* 2013). Further explained, an individual's knowledge of something is based on how a person perceives it and understands it.

Due to the narrative nature of this study, with an aim of exploring how a group of men perceive the development of their identities over a period of time. The studies ontological and epistemological standing features within a relativist/constructionist setting whereby identities are seen as not stable or set but evolving and can be interpreted and perceived through language.

Naturally, a study's ontological and epistemological position can be seen as its theoretical foundation. However, built upon the foundation, is the theoretical approach in which the study will adopt to interrogate and explore the data it gathers, namely Critical Narrative Analysis.

3.2. Critical Narrative Analysis

The roots of Critical Narrative Analysis can be found in a branch of qualitative research known as phenomenology. Defined, phenomenology is *"the study of human experience and the way in which things are perceived as they appear to consciousness"* (cited in Langdridge, 2007, p. 10). Essentially, this stance is interested in describing the world, as a person perceives it.

Within the phenomenological approach are a number of key assumptions that form its theoretical foundations. Intentionality is one such assumption. Essentially, this assumption is based upon the notion that when an individual is aware, it is always to be aware of something. Refined, there is always an object of consciousness. As such, phenomenological psychology is distanced from the cognitive fields of psychology. Instead, the focus is on not looking at an individuals mind as a private entity, but looking at its interaction with the world that individual inhabits, and how individuals interact and interpret the world in which they live in. As a result, the phenomenological stance has a real concern with understanding the relationship between what an individual experiences, referred to as 'Noema', and the way it is experienced, referred to as the 'Noesis' (Langdridge, 2007). As such, this stance fits well into the aims of the study in that one of the aims of the study is to explore how the self interacts within the world in which it sits in at various points, such as a world of football violence engagement.

One of the strands that flow from the field of phenomenology is the study of narrative. Paul Ricoeur (1981) is cited as someone who took the phenomenological discipline in such a direction; with an emphasis on the way people make sense of experience through a narrative form.

But what exactly is narrative? Ricoeur (1981) explains it as a way of ordering events to provide meaning, something he refers to as 'emplotment'. It is through 'emplotment' that narrative identities are created, which is how an individual portrays themselves and others through narrative accounts. The manner in which participants go through the process of 'emplotment' will hopefully be highlighted through the rhetorical nature of the study, in that participants will essentially 'order' their narratives as they use rhetorical discourse to discuss their experiences. Such identities are historically and culturally specific and are therefore susceptible to change over time. Crucially, the narratives an individual creates are limited by the world they inhibit, which consequently impacts the narratives individuals construct. By placing an emphasis on viewing identities as ever changing and influenced by historical and cultural factors, CNA sits well in both the ontological and epistemological foundations of the study as well as the aims of the study one of which is to explore the identities of the men since being away from football violence.

A key distinguishing difference in this narrative method as opposed to others is the inclusion of various social and psychological theories as a way of interpreting individual's narrative accounts. Consequently, this allows for an inclusion of various theories that offer explanations of group behaviour, as well key theory surrounding the identity formation process (Erikson, 1968). As such, this will allow for a wider interpretation of the data presented, as well as a support for the assumptions and beliefs put forward by myself, as the researcher, with regard to my analysis of the data.

3.3. Data Collection

In line with the methodological underpinnings of this study, semi-structured interviews were adopted as the main form of data collection. This enabled participants to discuss their experiences freely, and enabled a natural flow of narrative to be created, rather than a regimented question to answer response pattern. The only structure to the interview schedule was in its chronological format, in that it asked participants to discuss their experiences from the early stages to the present, by doing so the biographical aspect of the study was encompassed.

In order to ensure that the aims of the study were at the core of the interview structure, a pilot interview was conducted. Results from the pilot interview suggested changes to the interview structure were necessary. For example, further questions were added to allow for participants to engage in reflective enquiry in relation to their attachment to the group they were involved in. Once such changes to the interview schedule had been made, a final interview schedule was drafted (see appendix 1).

Whilst the majority of participants were interviewed on their own using a semi-structured interview method, two of the participants were interviewed together as part of a focus group that lasted thirty minutes. By doing so, this allowed for exploration of the group dynamics that may have been predominate in their experiences of football violence. The other four participants were interviewed independently with each interview lasting between forty-five minutes and two hours twenty minutes.

3.4. Participants and Sampling

The study recruited six male participants all of whom identified as individuals who had participated in football violence at some stage but self-identified as no longer engaging in football violence. Opportunity sampling was used to recruit participants from locations around the Bolton and Leeds area. Participants who were recruited from the Bolton area were known to the researcher due to the researcher at that stage residing in the same location as those participants. Therefore contact with regards to participation was made directly between the researcher and participant. Participants who were recruited from the Leeds area were first contacted via a contact both known to the researcher and the participant. Once initial contact had been made, the researcher then had direct contact with the participant. Once an established line of contact between the researcher and all participants was established, further information regarding the study

was provided to participants via email in the form of a participant information sheet (see appendix 2). Before beginning the interviews, in line with BPS and the school of Human and Health Sciences Research Ethics Panel (SREP) guidelines assurances were made regarding anonymity and consent forms (see appendix 3) were signed.

3.5. Ethical Procedures and Considerations

Given the sensitive nature of the topic of discussion for this project, it was crucial that a clear level of ethical practice was maintained. Before the interviews were conducted, it was made clear to participants, both verbally and in document, their right to withdraw at any stage of the interview, including after the interview had been conducted. By doing so, participants were given control over the data they produced, and as a consequence, were arguably more relaxed and at ease during the interviews.

It was made clear to participants, and put into practice, their right to confidentiality through processes such as anonymity. In practice, this participant right was upheld through the withdrawal of any information that could be linked to the individual who gave the data, such as names or addresses, even if the participant when recounting experiences stated such. Participants were identified within the transcripts they provided through the use of random pseudonyms attached to each participant. The interviews were conducted in an environment familiar to the participant. Furthermore, participants were interviewed individually in a room where only the researcher and the participant were present. The interviews were recorded on an audio-recording device loaned from the University. Once the interviews had been transferred onto a University computer the data was wiped from the audio-recording device. In addition, the audio recordings of the interviews were stored on the university network that is password protected. The interviews were then transcribed in an environment where only the researcher could listen to the audio, and only the researcher could see the transcripts being typed, of which was done on a university computer. Once the interviews had been transcribed, they too were stored on the university network, and memory stick both of which were password protected, therefore the study was in line with the Data Protection Act.

Due to the possibility of participants recounting sensitive experiences, practices such as structuring the interview practice in a manner that placed the control of the interview onto the participant, so that should they wish to divert away from a particular topic they were able to do so were put in place. In addition, participants were made aware both verbally and in document, of various organisations that they could turn to, should they have needed to do so.

Given the nature of the topic being discussed, and the age gap between the research and those who were being interviewed, it was important that an element of trust was established so that the participants felt comfortable in discussing their experiences. One of the ways in which trust was established, was through making sure the participants knew from the beginning, that they were effectively in control of the interview, in that they only had to discuss what they felt comfortable doing so. In addition, the interview schedule was constructed m so that the questions that were likely to illicit the more sensitive of responses, such as there time when they were heavily involved in football violence, were placed in the middle of the interview schedule. By doing so, it was hoped that participants would have gained an element of trust, and become relaxed in the company of the researcher, before potentially sensitive questions were asked.

In order to establish prolonged trust, the researcher was clear to participants about what was going to happen to the data they had provided. This was established through providing participants with information sheets (see appendix 2) along with a debrief (see appendix 4) that detailed what would happen to the data they had provided, and again confirmed their right to withdraw from the study.

3.6. Method of Data Analysis

The critical narrative analysis method adopted for this study is comprised into six stages.

The first stage of the analysis was centred on reflexivity; this involved identifying potential sources of experience personal to the researcher, in relation to the study, which may have had an impact on the questions asked and therefore the data that was gathered.

The second stage of analysis involved the identification of various narratives within the text. In addition, an emphasis was made on identifying different tones within the narratives as this revealed further meaning. Furthermore, there was a focus on identifying rhetorical discourse as this revealed opinions and oppositions to themes discussed within the interview.

Stage three of analysis was focused on how the self or ones identity was introduced into the narrative through the discourse used, and how such discourse revealed participant's beliefs with regards to the 'hooligan' identity.

 Stage four introduced an element of thematic analysis, however systematic coding was not used as in line with Critical Narrative Analysis; the aim was to not break down the text too much. Instead, major themes were identified, with smaller themes clustered underneath. However, this was done in a manner that didn't break up or interrupt the narrative.

Stage five involved the application of critical social, and psychological theory as a way of providing interpretation to the narrative provided. Various hermeneutics were also applied such as generational and class analysis.

Once all stages of analysis had been completed, the final stage involved the synthesising and presentation of the findings, based on the analysis conducted during the five stages. In line with CNA, this involved the presentation of the key narratives and themes presented within the data. In addition, interpretation via psychological theory and current literature alongside various other hermeneutics are put forward, however a focus on subjective narrative experience is still withheld.

Findings/Discussion

4.1. Stage One: A Critique of the Illusions of the Subject

According to Ricoeur (1996) "*we always have a view from somewhere".* (cited in Langdridge, 2007, p. 134). As such, stage one of the critical narrative process involves a process of reflexivity supported through an attachment and recognition of certain hermeneutics highlighted within the critical narrative analysis process (Langdridge, 2007). It is also important to note at this stage of the analysis that the aim is not to attempt to identity some 'hidden truth' about the participant, and their narratives through a superior interpretation of the meaning of the text. But rather offer a perspectival shift in understandings of the life-world, and as such an engagement in a process of reflexivity is critical.

The reflexive process has allowed me to draw on my experiences of witnessing football violence as a regular football fan from a young age until present and how such experiences may impact the manner in which I interpret the data gathered. In addition, my presuppositions regarding individuals who engage in football violence has also been fed via the media portrayal of such individual's. To a lesser degree, but still arguably influential are the hermeneutic of age (Langdrige, 2007). Given the age difference between myself and the study's participants I may have struggled to be in touch and aware of their experiences given the cultural and generational differences.

By acknowledging such hermeneutics and personal experiences at the beginning through a process of reflexivity, I was able to acknowledge my own pre-suppositions and feelings surrounding the topic. As a consequence, by engaging in this process I was able to not let my own pre-suppositions hold me back from appropriating meaning from the text.

4.2. Stage Two: Identifying Narratives, Narrative Tone and Rhetorical Function

Having gone through a process of reflexivity, in which any presuppositions were illuminated and reflected upon, the second stage of the analysis began. Notably, a single main narrative runs through the data of an experience of engaging in football violence. This main narrative is supported and chronologically formed through a number of sub-narratives, which also serve to guide the reader through the rhetorically rich discourse presented within the participants accounts as they convey and make sense of their sense of self whilst being involved in football violence.

A Narrative of initial experiences of being a young football fan

Due to the chronological nature of the interview schedule, a sub-narrative of initial experiences of being a young football fan is present throughout the early stages of the transcript. The narrative displays a story of transition from parental or family influence to friendship/group influence. All participants discuss how they first went to football as a spectator with either their father or brother. *Derek 'I went to watch Leeds with my older brother' (line 5).* Or *Andy 'I mean my Dad used to take me as he used to go there' (line 8,9).* However, as the participant's went into their teenage years, they go onto discuss how they would then start to go with friends in small groups.

Andy 'I just think as I got that bit older like 11,12 year old, I started going with a group of us from school, ye know to (football team). And then getting to about 12, 13. When I was sort of aloud to venture out more as a teenager, I started going to Bolton' (line 10, 11, 12).

Such findings are in line with Kroger's (2007) adaption of Erikson's (1963) identity formation process. Kroger (2007) notes that at young adolescents begin to move away from parental influence and instead focus on forging friendship groups on the basis of shared values, beliefs and interests. With school, a common place for such forging to take place.

Of interest are the tones expressed throughout this narrative. Many of the participants discuss their experience with tones of excitement *Andy 'we all sort of got the buzz' (line 28).* There are also apparent generational tones *Derek '...because it was such a different atmosphere and that's what gripped a lot of people in the 70's' (line 8,9).*

The function of this narrative is to display a story of transition, where the participant's go from an introduction to football via family significant others, to a transition to engaging their interest in football with those of a similar age who share the same interest and as such forging friendships.

A Narrative of witnessing football violence and early perceptions of football violence

Whilst the sub-narrative surrounding initial experiences of going to watch football are very much similar across all accounts, the tones and experiences expressed in the narrative of first witnessing football violence differ.

Interestingly, Derek and Martin discuss having been previously exposed to violence before witnessing it within a football-orientated environment. *Martin 'well with me there has always been violence, from a young age, from family violence, and then it just transpired all the way through' (line 26,27).* Likewise, Derek discusses having witnessed violence at school *'ye know different schools fight, kids from different areas fight' (lines 38, 39).* As such, the tones they use when recounting their somewhat introduction to football violence are arguably systematic and straightforward. *Derek 'ye know there are certain boys who get involved in stuff like that and some that don't (lines 39,40).*

On the other hand, those such as Andy recall with tones of excitement and fascination his earlier perception of those involved in football violence.

Andy 'Ye know you hear names mentioned who are the top boys sort of thing. And they become sort of a ghost hero if you will. You never see them, but hear about them. Oh such and such a body he battered five man united fans and threw them in the river' (lines, 103,104)

Such findings illuminate how each individual's perception of football violence is unique, and is shaped, formed and influenced through experiences that are unique to them. Whilst Derek and Martin discuss having been previously exposed to violence, those such as Andy do not recall such experiences and therefore the tones they express in relation to their first perceptions of football violence are varied.

The function of this sub-narrative is to display how an interest in football violence that ultimately led to participation, was developed through individual experience rather than a group collective perception from the outset.

A Narrative of first engaging in football violence

An area of interest to the researcher, was how someone first becomes actively involved in football violence, as a result the interview schedule guided the men interviewed to reveal their story of first engaging in football violence.

Martin felt that for him "*it's just in me, I feel like I was born with it" (line 57).* He makes this comment following on from a discussion that appears earlier on within his narrative about being exposed to violence from an early age. It is apparent through the somewhat direct tones that there is an acknowledgement and acceptance from Martin reflectively, that his pathway into engaging in football violence was almost inevitable, in that to him he was born with the characteristics that led him to participation.

Derek also has a similar direct and straightforward outlook on why himself rather than other football supporters decided to become active within football violence as demonstrated in the following extract, *"…that when people go to the games they either think to themselves that's totally wrong I'm going to stay away from it or hmm I'm going to have a little look at that" (lines 53, 54).* Derek's comments here give the impression that there is a clear divide between a choice of being a fan, or a choice of being a part of the football violence scene. However, whilst the following extract from John is discussed within the context of participating in football violence, a feel it is still relevant within this narrative due to its content,

> *"I don't know I think it affects different people doesn't it. Some people just don't like or deal with that sort of thing. So I remember being at one of the matches, and I had a fight with these lads and one of the lads who was well known for fighting said I didn't like it being group fighting, he said no I didn't like that. He said one on ones and stuff like that I can do but I didn't like, you're watching all the time, he said I couldn't be doing that every week" (lines 86, 90).*

Interestingly, it is evident from the above extract that it isn't simply an ability to be violent or want to be so that draws someone to be involved in football violence, it is also apparent that the group dynamic is a separate feature away from the violence and therefore ones identity has to be compatible to both.

The narratives provided by the men interviewed also give the impression that their introduction into football violence was progressive. Andy discusses how before an engagement in violence, he would go what he calls 'scarfing' which he describes in the following extract, *" So if you saw an away supporter, the thing was to go and knick his scarf, and you had got a trophy…But rather than punch somebody's lights out, they would just give them a crack and knick their scarf". (Lines 172-179).* However, he then goes onto describe being part of a group, *"So it just built up from there, but you just became part of*

that group then because that's what the bigger lads did was go in the pub and start drinking and then anybody who wanted a fight could have a fight, simple as that" (line 199, 202). The difference in the extracts reveal an identity shift in for Andy what was deemed to be an almost boost to his self-esteem, from taking a scarf as a trophy, to the joining of a group and an engagement in violence. This is furthered revealed here ,*"...to go an walk down the road with a bit of a swagger on saying I'm with the main lads. And then if you saw one of ye mates from school ye know it would be like wow you're one of the guys" (lines 187, 188).* Andy's move from being part of a younger bigger group who would go 'scarfing', to then becoming more involved in violence with a different group of people, demonstrates his progressive journey into football violence.

Derek's account is also well fitted into this sub-narrative as he discusses his progression into a firm,

> *"It's a natural progression, you either know someone or get introduced, then if things happen when ye together, then certain people will lead more, they will do more...then if you go out and you're naturally thinking right I'm going to fight these kids, ye know I will fire straight into them, people then will, ye know because of what you are, other people will look around and say well who is that? (lines 71 and 76).*

It is apparent that for Derek his journey is very much of a personal endeavour of seeking reputation and status in order to receive acceptance and admission into a group formation.

Whilst an introduction into football violence in relation to the sample of men interviewed appears to a fairly individualistic venture in terms of the varied singular experiences, all of the participants at one stage of their accounts discuss a 'buzz' feeling or adrenaline rush. Perhaps the best description of this feeling is presented by Derek here, *"It was probably like a drug, like you've had such a good buzz, you want more and more and more, and that's the way it was. Like a dog with a bone, I couldn't let go of it" (lines 617-619).* The apparent tones of addiction and desire for violence as well as his referral to animalistic tendencies illustrate how the world of football violence had someone like Derek strongly hooked into it from an early stage. In addition, Derek's account is also in line with Spaaij (2008) belief of the 'buzz' being a somewhat universal attachment to the 'hooligan' identity.

The function of this narrative was to illuminate the progressive journeys of the men interviewed into actively participating in football violence.

A Narrative of Actively Participating in Football Violence

One of the features of the story of actively being involved in football violence is a discussion surrounding the formation and dynamics of the groups or firms the men were associated with. The following extract taken from Derek's account offers an insight into how leadership within firms existed:

> Derek *"...I think its all about ye persona, ye attitude, people look up to ye, you can either be a leader or ye not, and then you get respect off people and you learn at an early age that people listen to ye so you think hold on a minute I can organise stuff and I just think that's just how you are as a person, so people, the natural leaders of whatever come through because they are the stronger characters, their not necessarily the toughest people, or even the daftest people, but certain people will come through and from that they become strong dominant people. Based on who they are and how they can get people*

together if you put all that together that's what makes them, in firms that's what makes them the leaders effectively" (lines 87, 86).

Of interest, are the individualistic tones noted within Derek's rhetorical account regarding leadership, there is a lesser sense of unity and a more evident sense of role achievement. Furthermore, Derek's association with leadership and identity attributes such as 'strong' 'dominant' highlights his own perception regarding a leader of a football firm.

Both Martin and John were identified for the study through an association with a particular firm. However, their perception of the group dynamics is revealed in their narratives to be somewhat different. Martin describes how a so-called hierarchy existed and that he was the leader, Martin *"…and I was like the leader, so they followed suite in a way, they were like sheep" (lines 31, 32).* On the other hand, John has a different account of the group, John *"….no only one or two of them who were attached to a group, most of em were just lads who went to the match" (lines 38, 39).* Such findings arguably question the uniformity of perception (Hogg et al, 1992) component of social identity theory as both men hold a different view of the formation of the group. In addition, the individualistic needs of the men are also highlighted, with Martin possibly needing to be associated with the occupation of a respected role, whilst John is more content with being placed in a group of 'lads who went to the match'.

Whilst the majority of the participants interviewed self-identified as being involved in the same firm, their separate narrative accounts revealed that there were differences in individual motives within the group. The following two extracts taken from the accounts of Martin and John represent this.

Martin "…because some of their lads were like me, they didn't drink and just wanted violence. Whereas (firm) lads a lot of them were just about having a drink and a good day out, and if a punch up came it came. Whereas I, and certain other lads, we just centred on looking for the violence" (lines 88, 90).

John "yeah if it happened it happened, you didn't go looking for it you just went to the pub and if they came out and did anything, it was just a case of you would go out and get stuck in" (lines 45, 47).

Whilst Martin discusses with tones of focus and determination that himself and at times others would look purely for violence, John discusses with tones of nonchalance how violence would be a matter of occasion rather than routine and would not be the sole aim. Such findings possibly question Tajfel et al (1979) belief in reference to social identity theory that those within a group define their behaviour in reference to the norms of the group. The accounts of Martin and John suggest that such strict norms regarding behaviour did not exist with that group, with conflicting views on seeking violence. However, it also evident that a norm centred on responding to violence did exist, with John commenting on how he would 'get stuck in' should he be confronted with violence. Nevertheless, there is a key difference in the two men who identify as belonging to the same group approach. In essence, whilst Martin looked for violence, John saw violence as a defensive tool. As such, the group universal norms of behaviour that those such as Tajfel et al (1979) posit as exiting are not as apparent in the narratives presented by Martin and John who identified as being associated with the same firm.

As the men build their narratives surrounding actively participating in football violence it was apparent that their moral standings with regard to violence were brought to the forefront, which was of interest given its attachment to their identity.

Of most interest, were the differences in moral standings that existed throughout the group from person to person. For example, Andy's position on football violence was that it should only occur when both groups had equal numbers, *"Well yeah it's all about equal numbers" (line 93)*. In comparison, Derek's moral belief was that whilst a fight should start with equal numbers, it was okay for it to not end in the same fashion as represented in the following extract *"But if you were walking down a street and there were ten of you and ten of them, and you chased after that ten and two stood and eight ran off, them two at the front could quite easily get kicked and they could be unconscious" (line 568, 570).* Such comparisons reveal less of a united group moral stand point, and more so individual stands within a group formation.

Similarly, Andy and Martin discuss their views on the use of knives within football violence. Whilst Andy discusses that the use of knives had no place within the football violence scene, *"And using knives too I never used to no I didn't like it, you're going to the match for the football so I used to think ye know using a knife, its going to end up with someone seriously hurt and that, but ye know when ye fighting fist to fist its not as bad, but yeah I hated the knife stuff" (lines 98, 101).* Martin on the other hand, recalls with tones of almost pride and excitement how he once used a knife on a member of an opposing firm, *"And this lad had a glass and he was just about to throw it and I pulled it out didn't I (the machete) so they all fucking run and one sod I just fucking chopped him didn't I" (lines 650, 651).* However, he also discusses how "*You still have morale's believe it or not. You do have moral's, like when they went down, you never kicked them or anything. You would move on" (lines 319, 320).*

Moreover, whilst moral conflicts and differences exist even within followers of the same firm, it is evident that a united moral front exists when discussing the participants of such violence as the following extracts reveal,

Andy *"And same with scarfers, you would never go for people with scarfs, things like that. Because you knew they didn't want anything to do with it" (lines 93, 94).*

Derek *"I think you wouldn't just walk down a street and see a kid in a supporters shirt and think lets go beat them up, that never happened" (lines 567, 568).*

The views of Andy and Derek arguably suggest that the internal dynamics of the football violence scene featured varied moral standings and as such differences in behaviour in terms of variances in the levels of violence used and the equipment used to orchestrate such violence. However, it is also clear that the football scene bubble is kept exclusive to those who either look to be able to participate or who act in a manner that shows willingness for participation.

Given the nature of being associated with a football firm, it was perhaps unsurprising that a feature of this sub narrative was discourse regarding reputation and sovereignty. For example, Andy summarises what to him was a successful venture to an opponents ground and city, *"Away games were about getting into the town, trashing the town, getting into their end. If you did that your day was fantastic" (lines 244, 245).* The taking of 'away territory' is also highlighted by Spaaij (2008) as a means of demonstrating toughness and increasing a firm's reputation.

A feeling of having a good reputation is also apparent within the discourse used by Martin, *"Yeah I mean it sounds childish or what have you but we never got beat…we would go to places and we never got beat. And that got us a massive reputation" (lines 233, 234).* There is a sense of power and prestige that flows through both Martin and Andy's comments, demonstrated through the simplicity of Andy's remarks, in that the task of doing such was achievable, and through the boldness of Martin's comments, such as 'we never got beat'. Furthermore, there is a suggestion, especially from Martin, that they were invincible and to be feared, as he discusses 'going to places' and still not been beaten.

However, when the same discussion is brought into Derek's narrative through a question put to him by myself as the researcher, the tones of prestige, power and fear that Martin presented to myself as the researcher were quickly dispelled and relegated through one straight forward comment by Derek, *"Yeah but I don't think Bolton are anything to worry about are they…I mean on a national scale they weren't anything to worry about" (line 388).* Within one comment, Derek achieved sovereignty over the participants associated with the Bolton firm, through relegating them to a firm 'that weren't anything to worry about' in comparison to the firm he was associated with. The ability to achieve sovereignty without the need for violence is also highlighted by Spaaij (2008).

As the participants discuss their experiences of being actively involved of football violence tones of togetherness and belonging are apparent. The following extract taken from Derek's account represents the long lasting unity, trust and loyalty that exist between him and other members of the group. *Derek "Ye know ye friendly, ye loyal, ye lend people money, er you buy them drinks, might not see some of these kids for six months, but I could go borrow a grand of them tomorrow do you know what I mean" (lines 521-523).* Similarly, Martin discusses how *"if you run, you run together you would never leave anyone behind, that was the golden rule" (line 353, 354).*

Andy discusses with a generative tone how *" there was an identity switch from club supporters as a whole to group stuff. You belonged to a group then" (lines 301, 302).* Andy's comment here is in relation to how an increase in policing and a change to stadium structure, such as the introduction of 'pens' resulted in, from his perspective, to support for his team, often featuring violence, been reduced to small group interaction rather than larger support interaction. As such, it is apparent that for Andy, peripheral changes, such as a stronger police presence, resulted in individual development for him to feeling like he belonged to a group, rather than been part of a less personal movement.

Whilst Derek discusses the ways in which feelings of togetherness and belonging were exhibited within the group, such as the lending of money, Martin reveals within his narrative the extent to which he would go to preserve and honour a feeling of group togetherness and belonging. He discusses how, *"A lad had been stabbed and this that n the other….We knew who had done it but he was one of the lads" (line 370).* He goes onto reveal how he was arrested as part of the investigation and questioned by the police. *"So they came up to me and said we know you didn't do it, we know who did it and we want you to tell us who do it. So I said no chance" (lines 378, 379).* This illustrates how Derek's identity is intertwined and connected to the group, so much so that he is willing to face criminal prosecution in order to preserve the togetherness of the group.

At face value, the activities that those in football violence participate in give the impression that cemented differences, namely in support for a club exist between

different firms. However, the narratives of those interviewed present a somewhat different account.

Among many of the accounts, was a discussion that featured tones of acceptance and straightforwardness surrounding feelings and perceptions of other firms. Andy for example discusses how *"at the end of the day you're both there for the same reason (line 115).* Similarly Martin states, *"we was looking for what they were looking for" (line 99).* Rather than tones of anger and bitterness, which often feature in fan chants and songs (Rockwood et al, 2010), there is almost a sense of respect and understanding. This is displayed in Martin's account of how he became friendly with men who were involved with a firm associated with Leeds United (line 183). This is demonstrated through the following extract,

 "I think those who were wanting to fight I think they were more of a different breed I think you understood each other a little bit more....ye know and at the time there was like a mutual respect sort of thing" (Derek, lines 140, 142)

Furthermore, Derek discusses in a reflective tone how *"Yeah you notice that when you read the books afterwards you think well they are no different to us. Ye know shoplifters all that like us. So I just think it's the same dynamics yeah" (lines 446, 448).* Such findings suggest that those such as Derek have a fairly complex social identity (Roccas et al, 2002) through an acknowledgement that whilst group differences exist, there are also group similarities.

Whilst there is an acknowledgement of the similarity in relation to members of other firms, their identities are represented via external factors, one of which is clothing. For example Martin describes how *"I mean we knew straight away who they were, what they wore, I mean even to this day you can pick them out" (lines 97, 98).* Similarly, Derek recalls *"....cos in those days you could see what people were dressed like so if you saw five kids coming through Leeds on a Wednesday afternoon, dressed you know what they were up to. So you would end up fighting with them" (line 271, 272).* Such findings suggest that whilst from a reflective point of view, there is an acknowledgment of shared identity attributes. When discussing events of conflict, the perception of the identities of other firms was associated via external factors such as the type of clothing they wore.

A Narrative of moving away from football violence

An apparent sub-narrative within the transcripts was the story of moving away from an engagement in football violence. A feature within many of the accounts was a discussion about how a decrease in physical ability and an increase in physical injury forced them away from participation in football violence. For example, Martin discusses with tones of acceptance *"...I just said enough is enough I'm getting too old" (line 196).* Whilst John discusses with tones of frustration *"It's like one of the main reasons I stopped really was because of my back, its knackered" (line 251, 252).* Interestingly, both men discuss how physical factors resulted in them moving away from violent activity, however there is an underlying element of frustration in one account, whilst an evident tone of acceptance in the other. Such analysis is reinforced when Derek goes onto discuss *"but ye know if it still came to it I wouldn't back down" (line 255).* Such findings illustrate the individualistic journey of the participants interviewed. The findings are also in line with Johnson and Krueger's (2004) discussion in relation to Erikson's (1963) identity formation process with regards to how a decrease in physical performance influences ones sense of control regarding their physical ability.

A further theme that is apparent within the sub-narrative of moving away from football violence is the importance of families and job roles. A number of the males interviewed recounted with tones of responsibility how identity networks outside of football violence began to take precedent. *Derek "Cos ye know you've got your wife, you've got kids, you've got a business so you say to yourself do I want to go there, probably not" (lines 298, 299).* With Andy also discussing with similar tones, *"Ye know and people settle down, with families and jobs" (line 537).* In relation to identity, such findings are in line with Kotre and Hall (1999) with regards to their discussion on identity development between the ages of forty and fifty that they refer to as the 'age of responsibility'. Furthermore, Sampson et al (2001) theory in relation to desistance from crime, that the older an individual becomes the more prevalent work and family responsibilities become are also in line with Derek and Andy's accounts.

Featured within the narratives of the men interviewed, was a discussion surrounding the impact of the widespread introduction of CCTV at football stadiums and surrounding public areas. The men discuss with tones of maturity about how the risk of 'being caught' was now too high due to the introduction of CCTV. *"No because you've too much to risk nowadays, CCTV, police" (Martin, line 331).* The theoretical link between a feeling of anonymity and the process of deindividuation (Diener, 1980) is arguably portrayed. *Derek "the big thing has been cameras because when they want there it wouldn't matter so you would just do whatever (lines 300, 301).* The apparent sense that CCTV would reveal the identities of those such as Derek and as such connect the actions to the person, combined with the evidential power that CCTV carries with regard to criminal prosecution are represented within the data as reasons as to why the men moved away from a participation in football related violence.

Some of the men interviewed also discuss how a lack of connection and trust with younger members of the firm they were associated with also drew them away from football violence. An extract from the account of Martin demonstrates this, *"Yeah when we came out it was different, things had changed, there was a new set of lads that had come up, even in that space of time. And I remember coming home and there was a new set of lads come out and I didn't trust them" (lines 250-252).* Interestingly, rather than a sense of generativity (Erickson, 1963), Martin discusses with tones of disengagement and unfamiliarity how he had a lack of trust for the 'new set of lads'. Whilst Erikson (1963) notes that for males, a need to pass down skills and build a legacy is essential for their identity development, it is evident that this is not sourced through passing down skills, experiences and stories to the 'next generation' of those who engage in football violence. This is further demonstrated by an extract from Martin's narrative regarding his son, *"Ye see my lad, if my lad got involved I would kill him (lines 599, 600).*

The function of this narrative is to display a story of disengagement, whereby the participants begin to move away from participation in football violence, and use rhetorical discourse to discuss their reasons for doing so.

A Narrative of Attitudes and Views of Football Violence at Present

The final sub-narrative that makes up the overall narrative of experiences of engaging in football violence is the story of views and attitudes towards football violence at present. This sub-narrative features much rhetorical discourse where opinions are expressed regarding the identities of those who now engage in football violence.

One of the features of the sub-narrative that is displayed across the participant accounts is a perceived notion of generational ownership with regard to the 'hooligan identity'. It

is apparent that the men interviewed associate their experiences with 'the real hooligan days' and as such any sort of participation in present football related violence is presented as 'not the real thing'. The below extracts taken from the narratives of Andy and John arguably represent this

Andy *"And ye know if they had seen some of the stuff that we have, or been faced with some of the stuff we did, they would literally cack themselves. Ye know I'm sure of it. (lines 596, 597).*

John *"Yeah its different, I think there are still a few young lads who go for a fight but most of them aren't aware of what it is all about really. Ye know I stand at the game sometimes and I see all these kids walking about with all the gear on and I'm just thinking you've no idea (lines 266, 269).*

Free *et al* (2003) discuss that contested masculinity is often a factor in the rivalry and conflict between football firms. However a sense of contested masculinity is arguably evident here on a generational platform. Furthermore, it could also be that both Andy and John are presenting a process of reputation management (Emler *et al,* 1995) through the use of rhetorical discourse that displays a view of the current generation being ill aware of the brutality and violence that themselves were confronted with. As such, a somewhat generational gap is displayed in regards to the identity of a 'real football hooligan'.

Clothing associated with hooliganism also features in this sub-narrative in the context of opinions regarding what such clothing presents in regard to its feature in the make up of the 'hooligan identity'. Martin for example discusses how the attachment and symbolism of such clothing to the hooligan identity has resulted in a falsified attachment of the identity onto persons whom do not participate in the activities related to football hooliganism.

Martin *"....because they are all dressing the same. It could be my son, ye know he isn't violent at all, he's never thrown a punch in his life. But because he dresses, you know you're picked out" (lines 308,310).*

Andy also discusses with tones of sarcasm how their perceived hooligan identity is almost being exploited by the present generation through the wearing of hooligan related clothing.

Andy *"...but there is a lot of them who think you put a jacket on with a certain label on it and ye top dog, ye know there are a lot of gangster wannabies now' (lines 594, 595).*

Andy *"Ye see people now with all the right gear on, the flicked hair and I just think wow little do you know how it all started off. Its all totally different now. Its become a fashion (lines 599, 600).*

The function of this narrative is to illuminate how there is a clear generational gap between those who once participated in football violence, and those who now choose to do so. Such a gap is of interest, and should be discussed, in relation to the 'hooligan identity', as it arguably demonstrates how brittle the use of a single covering phrase such as 'hooligan' is, when broadly discussed in relation to the males, boys who participate in football violence.

4.3. Stage Three: Identities and Identity Work

With the focus of this study being on the development of ones identity in relation to experiences involving football violence, this stage of analysis is particularly important. The focus of this section will be on exploring how the self is brought into the narratives presented in the accounts of the participants. More specifically, the section will look to illuminate how the identities of the men develop throughout their narrative. I also feel it is important here to note that the identity development seen within the narratives constructed by the men interviewed is very much individualistic to them, and whilst some similarities exist, it is evident that the development of their identity is very much personal, this is something I hope to demonstrate within this section.

The identity of the majority of the men interviewed at the beginning of their narratives is very much sat within a social identity paradigm, with a focus on being part of a group and group norms of behaviour leading them into experiences of football violence. As such, they are very much in line with what Kroger (2007) discusses regarding the forging of friendships and groups on the basis of shared values and beliefs. However, Derek's narrative at an early stage is rather unique. His introduction into football violence is represented on a deeply rhetorical platform. *"I think you can be born and ye think, yeah I am an aggressive person, and I will get involved with fights or you don't and I don't think there is anything else" (lines 42, 43).* The self within Derek's narrative is therefore brought in at a mature, reflective level from the start, highlighting the individual narrative nature of the accounts, even though they sit within a group formation.

As the men go onto discuss a time when they were actively involved in football violence, their individual identities become more prevalent. The narrative account presented by Martin is arguably a good demonstration of this. Martin discusses how *"I wanted to be like my Dad was, ye know my Dad was a big figure in Manchester and that's how I wanted to be" (lines 52, 53).* Evidently therefore, Martin's identity at this stage is on journey of replication of his perceived identity of his father. This is further demonstrated when he discusses how "*I was the leader" (line 31)*. His occupation of the role of leader of the group, possibly orchestrated through a need to mirror the identity of his dad, leads him to then go onto develop a narrative surrounding his middle age years that features instances where he occupied the role of the leader, and as such exhibited behaviour in line with this role. For example, he discusses how *"I've always wanted to be like the centre of attention or whatever. I've always wanted to be at the forefront, all the time" (lines 150, 151).* His fulfilment of the role through a participation in activities that are associated with the role, fit with what Burke et al (2009) posit in relation to role identity theory.

As the participants discuss moving away from a participation in football violence, there is a sense that their identities were still in many respects attached to this aspect of their life. John, Andy and Derek for example discuss how the group still meets with each other, and stories are told about incidents they were involved in. *Andy 'Oh yeah all the time yeah, because it was a big part of our lives so somebody might mention a place and it would be like god remember when we went there' (lines 559, 560).* Also, *John 'Oh yeah definitely especially with this lot, it sort of keeps it alive. We always go on about what we*

have done n that, and that's just between us lot' (lines 274, 275). Finally, *Derek "So ye know I think people like us from the 80's are just we like to go have a natter and talk about stuff and reminisce really" (lines 329, 330)* A possible reason as to why both John and Andy discuss storytelling is that it allows for their identity associated with football related violence to be kept alive. However, the ability to do this is arguably facilitated by their friendship connection with one another. As Mclean et al (2011) notes, storytelling to a familiar audience allows for a deeper display of the self than storytelling to an uninterested or unfamiliar audience. Furthermore, Emler et al (1995) discussion regarding identity management may be relevant here, in that in order for the aspect of identity regarding football violence to be maintained, it needs regular attention, which can be facilitated through the act of storytelling. Finally, the act of storytelling arguably also allows for the maintaining of a feeling of togetherness and belonging (Spaiij, 2008).

Derek discusses how the need to maintain a reputation is also reflected in storytelling, *'Yeah I think that's a lot of it, I think what you will probably find is, when you listen to people, they've got very good memories of all the girls and the birds they've been with and forget the ones that rejected them' (lines 332, 335).* In essence, this extract represents the subjectivity of the accounts of the men. Furthermore, it reveals how even when removed from the physical arena of football violence, there is still a need to maintain a reputation through storytelling. Finally, it demonstrates the importance of the oncological foundations of the study, in that an acceptance of subjectivity and a distancing of searching for 'truth' is crucial in analysing the data presented by the men in line with the qualitative foundations of the study.

There is also a sense of a matured sense of self or identity in the later stages of the men's narratives. In particular, there appears to be a stronger sense of self-restraint as represented in the following extract from Martin's account *'Erm yes and no, its different nowadays but its still there. But nothing triggers it for me. It's just there with me, I mean obviously the violence and anger isn't as it used to be but there is still something there. And I can walk away but I find it very very very hard to walk away. Ye know I can do and I have done (lines 62-65).* Such findings suggest that any sense of deindividuation is less apparent as the men become older. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the 'buzz' discussed within the narrative of first becoming involved in football violence is still apparent even as the men discuss moving away from football violence. The following extract from Derek's account demonstrates this,

"...if I was being perfectly honest, if I knew that I could go and say Burnley and I could go and get involved and come back and not have any problems than I would do it two or three times yeah no problem" (lines 525-527).

Derek's account suggests that it is an increase in self-restraint and a deeper understanding of consequence that for him, aided his move away from football violence, rather than the urge to participate fading or disappearing.

The Hooligan Identity

With the studies focus being on the identity of the so called 'hooligan' I was intrigued to ask the participants their views and thoughts on the specific term 'hooligan' and what it meant to them. The responses offered feature rich, interesting rhetorical discourse that shed light on the impact of such terminology when dropped upon ones identity.

The following response from Martin is one example of this,

 "But you can class hooligans in a different way again, ye know there are different factors, different classifications. Ye know as the casuals we had different people going for different things but we was classed as the same. But some of them wouldn't even fight, would they heck, but you was classed as a set of hooligans because you was all together" (lines 107, 110).

This extract highlights how a social identity model (Tajfel et al, 1979) application to the terminology 'hooligan' is in many respects flawed. Martin discusses how rather than the group, or as he refers to them 'casuals' having the same agenda, there were different motives within the group. In essence, it is almost apparent that the grouping model fronted by the cover term 'hooligan' is much easier and simpler, but in fact is far removed from the reality of the complex and differentiated identities that made up a 'casual' formation. Martin's account mirrors the findings of Rockwood et al (2010) regarding the so called 'hoolifan', that is individuals who are part of a 'firm' but who stay on the peripheral rather than physically engaging in violence. As such, Martin's account highlights the vagueness of the 'hooligan' term regarding its attachment to group 'casual' formations such as the one Martin discusses.

 When asked his thoughts regarding the term 'hooligan', Andy offered the following response,

Andy "....but take you out of it you're not a hooligan or a rampager, you are just part of it at that moment. So with the hooligan bit, ye know you can go up to somebody who might be involved in a bit of a fracker, who might punch somebody or kick somebody. To label them a hooligan is wrong in my mind ye know. Because outside of it they are hard working family man with a decent background, good education and its just a label that is coming from the press to sell papers" (lines 432, 434).

This response from Andy arguably highlights the influence of individual self-perception of ones own identity when it is attached to a blanketed term, such as a 'hooligan'. Explained, the definitions sourced for this study and discussed within its literature review has a direct behavioural focus. For example,

> *"A distinct form of unruly behaviour in which participants are supporters or adherents of one or more football clubs or national teams and is frequently, although not exclusively, evidenced at or immediately before or after matches (Wikipedia Encyclopaedia, 2006)*

> Interestingly therefore, there is little to no suggestion that a resulting attribute of an individual who is involved in the behaviour described within the definition is a lack of employment skill or other attributes that Andy sights to be contrary when defending against the attachment of the term to someone like himself. Therefore, Andy's response illuminates the diversity in perceived or actual definition of the term. In addition, it suggests for someone like Andy, the definition is under representative of the individual he is, and there is a marked attempt within his response, to justify his identity attributes by highlighting his perceived positive attributes of himself or others to whom he associates to fall under the same terminology, such as hard working and well educated.

Finally, John's response reveals an almost forced attachment to the term,

John "Well I would have to call myself a hooligan because I did it but it weren't ye know, it's a label" (lines 171, 172).

There is almost an admittance that his behaviour should be associated with the term 'hooligan', 'well I would have to call myself a hooligan because I did it'. However, he, like the above extracts also feels that 'it's a label', again suggesting that the term is not deemed representative or accurate by the individuals who fall, or have fallen under its label. Furthermore, for John it is evident through his use of discourse 'well I would have to' that he gains no sense of pride or indeed reputation from the use of the term. This could also be said for both Andy and Martin both of whom look to distance and question rather than associate themselves with the term.

4.4. Stage Four: Thematic Priorities and Relationships

Throughout the narratives of the participants two main themes emerge at various times. These two themes are discussed below in detail.

Theme of how the police perceived their identity

A major theme that was recurrent throughout the narratives was how the police perceived the identity of the participant's. Neil and Chris both display a narrative of 'victimised policing' and recount many examples of this using tones of anger, dismay and frustration. *'But that's how they used to treat you, if you were a football fan, you were a hooligan (line 45).* They view the perception of their identities by the police with tones of anger and injustice and use rhetorical discourse to display this. *'But we've never started but we've always been treat as just hooligans (lines 45, 50).*

Notably, out of the all the participants, Chris and Neil were the two participants who whilst had an involvement at some level in football violence, self identified as not being associated with the term 'football hooligan'. Their accounts are in line with findings by Stott, Hoggett and Pearson (2011) who note how a feeling of 'victimhood' can evolve when inappropriate and indiscriminate force is used by police against fans. Furthermore, they note that a feeling of 'victimhood' among fans can lead to a view that retaliation against the police is seen as 'proper' social action (Stott et al, 2011). This is displayed in Chris' account as he goes onto describe a recent discussion with a police officer with tones of sarcasm *'I says to him are ye a nightclub bouncer in ye spare time' (lines 68,69).*

In contrast, participants such as Martin who associated himself with the term football hooligan used tones of fairness and acceptability when recounting the manner in which the police perceived their identity. '*Well they were just doing their job' (line 119).* Such findings suggest that an ownership towards the identity associated with a 'hooligan' also results in a perceived fairness of the manner in which the police deal with such behaviour. This is supported by Hough (2007) findings regarding 'fair' policing and subsequently person, police legitimacy.

Theme of how the media perceived their identity

A further theme with regards to the perception of identity was apparent in relation to how the media perceived the identity of the sample. Martin gives a particularly strong rhetorical account of his views on how the media would 'tag' their identity to that of a 'hooligan'.

'And there not, we had professional people involved as well. We had a lad who ran with us, who was a professional football player, we had a solicitor, a doctor, own businesses. But that's not how we are portrayed. And there not drug fuelled, drinking hooligans. Some don't even drink, some don't take drugs, they are just there for the violence. I mean where do you go from hooligan? It is yobs? But that tagging will always be there' (lines 323-328).

Martin's account illustrates and supports the arguments of those such as (Poulton, 2007) who argue that the term 'hooligan' is far too generalised in its application to be an accurate representation of the identities of those involved in football violence. More so, the findings demonstrate how somewhat abstract the term 'hooligan' is. Especially when the media's application of the term is centred around discourse such as *"drunken, tattooed, crop-headed oafs"* (Sunday Mirror, cited in Poulton, 2007, p.28) , far removed from the account offered by Martin on the identities of those involved in football violence.

4.5. Stage Five: Destabilising the Narrative

As Ricoeur (1981) states, we can never have a view from nowhere and therefore we always speak from somewhere. This stage of analysis involves myself as the researcher interrogating the text using various hermeneutics.

A possible hermeneutic to consider, derived from Heidegger's hermeneutic circle (cited in Langdridge, 2007) is one concerned with class analysis. Class analysis is centred on a Marxist belief that a class hierarchy exists and ones place within this hierarchy influences their behaviour. Andy uses rhetorical discourse that places those who participate in football violence as placed in a working class segment of a societal hierarchy as demonstrated in the following extract,

"But its not just about the face of football its about the people, its about how these groups have been brought up together on estates and letting their anger out and letting their frustration out on a Saturday after the mundane jobs people do and the strikes, ye know people were pissed off, really pissed off. So you can see where it comes from when you're stood in a crowd and ye teams losing and the opposite supporters are shouting at ye and you just think oh fucking ell I just want to get hold of ye and bash ye face in ye know and that's what its like" (lines 413. 420)

Andy's comments are reinforced by Dunning et al (1988) who discuss football hooliganism as being associated with the 'working class'. However, John's outlook on whether football violence is associated to a particular class contradicts that put forward by Dunning (1988). *"everyone was different, all mixed backgrounds really, cos like they were a few from council estates, there were a few from families who had private houses and everything. So ye know there were all different backgrounds" (lines 53, 54).* Furthermore, the following extract taken from Derek's narrative further illustrates that a class structure was not applicable to those who participated in football violence, *"This is what happens at the football you see, it's not your scroates, ye know far from it. So many professional people out there with nice houses, families, kids, cars, it's a release" (lines 687, 688).* Such examples demonstrate how whilst Andy uses rhetorical discourse to put forward his perception of why football violence occurs, and relates this to issues associated with a working class. The discourse used within the narratives of Derek and John portray a somewhat different view where no attachment is made between behaviours and situations resulting from a working-class setting and a consequential participation in football related violence.

Given the narrative nature of the study, in that it asked participants to start from the beginning of being active in the football violence scene, right through to moving away from it, a hermeneutic surrounding generational analysis was particularly applicable in terms of illuminating how the 'hooligan identity' may have evolved or changed over time with regards to the perception of those who were attached to it.

Within Andy's account, he uses rhetorical discourse to convey how during the 1970's the identities of those involved in football violence were very much exposed to the public and the police with activities such as the 'taking of ends' being common place, *"And then in the ground back then it was all about taking ends, taking ends was the number one trophy" (lines 230, 231).* Furthermore, their identity was somewhat flaunted, and this is represented through the following discourse, *"Cos normally at that time to show you went to places you had badges, you had a scarf" (lines 171, 172).* However, all participants note within their accounts an adjustment into the 1980's into what they refer to as the 'casual' era. They note that the identity of a 'hooligan' then changed from a 'mob' look characterised by the wearing of denim, badges and scarfs to being dressed smart and wearing designer labels from abroad as described by Martin, *"...but the police gave us the name the (town) casuals because of the way we dressed. And that was because we all dressed very smart....so it was to do with clothes. And it was clothes we brought over from abroad, so it was a status symbol" (lines 74, 77).* As such, the image of the identity of a so called football hooligan evolved. However, of interest is how the hooligan identity with regard to image has seemingly not evolved since. However, it's attachment to those involved in football violence has very much worn off, this is represented through the discourse used by Derek, *"Whereas like now, everybody dresses the same, so ye know you wouldn't know any different, it's a fashion" (lines 281, 282).*

With the stages of analysis completed, and the subsequent findings presented, a summary of the key findings of this study will now be presented.

Conclusion

The overall aim of this study was to provide insight into the self-identities of a cohort of men once involved in football related violence, particularly the narratives they have formed in order to help them make sense of their experiences. By applying a critical narrative methodology, the study has been able to gain an in depth insight into the identities of the men who were once involved in football violence, from first engaging, to disengagement, through an exploratory analysis of the narratives they presented.

A key finding that has emerged from the study is that key aspects of group identity theories such as social identity theory (Tajfel *et al,* 1979) are not applicable to the cohort of men who were interviewed for this study. In particular, the accounts presented by the participants revealed a lack of norms of behaviour within the group. This is prevalent and illuminated through the contradictory accounts presented by Derek and John regarding the use of violence. Whilst both men identified as belonging to the same group, there standpoint on using violence was largely different.

With regard to the group dynamics that existed within the group the men were associated with, an interesting finding is that the perception of a 'firm' and therefore the necessities and requirements to be involved in the group differed between participants, even though they belonged to the same group. For some, active participation was achieved through fulfilling, or showing an ability to fulfil a role within a 'firm'. On the other hand, others didn't perceive the group to be as hierarchically established in terms of role and therefore an involvement in football violence began through a natural set of occurrences rather than an ability to fulfil a role.

The importance of storytelling as a way of identity preservation is a further key finding in relation to the objective of exploring the identities of the men since ceasing active participation in football violence. Interestingly, the use of storytelling was deployed as a way of reigniting the aspects of their identities associated with football violence through a process of discussing events of the past with individuals who were like-minded and therefore accepting of the stories presented. Of interest, was the fact that storytelling was a fairly regular occurrence for the men now, suggesting that whilst their identities were in line with Kroger's (2007) identity formation process, in that they exhibited behaviour in line with the 'age of responsibility', the need to keep in touch with and maintain their identity during a time of football violence participation was still present. In addition, the use of storytelling maintained the group formation without an involvement in football violence.

The rhetorical discourse used to express opinions about the term 'hooligan' is also an important finding from this study. All the males interviewed felt dissociation and a lack of ownership towards the term. In addition, there was no suggestion that the term impacted their self esteem. This finding questions the use of the term, often widely seen within the media to a group of men who have such a disassociation towards it.

An important finding with regard to the cohort's perception of those who currently engage in football violence is that rather than a demonstration of generativity, a sense of contested ownership exists over the identity of someone who engages in football violence.

An arguably surprising finding is the perception of the cohort of men towards the identities of those associated with other firms. There was an apparent sense of respect

and somewhat admiration for others who were also involved in football violence. Furthermore, as the men discussed reflectively, there was a recognition that similarities in the identities of those who were associated with other firms also existed. However, when asked about their perception of the men involved at the time, there was a strong sense of disassociation and unfamiliarity towards members of opposing groups . In essence, there was evidence of self-categorisation (Tajfel *et al,* 1979) in the narratives of the men presented during a participation in football violence. However, as the identities of the men matured, any sense of self-categorisation was less present, with similarities between groups been recognised. Consequently, this finding reveals that as the identities of the men matured, so too did their social identity complexity.

A lack of group unity was a further key finding in relation to morale belief. For example, whilst some were adamant that violent confrontation between firms should only occur with equal numbers, others were not as concerned. In addition, the use of knives was largely contested with contrasting views evident within the narratives. Such findings highlight the individualism that existed within the group of men interviewed. However, a united moral front was evident regarding who was a target and who was not a target of football violence. This is of interest regarding public perception, as it was evident that the activities the men were involved in were very much kept within an exclusive arena, often away from the public eye. Consequently, a study examining the public perception of football violence would be of interest.

5.2. Suggestions for future research

Admittedly, one limitation of the present study is that the sample group only contained participants from the age of forty-five onwards all of whom identified as no longer being actively involved in football violence. As a result, the findings found from the study are only representable of that particular age category and as such are generation specific rather than wholly representative of the individuals who would at present, self-identify as being involved in football violence. However, in line with the aims of the study, the sample group chosen still provided rich narrative data that allowed for an in-depth insight into the identities of those who have been associated with the term 'hooligan'. A future study that explores the narratives of those who fit into a younger age category would be welcomed as a form of generational analysis. Elaborated, by exploring the narratives of men who currently engage in football violence, the notion that experience influences perception may be highlighted further and thus more knowledge surrounding generational impacts on the hooligan identity may be gained.

The main method of data collection for this study was single semi-structured interviews. Whilst one focus group featuring two participants was conducted, it would have perhaps been more insightful, to gather data from participants within the group that they have been connected to and are comfortable within through the use of a bigger focus group. However, by deploying a single interview method of data collection, the study was able to identify with the core aim of the study, to explore the narratives of individuals who were engaged in football violence. Whilst the use of a focus group would have allowed for the exploration of group dynamics, it arguably would have too restricted the development of the single narrative framework that was key to the aims of the study. Nevertheless, further research in this field would benefit from a study that used focus

groups as its method of data collection in order to further explore the group dynamics that exist within a 'firm'.

Whilst the narratives presented by the men allowed for an insight into how family influence affected their decision making regarding participation in football violence, especially as the participants began to enter Kroger's (2007) 'age of responsibility'. I feel this field would benefit from an exploration of the perception of the identities of the men involved in football violence, and their actions from the perspective of those closest to them, such as parents or partners. By doing so, I believe further understanding would be delivered with regard to the affect of football violence, as well as possibly revealing further insights into perceptions regarding why people participate in football violence or why people move away from active participation.

A critical point to note regarding the deconstruction of the identities of those involved in football violence is that the analysis and subsequent findings of this study are based on the perception of myself as the researcher of the narratives presented by the participants. Therefore, should the same narratives have been analysed by another researcher, they may have interpreted the data in a different manner. The work of Schutz (1962) can be drawn upon here with his work on the phenomenological notion of adequacy. That is, one phenomenon can lend itself to many interpretations and life-world.

5.3. Final Reflexive Note

Conducting this study has allowed me to explore the narratives of individuals of whom my perception of has always been guided and based on peripheral and media led discourse. It has both surprised and fascinated me how the formations of the group and the individual's who are associated as part of the group are so much more diverse and individualistic than my preconceived views believed them to be. Furthermore, it has fascinated me to see how the narratives have revealed the men to have a much greater sense of autonomy than the literature and some socio-psychological models would suggest. Finally, I have enjoyed how the deployment of a narrative methodology has allowed me to encompass the journey of the men, starting from their teenage years right to the present to gain an insight into how their identities have developed and how a participation in football violence influenced such development.

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Appendix

Appendix One: Interview Schedule

This interview will focus on your experiences of football related violence. The interview will begin with questions surrounding your initial experiences of football and then move on to questions surrounding football related violence. There will also be questions that ask about your self-identity at various stages throughout your life. These questions will touch on aspects such as how you felt at a particular time, what your views were at a particular time and what your feelings and thoughts towards other people were at the time.

1. **'If it is okay with you, can we begin by discussing your first experience of going to a football game?**

Prompt – Who did you go with?
   - o Probe – Family? Friends?

Prompt - How did you find the experience at the time?
- o Probe – What did the experience make you feel?

Prompt – Reflecting on the experience, where would you place your self- identity at the time?
- o Probe – Was it a singular identity, part of a group?

2. **Reflecting, can you describe your perceptions and feelings towards the term 'football hooligan'**
   - Prompt – What sort of people would you have associated with that phrase?
     - o Probe – what feelings did you have towards the phrase if any?

   - Prompt – Could you describe your perception of their identity?
     - o Probe – What sort of characteristics would you have attached towards them for example?

3. **Reflecting, can you describe your first experience of football violence when you were not directly involved?**
   - Prompt – How did the experience make you feel personally?
     - o Probe - did it give positive feelings? Excitement etc

   - Prompt - How did the experience make you feel towards the groups involved?
     - o Probe – If it was between two football groups, how did you feel towards those groups after witnessing the violence?

   - Prompt – Did you feel your self-identity begin to change at all?

4. **Can you describe your first experience with football violence where you yourself were involved in some capacity?**
   - Prompt - How did the experience come about?
     - o Probe – What circumstances surrounded the experience?

   - Prompt – How did the experience make you feel?

   - Prompt – Reflecting on the experience now, do you feel that your identity began to change at all?
   - Prompt- surrounding this time, what were your thoughts on the term 'football hooligan'?

5. **If it is okay with you, can we now go on to discuss your experiences surrounding the time when you would have self identified as someone who engages in football related violence.**

   - Prompt – In relation to your identity during that period, was there any frequency at all?
     - Probe - Did you feel like you had a different identity during the week as opposed to the weekend for example?
     - Probe- If a frequency in identity did exist, did you feel a stronger commitment or likeness to a particular identity?
     - Probe- What or who would say influenced your identity?

   - Prompt – In relation to the media, how did you feel they perceived your identity and how accurate was that perception?

   - Prompt: In relation to the police, how did you feel they perceived your identity and how accurate was that perception?

   - Prompt: In relation to the public, how do you feel they perceived your identity and how accurate was that perception?

6. **During your experiences of football related violence, did you identity as having a 'role' within a group?**

   - Prompt – Did you feel a hierarchy within the group existed and if so where would you have placed yourself within that hierarchy?
   O Probe - If such a hierarchy existed, how were the placement of roles within the hierarchy constructed

   - Prompt – How did you perceive your role at the time?
   Probe- Did you feel your role within the group came with any expectations at all?

   - Prompt- If you felt that you had a role within the group, were there any aspects of this role that focused on passing down information or experience to others, for example younger men engaging in this type of activity?

7. **Can we discuss the period of time where you began to move away from a participation in football violence?**
   - Prompt – Were there any factors in particular that orchestrated a move away from football violence?

- Prompt – Did you feel a need to place a greater emphasis on one role (for example being a father) as opposed to other roles?
- Prompt- On reflection, what is your current perception of the effect that a move away from a participation in football violence had on the group?

8. **Finally, can we reflect on where you are at in your life right now?**
   - Prompt- What role would you say was the most prominent in your life at the moment?
   - Probe- Why is that?
   - Prompt- What is your perception of the impact of your experiences of being involved in football violence?
   - Probe- How significant do you think those experiences of being in shaping your identity at present?
   - Prompt: What are your thoughts on those associated with football violence now?

9. **Based on your experiences, what advice would you give to someone thinking of participating in football violence at present?**

10. **Do you have any questions that you would like to ask me?**

Appendix Two : Participant Information Sheet

INFORMATION SHEET

You are being invited to take part in this study on your experiences of football related violence. Before you decide to take part it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with me if you wish. Please do not hesitate to ask if there is anything that is not clear or you would like more information.

What is the study about?

The purpose of this study is to investigate the identities that people adopt when participating in football related violence, and how those identities may change or develop over time. Also, the study is also interested in the opinions of people who have had experiences of football related violence towards how they think their identities have been portrayed and interpreted by the media, public and the police.

Why have I been approached?

You have been asked to participate because you have been identified through an individual known to you and the researcher personally, as someone who would be suitable for this study because of your past experiences of football related violence.

Do I have to take part?

It is your decision whether or not you take part. If you decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form, and you will be free to withdraw up until the 1st March without giving a reason.

What will I need to do?

If you agree to take part in the research, you will be asked to take part in a focus group. The focus group will involve a discussion with the group about your experiences of being involved in football related violence. You may also be asked to take part in an individual interview on the same subject. The focus group will last for around an hour and a half and the individual interview will last for an hour. Both interviews will be recorded by myself the researcher.

Will my identity be disclosed?

All information disclosed within the interview will be kept confidential, except where legal obligations would necessitate disclosure by the researchers to appropriate personnel.

What will happen to the information?

All information collected from you during this research will be kept secure and any identifying material, such as names will be removed in order to ensure anonymity. It is anticipated that the research may, at some point, be published in a journal or report. However, should this happen, your anonymity will be ensured, although it may be necessary to use your words in the presentation of the findings and your permission for this is included in the consent form.

Who can I contact for further information?
If you require any further information about the research, please contact me on:

Name George Peat
E-mail georgepeat1991@gmail.com

Telephone 07539339512

Contact information of both supervisors:

Jason Roach j.roach@hud.ac.uk

Rachel Armitage r.a.armitage@hud.ac.uk

Appendix Three: Consent Form

University of
HUDDERSFIELD
Inspiring tomorrow's professionals

CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: Experiences of football related violence. A study exploring the narratives of men once involved in football related violence

Your contribution to this research is entirely voluntary and you are not obliged in any way to participate, if you require any further details please contact your researcher.
I have been fully informed of the nature and aims of this research

☐

I consent to taking part in it

☐

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research up until March 1st
without giving any reason ☐

I give permission for my words to be quoted (by use of pseudonym)

☐

I understand that the information collected will be kept in secure conditions

☐

for a period of five years at the University of Huddersfield

I understand that no person other than the researcher/s and facilitator/s will

☐

have access to the information provided.

I understand that my identity will be protected by the use of pseudonym in the

☐

report and that no written information that could lead to my being identified will
be included in any report.

If you are satisfied that you understand the information and are happy to take part in this
project please put a tick in the box aligned to each sentence and print and sign below.

Signature of Participant:	Signature of Researcher:
Print:	Print:
Date:	Date:

(one copy to be retained by Participant / one copy to be retained by Researcher)

Appendix Four: Debrief

<u>Debrief</u>

The study you have participated in is concerned with the experience's of males who were once involved in football violence. In particular, the study is interested in how such individuals are viewed by the media. In addition, the study looks to explore the thoughts and opinions of such individuals towards the media, police and public with the aim of presenting the impact of individual experience on individual perception.

<u>How did the study do this?</u>

In this study, all participants were asked to discuss their experiences of football violence. The study used a type of method that meant the interview was put together so that the interview went from discussing your first experiences of football violence right through to discussing your thoughts and feelings towards football violence now.

The studies objectives

The study had two main objectives. The first was to gain insight into the self-identities of men that were once involved in football violence and the narratives they form to make sense of such experiences. Explained, this involved exploring the language used by individuals when discussing their experiences of football related violence. The second objective was to explore individual's self-identities since ceasing involvement with football related violence. Explained, this objective was concerned with exploring how an individuals past experiences have impacted the way they think and describe themselves now.

Why is this important to study?

Much of the literature within this area focuses heavily on the social factors surrounding this subject area. This study wanted to approach the area from a more psychological point of view by focusing on the individual/s involved. In addition, little literature exists that explores the perception and opinions of such individuals towards factions that have arguably painted them in a heavily negative light, such as the media and the police.

What if I want to know more?

If you would like to receive a report of this research when it is completed then please contact me (George Peat) at g.peat@hud.ac.uk. Alternatively contact either of my supervisors via the following email address' :

r.a.armitage@hud.ac.uk

j.roach@hud.ac.uk

Thank you once again for your participation.