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‘We’re Not Racist, We Only Hate Mancs’ : Post-Subculture and Football Fandom
By Steve Redhead

**Football Fandom and Post-Subculture**

The research project reported on here contains some insights for the disciplines of cultural studies on the one hand and criminology on the other, and, within these disciplines, the respective sub-disciplines of post-subcultural studies and critical criminology. A certain rethinking of the concept of subculture, as if we are now ‘after subculture’
(Bennett and Kahn-Harris, 2004) or ‘beyond subculture’ (Huq, 2006), has taken place. The now defunct Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) seminal work at the University of Birmingham in the 1970s (Hall and Jefferson, 2006) and its critique of earlier work on subcultures remains pertinent. A second edition of its classic collection of essays on youth subcultures in post-war Britain, *Resistance Through Rituals*, re-emphasises the pioneering nature of the work whilst coming to terms with more recent approaches such as postmodernism and postfeminism (Hall and Jefferson, 2006). Strictures about gender blindness in subcultural research are as relevant to what have been called the new ethnographies (Pearson, 2011, 2012) of football hooligan subcultures as ever they were. The specific work on football hooligan subcultures at the CCCS by writers like John Clarke (Hall and Jefferson, 2006) linking skinheads, football hooliganism and the magical recovery of community was always exemplary.

Nevertheless, the emergence of ‘post-subculture’ and the subsequent imagining of the figure of the ‘post-subculturalist’ and the development of a sub-discipline of post-subcultural studies gained academic traction from the early 2000s (Bennett, and Kahn-Harris, 2004, Martin, 2009,
Bennett, 2011). A symposium held in Vienna, Austria shortly after the turn of the millennium in 2001 entitled ‘Post-Subcultural Studies: New Formations within Popular Culture and their Political Impact’ (Muggleton and Weinzierl, 2003) helped to kick-start this sub-discipline. A ‘critical cultural criminology’ (Martin, 2009) has more recently been proposed, in an attempt to preserve the best of ‘subcultural studies’ such as the work of the CCCS ‘Birmingham School’ (Griffin, 2011) somewhat lost in the wake of ‘the post-subcultural turn’ (Bennett, 2011).

Postmodern subcultural theory (Bennett, 2005) saw youth styles as ‘depthless, transitory and internally fragmented’ but the subcultures themselves, like mod, skinhead and casual, and football hooliganism itself, have proved to be rather more enduring (Bushell, 2010, Redhead, 2012). Ethnographic, participant observation of contemporary fan cultures is still the best guarantee of accurate sociological knowledge about phenomena like the new racism and its connection to football culture. If extraneous material such as archival collection of hit and tell memoirs can assist this enterprise all well and good. Since the late 1980s there has been a fan subculture of football hooligan memoir publishing, especially in the UK. These texts, mainly in conventional book form, are what I have labelled, with a
considerable sense of irony, ‘hit ’n’ tell’ or ‘hit and tell’ (Redhead, 2004, 2010a, 2010b, Pearson, 2011). The genre is regularly showcased in all kinds of old and new media. This chapter considers the question of racism in football culture as a renewed problem, especially in Europe, and increasingly amongst fans, and also the more general ‘post’ (Redhead, 1997, 2001) culture around football, with its connotations of ‘fantasy football hooliganism’ (Poulton, 2008) and ‘hit and tell’.

In the hooligan memoir genre there is a fair amount of evidence of specific and continuing connections of football hooligans to the organised racist right over the past forty years, such as the British Movement, National Front, British National Party and now, as part of a new more virulent racism, the English Defence League.

**Football Hooligan Subcultures and the New Racism**

The presence of writers for the anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight* in the historical surveys of football hooligan gangs featured in the hooligan genre is significant. Nick Lowles (Lowles, 2005), now editor of *Searchlight*, is co-editor of both volumes of Milo books’ history of British Football Gangs (Lowles and Nicholls, 2007a, 2007b). Lowles
has presciently predicted that ‘the threat is as far right activists decide the electoral path is no longer possible…we will see more aggressive street based groups linking up and a rise in racially and politically motivated violence’ (Taylor, 2011). Matthew Collins, another contemporary Searchlight writer, shows in his own personal autobiographical history of being part of the British far right that various connections of football hooligans to the right (Collins, 2011) have expressed themselves over the years since the 1970s. Reproletarianisation, namely the idea put forward by the political philosopher John Gray that the global economic system is making a middle class life increasingly impossible (Gray, 2011), as a social and cultural process within a globalised world, is manifesting itself in many different ways. In one manifestation what sociologists call ‘bourgeoisification’ or ‘embourgeoisement’ is being reversed with the eclipse of a rise in social mobility and the associated gravitation towards a new middle class lifestyle. One cultural manifestation is in football fan culture and its related football hooliganism. Football hooliganism and its association with the rise of the new racist right is one such result. The self-styled English Defence League (EDL), a far right street movement, sought to stir up racism on British streets in a
number of English cities from the late 2000s, targeting, in particular, muslim communities and the supposed dangers of Islamic belief (the extension of sharia law, the formation of fundamentalist Islamic states). Football fan-like chants, such as ‘E-E-EDL’ screamed by its adherents in advance of street assaults, quickly became notorious. Former football hooligans were identified by the media as playing a part in this organisation, one of them having previously set up the Welsh Defence League (WDL). Some of these individuals are included in the list of authors of the football hooligan memoirs collected as part of the research for this chapter. The EDL, like the British Movement (BM), National Front (NF) and British National Party (BNP) before it, seek out anti-racist campaigners as targets of its street thuggery (Taylor, 2011, Gilroy, 1987, 2004).

The rise of the new racist right as part of the fandom of football culture, especially in the old Eastern Europe, is manifest despite the development of widespread jokey, ironic, self-reflexive fan cultures over the last two decades, a process which I have christened ‘post-fandom’ (Redhead, 1997) – for instance, expressed in Manchester City fans’ adoption of Lech Poznan fans’ celebrations - turning their
backs on the pitch, linking arms and jumping up and down - for ‘Do The Poznan’ or Stoke City fans crooning Tom Jones’ murder ballad ‘Delilah’. Drawing on a long term study of football fooliganism, hooligan writing and ‘post-subculture’ (Redhead, 1997, 2004, 2009, 2010a, 2010b) I want to consider the impact on post-subculture of a rise in racism amongst football players and among racist football fan groups. Although long term campaigns like Kick It Out, Show Racism the Red Card and Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE) have had a measure of success in promoting cultural change, in Britain this rise in racism and far right politics has manifested itself in football hooligans partly creating the WDL and subsequently the EDL, an organisation shown to be connected to the perpetrator of the Norwegian mass murders in 2011, Anders Breivik.

Let us first consider the general context of media discourse about racism and football culture and its relationship to post-subcultural practice. There were, for instance, widespread advance predictions of hate crime and racism amongst fans at the Euro Championships in Poland and Ukraine in 2012. A UEFA sponsored investigation released fifteen months before Euro 2012 uncovered nearly two
hundred serious hate crimes at football matches in Poland and
Ukraine. Rajeev Syal reported at the time:

‘The report, which was compiled by the UEFA sponsored East
European Monitoring Centre, discloses disturbances including anti-
semitic chants and banners, hooligans abusing their own team’s
black players and violent attacks against anti-racist groups…There
have been 133 reported incidents in Poland over the past eighteen
months, according to the report, 56 of which related to the open
display of racist or fascist symbols…Black players in Poland have
experienced hostility at many grounds and there have been 20
reported “anti-black” hate crimes…While Ukraine has had fewer - 62
– serious hate crimes reported at football matches, it has seen some
of the most violent incidents. (Syal, 2011)

The heightened media concentration on the dangers of racism, seen
by some commentators as part of a media ‘moral panic’, in advance
of Euro 2012 led to debate about players’ resistance to such
behaviour on the terraces. UEFA president Michel Platini warned
players not to walk off the pitch if racially abused but leave the
decisions to suspend or abandon play to referees (Fifield, 2012) after
Italy’s Mario Balotelli was reported as threatening to leave the field of
play if racially abused by supporters and even ‘to kill’ any abuser.
UEFA were concerned enough about the governance of the
tournament to invite Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE) to
‘select a group of 31 expert spotters who will monitor every team’s
fans for banners, chants and racist behaviour inside stadiums which
would breach UEFA’s zero-tolerance anti-discrimination policy’ (Fifield, 2012). Piara Power, executive director of FARE, declared ‘there is no question we are worried about this tournament more than any other, if the system is in full effect, we could have a team kicked out of the competition for far-right banners’ (Fifield, 2012). In the years leading up to Euro 2012 the fusion between Polish racist football hooligan gangs and organised crime was spelt out in journalistic (Dyer and Utton, 2008, Chapter 3) and academic investigations. In 2011 it was claimed that:

‘There has been a parallel, even more ominous development. Gangs of football fans have increasingly become involved in drug trafficking, prostitution and protection rackets. “Ten years ago there was no connection with organised crime”, said Piotr Chlebowicz, a criminologist at Warmisk-Mazurski University in Olsztyn. “But something has changed and now it is not easy to draw a line between where football hooliganism ends and organised crime begins. This is a serious threat. Most of these groups are dangerous. They are involved in drugs and there is constant fighting between them”.’ (Borger, 2011)

‘Law and Order’ measures proposed by Polish authorities to extinguish such growing violence were seen as ‘unconstitutional’ (Borger, 2011) by lawyers in Poland. The Polish justice minister nevertheless announced new measures in 2011 which seemed ‘draconian’. They involved handguns with live ammunition being issued to anti-hooligan police squads, truck-mounted water cannons,
the promise of the use of ultra-fierce dogs, summary tribunals to be held inside stadiums with judges empowered to impose sentences on the spot, and the electronic tagging of convicted hooligans to be enforced more strictly – all designed to prevent the ‘spoiling’ of the image of Euro 2012 and the international reputation of modern Poland. In the event, even before any games had taken place, the Dutch national team were racially abused by several hundred fans in an open training session in Krakow in Poland (Taylor, 2012) confirming the kind of widespread racist practices amongst groups of football fans in Poland and Ukraine uncovered by a BBC Panorama documentary ‘Euro 2012: Stadiums of Hate’ broadcast shortly before the beginning of the tournament (Harding, 2012).

It is possible, in the last few years, to argue that media culture is increasingly focusing on rising racism in football culture more generally. For instance, Chelsea and England captain John Terry was investigated by police, and eventually prosecuted unsuccessfully for using racially abusive language, allegedly calling Anton Ferdinand a ‘****** black ****’ on the pitch at the Queens Park Rangers versus Chelsea game in October 2011. Subsequently Terry received a four
match ban as a result of an Football Association charge for the same incident. Luis Suarez received an eight match Football Association ban after being found to have racially abused Manchester United’s Patrice Evra at a game at Anfield in October 2011. Liverpool FC were heavily criticised for their seeming continuation of the feud. The Liverpool fans’ response was a mass chant, heavily laced with irony (aimed at the local, regional enemy, Manchester United) - ‘We’re not Racist, We Only Hate Mancs’, echoing an earlier defiant banner of ‘post-subculturalism’ often seen at Anfield bearing the words ‘We’re not English, We are Scouse’. In the eighteen months leading up to Euro 2012 a series of media stories about the links between a new formation of racism and football culture were in evidence. For instance, sectarianism and religious bigotry in Scottish football, as exemplified by clubs such as Rangers seen as Protestant and Celtic seen as Catholic, were shown to be on the increase leading eventually to letter bomb attacks on Celtic manager Neil Lennon (Murray, 2011) and a UEFA ban on Rangers for its fans’ sectarian chanting. Proposed legislative change in Scottish law, to make sectarian conduct at football matches a criminal offence carrying sentence of five years in jail and similar powers to punish bigotry on
the internet (Carrell, 2011a), followed a sustained media campaign around these issues in Scottish football culture and a recognition that ‘the latest hate crime figures showed a ten per cent increase in sectarianism’ in Scotland and a definite rise in religious and racist bigotry much of it associated with football culture (Carrell, 2011b).

A number of other incidents relating to football appeared in media discourse around this period suggested another change in the ‘face of football’ and the issue of ‘race’ – indeed, enough to constitute talk of a new formation of racism in sport and popular culture first predicted a decade ago (Back, Crabbe and Solomos, 2001, Carrington and McDonald, 2001, Burdsey, 2007). For instance, Lazio fans’ racist chants were reported at a game with Inter Milan in Milan in April 2011. Millwall fans were responsible for racism against Nathan Ellington of Preston North End at Millwall’s ground at Easter 2011 – black stewards who were in attendance at the New Den were reported as doing nothing to stop the racist chants. In September 2011, Bulgaria fans’ racist chants in a game versus England, a Euro 2012 qualifier, were seen as targeting a black England player Ashley Young. In another qualifying game against Wales at Wembley
England players wore anti-racism armbands and expressed support for the anti-racist Kick It Out Campaign. Real Madrid’s claim that their player Marcelo was racially abused (allegedly the words were ‘monkey, monkey’) by Barcelona’s Busquets in the first of the European Champions League semi final games in April 2011 was widely discussed in the international media (Hayward, 2011).

France’s secret ‘quota’ plans to limit the number of black and North African-origin players discussed at a meeting of football officials including national manager Laurent Blanc were seen as tending towards racism by commentators and even some within the system of governance of football in France (Hytner, 2011).

**Hit and Tell: Post-Subculture and Football Fandom**

I want in the rest of this chapter to set these media tales of fan cultures in context with original reportage from my contemporary study of football fan cultures. As opposed to the relative dearth of recent criminological, sociological or cultural studies accounts of football hooligan fan subcultures - though honourable exceptions are worth recalling (Armstrong, 1998, Armstrong and Testa, 2010, Pearson, 2012) - ‘low culture’ amateur journalistic accounts continue to
proliferate; what I term ‘hit and tell’, or ‘hit’n’tell’. They are extensive in number and together form a vast library of hooligan stories in the fashionable, confessional form of sports fan memoir (Redhead, 2004, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2012) and can be seen in entirety in Appendix to this chapter. Part of the research work I conducted with my team has been archival, involving a comprehensive collection and reading of twenty-five years worth of football hooligan memoirs in book form. Other parts of the work involved studying the extensive cyberspace ‘hooligan wars’ which even includes an internet game based on ‘real life’ football hooligan gang wars called ‘Little Hooliganz’ (Redhead, 2010b). Interviewing and informal contact with participants continued throughout. The research conducted shows that although these football hooligan subcultures disappeared from the mainstream media gaze over the years from the early 1990s, there remain elements or traces of these ‘real’ subcultures today.

There are numerous connections between the hooligan memoir genre and the new racism. ‘Tommy Robinson’ (author of *Men In Gear*, the Luton Town hooligan memoir) is the moniker used by the EDL leader (Robinson, 2007, 2005). Jeff Marsh, another hooligan
memoir author, was involved in setting up the WDL (Marsh, 2009, 2007). An inside account of Bolton Wanderers football hooligan gangs proudly declares ‘nowadays most of our lads are affiliated to the EDL’ (Mitchell, 2011: 55). In other football hooligan memoir books there are detailed accounts of specific football gangs’ links to these and other neo-fascist and racist groups in the plethora of the history of far right street thuggery (Porter, 2005). On the other hand a number of participants in our research cited the multiracial make-up of their gangs as showing anti-racism (Gall, 2005). The argument in this research into ‘hit and tell’ and football fan cultures is that there is something of a comeback, or ‘slight return’ (Redhead, 2012), of football hooligan subcultures evidenced in the retracing of the histories of the hooligan subcultures of the past. Some hooligans who have returned to the fray after the 1990s have died (see dedication in Lowles and Nicholls, 2007b) or are in long term imprisonment after militaristic police operations and relatively severe court sentences frequently stimulated by media hyper-moral panics (Stott and Pearson, 2007, King, 2008). However, a trawl through the large number of memoirs reveals a sustained contemporary commitment to fighting firms, especially in the lower leagues in Britain. There are in
total one hundred books written by self-confessed ‘hooligans’ about their football hooligan exploits or by writers who have interviewed them about these activities. The firms, crews and gangs covered are associated with current professional Premier or Football League football clubs in England and Scotland, or clubs who have once been League members (although it is also the case that the general non-league scene also has firms associated with it). The earliest memoir can be dated from 1987 and there are still published memoirs in the pipeline today though certainly far fewer than in the heyday of the genre. In the 1980s and early 1990s these football thug authored writings appeared in underground fanzines or very limited edition, poorly distributed, hastily printed books (Redhead, 1997). But by the late 1990s a distinctive market had been created and a number of tiny independent publishers responded by commissioning a host of new books with relatively small margins for profit.

The best example of the hit and tell genre are the ‘true confession’, ‘pulp’ writings published since 1997 by the independent venture Milo books, based in the north west of England, a company with its own internet website. But other small independent publishers, (also now
equipped with internet sites) mainly shipping product to eager individual virtual customers, as well as high street book and music shops, have also emerged over the past decade. The most prominent apart from Milo are: John Blake publishing, begun in the 1990s by the journalist John Blake, Headhunter books, begun in 2004 by the former hooligan and writer Martin King, and Pennant books, begun in 2005 by the former hooligan and writer Cass Pennant. Milo, a small scale Lancashire publishing business, originally located in Bury and subsequently removed to Lytham St Annes and then Wrea Green, is the brainchild of journalist Pete Walsh, who is in the same age bracket as the ‘old boy’ (Slaughter, 2004) hooligans who write the memoirs that he has published. Walsh, who was educated in Blackpool, worked as a reporter for various newspapers. As an investigative journalist he came across a number of people who had been involved in hooligan gangs. Discussions led to the ex-hooligans writing their memoirs for his publishing company, as he told our researcher:

‘In the mid-1990s, I worked as a reporter for the Manchester Evening News and was investigating the causes of a violent “war” for control of door security on some of Manchester’s nightclubs and pubs. Among the people who I interviewed were Mickey Francis and his partner Steve Bryan, who owned a major door firm, Loc19 Security. At the same time I had started Milo books with a view to writing and publishing in my spare time. I knew Mickey had previously been jailed for leading a football hooligan gang, and so I asked him if he was
interested in a book about his experiences, given that he had now served the time, was no longer an active hooligan and so would not be incriminating himself. He readily agreed and so we worked on the book over the next twelve months.’

Walsh himself has produced provocative investigative journalism on contemporary gang violence for various different media, in particular a study of the Manchester gang wars in the 1990s. His publishing company has also showcased other sharp journalistic portrayals of the historical contours and current shape of the British underground economy. Walsh, the publisher, has also worked jointly with his authors in some cases, especially in the writing of the histories of Manchester United (O’Neill, 2005) and Manchester City (Francis and Walsh, 1997) football gangs. Walsh has subsequently expanded his publishing enterprise to include books on boxing, street fighters, bare-knuckle fighting, anti-fascist left wing violence, histories of urban gangs and biographies of American gangsters but it is the hooligan memoirs which fill the bookshelves and gain most lurid publicity for his company.

Walsh recalled to our researcher that he ‘founded Milo books in 1996 with the intention of publishing books on topics that I was personally interested in, but that were not being adequately covered by other publishing houses. These topics included sport generally, with a bias towards football, boxing and martial arts, and true crime, in particular
organised and gang crime’. In 2011 a ‘classic’ academic book on football hooliganism from 1984, written by Dave Robins, was republished by Milo books (Robins, 2011). Walsh had a ‘range of ideas, but little knowledge of, or experience in, book publishing. So there was a certain amount of trial and error when it came to finding books that would sell sufficiently well to make the business work’.

As a small, hand to mouth operation, Milo gained from moral panic about hooliganism on the one hand and the mixing of popular music and football fan culture on the other. Milo books, along with Pennant, John Blake and Headhunter books, rapidly became part of a ‘cult’ publishing category – the football hooligan memoir. Walsh has argued that initially he ‘did not intend to publish a succession of hooligan books’ but that originally he did ‘feel there was a gap in the market for an account of an English football gang by a leading participant’. Other publishers have had public fallouts with the potential authors of these hooligan confessions further increasing the likelihood of fewer such books being published in the future. Moreover, bookshops such as Waterstone’s have been involved in controversy over the sale of football hooligan memoirs – the chain’s shop in Cardiff in Wales for example was inundated with complaints after books on Welsh football
gangs were included in a section in the shop entitled ‘Pride of Wales’. Many authors have since turned to self-publishing internet websites like lulu.com in order to get their memoirs published as crackdowns have occurred. Legislation has helped to bring the increase in the genre to a premature end. In late 2008 the UK Labour government announced a Bill which when passed later as the Policing and Crime Act, 2009, criminalised the publishing of confessions of criminals for profit. Both John Blake and Milo publishers condemned the proposals as unworkable and unreasonable at the time of the Bill’s announcement. As Pete Walsh reflected in conversation with our researcher:

‘The longer I stay in publishing the more libertarian my views become on matters of censorship and taste. Who has the right to tell someone else what they can read? While I accept certain things should be subject to legal restriction for the wider benefit of society – incitement to racial hatred, for example – I think such laws should be kept to an absolute minimum. There are things we would not publish. We don’t publish books by murderers or serial killers. We don’t publish racist material. We don’t publish pornography. And I don’t like books that simply wallow in violence, by authors who come across, whether they are or not, as borderline psychopaths. I have turned down at least two hooligan books partly for that reason. So I do feel some responsibility, though these decisions are very subjective. I have no qualms about other publishers taking on such books – that is their choice in a free society.’

Added to the myriad websites, blogs, e-zines and fans’ forums on the internet, these one hundred football hooligan memoirs can be
rigorously studied for their contribution to ethnographic hooligan research. These archived memoirs are, if appropriately employed, able to add to the pre-existing body of knowledge produced in the late 1970s and 1980s (and to some extent 1990s) about football hooligan subcultures, especially in the context of moral panics about football hooligan gangs in the mainstream media. Accuracy of accounts of events, however violent and unpleasant, has been important to the independent publishers of the football hooligan memoirs in stark contrast to mass media accounts. As Pete Walsh has candidly admitted about a best selling book about Everton’s football hooligan gangs (Nicholls, 2002) ‘one of my hardest decisions was over a section in Scally about a gang called the County Road Cutters who specialised in knife attacks. This story was told to the author, Andy Nicholls, by the leader of the CRC and it is horrible really. But to leave it out would have been to give a false account of what was happening around Everton FC at that time’. The somewhat ludicrous mass media moral panics about soccer yobs are still prevalent, although not as numerous as they were in the 1970s and 1980s (Redhead, 1997) but the press and TV news stories are even further removed from the street culture that they portray than they were twenty or thirty years ago. Predictably
they trumpet a so-called drug fuelled ‘new’ soccer violence without much basic evidence, and relatively little careful drawing of the contours of the rise of the new racism and football fan culture which I have traced in this chapter.

Future Research Directions

The development of the notion of post-subculture as an aid to an explanation of developments in football fandom (such as racism), and especially its football hooligan dimensions, has been justified in this chapter. The future directions of research in this area of fandom have to be ethnographically based in my view. The excellent work of specific writers, Gary Armstrong (Armstrong, 1998, Armstrong and Testa, 2010) and Geoff Pearson (Pearson, 2012), for instance, are part of a relatively rare ethnographic tradition on fandom in social science and cultural studies. However, they also relate to earlier periods (1980s, 1990s) in the ethnographic participant observation of football hooligan fandom. What is needed is more contemporary ethnographies, which will put issues like new racism and football fandom into context, assisted by the cartography of football hooligan
gangs reported in the football hooligan memoir project drawn upon here.
Acknowledgement

Thanks to Ben Horne and Simon Penny for all their research on the football hooligan memoir archive project extracted here.
Appendix

Below is an A-Z, in alphabetical order of author, list of the one hundred football hooligan memoir books collected in the research archive which I draw upon in the chapter. Modern British football gangs date back to the 1960s. I present here a list of the whole archive of hooligan memoir books so far published in order to see what resources there may be for research based on participant observation and ethnography of these gangs (Slaughter, 2004, Sugden, 2007, Pearson, 2011, 2012).

Diary of the Real Soul Crew: The Complete Chronicles, A. Abraham

Diary of the Real Soul Crew 2, A. Abraham

Diary of the Real Soul Crew: Invasion of the Bluebirds, A. Abraham

Bloody Casuals: Diary of a Football Hooligan, J. Allan

Flying With the Owls Crime Squad, P. Allen and D. Naylor

The Boys from the Mersey: The Story of the Annie Road End Crew, Football’s First Clobbered-Up Mob, N. Allt

Playing Up With Pompey, B. Beech

Guvnor General: How I Survived Childhood Hell, Football Violence, Fifty Thousand Dexies and United’s Red Army, A. Bennion

Hibs Boy: The Life and Violent Times of Scotland’s Most Notorious Football Hooligan, A. Blance and C. Terry
March of the Hooligans: Soccer’s Bloody Fraternity, D. Brimson

Kicking Off, D. Brimson

Eurotrashed, D. Brimson

Barmy Army: The Changing Face of Football Violence, D. Brimson

The Geezer’s Guide to Football: A Lifetime of Lads, Lager and Labels, D. Brimson

God Save The Team, E. Brimson

Tear Gas and Ticket Touts, E. Brimson

Derby Days, D. Brimson and E. Brimson

Capital Punishment, D. Brimson and E. Brimson

England, My England: The Trouble with the National Team, D. Brimson and E. Brimson

Everywhere We Go: Behind The Matchday Madness, D. Brimson and E. Brimson


Booted and Suited, C. Brown

Bovver, C. Brown

A Casual Look: A Photodiary of Football Fans 1980s to 2001, L. Brown and N. Harvey

Among The Thugs, B. Buford

Bully CFC: The Life and Crimes of a Chelsea Headhunter, G. Buglioni and M. King
Rangers ICF, D. Carrick and M. King

Sex, Drugs and Football Thugs: On The Road With The Naughty Forty, M. Chester

Naughty, M. Chester

Rangers and the Famous ICF: My Life With Scotland’s Most-Feared Football Hooligan Gang, S. Chugg

Inside The Forest Executive Crew, G. Clarke and M. King

Divide Of the Steel City, S. Cowens and A. Cronshaw, with P. Allen

Blades Business Crew 2: Tales from a Battling Blade, S. Cowens

Blades Business Crew: The Shocking Story of a Football Hooligan Top Boy, S. Cowens

Wednesday, Rucks and Rock’n’Roll: Tales from the East Bank, A. Cronshaw

The Rise and Fall of the Cardiff City Valley Rams, G. Davies

The Brick: A Hooligan’s Story, P. Debrick

England’s Number One: The Adventures of a Soccer Yob, P. Dodd and I. McNee

These Colours Don’t Run: Inside the Hibs Capital City Service, D. Dykes and A. Colvin

Bring Out Your Riot Gear - Hearts Are Here: Gorgie Aggro 1981-1986, C. Ferguson

Guvnors, M. Francis and P. Walsh
Sons of Albion: The Inside Story of the Section Five Squad Incorporating The Clubhouse and Smethwick Mob, 30 Plus Years of West Bromwich Albion’s Hooligan Firms. J. Freethy with C. Gall

Service Crew: The Inside Story of Leeds United’s Hooligan Gangs, C. Gall

Zulus: Black, White and Blue: The Story of the Zulu Warriors Football Firm, C. Gall

Good Afternoon Gentlemen! The Name’s Bill Gardner, B. Gardner

Apex to Zulu: Thirty Years of Stylish Violence, D. George

Patches, Checks and Violence, M. Gough

Perry Boys Abroad: The Ones Who Got Away, I. Hough

Perry Boys: The Casual Gangs of Manchester and Salford, I. Hough

Soul Crew: The Inside Story of Britain’s Most Notorious Football Gang, D. Jones and T. Rivers

Reflections of an Asian Football Casual, R. Khan

Rivals: Football Fans’ Love-Hate Games, M. King

A Boy’s Story, M. King

The Naughty Nineties: Football’s Coming Home, M. King and M. Knight

Hoolifan: Thirty years of Hurt, M. King and M. Knight

Rise of the Footsoldier, C. Leach

Hooligans: The A-L of Britain’s Football Hooligan Gangs, N. Lowles and A. Nicholls
Hooligans: The M-Z of Britain’s Football Hooligan Gangs, N. Lowles and A. Nicholls

Hardcore, M. Lutwyche and S. Fowler

It’s Only a Game, J. Marriner

The Trouble with Taffies: Welsh Hooligan Gangs, J. Marsh

Soul Crew Seasiders: Sun, Sea and Conspiracy, J. Marsh

After The Match Begins: The True Story of the Dundee Utility, K. McCall and J. Robb

Walking Down The Manny Road: Inside Bolton’s Football Hooligan Gangs, D. Mitchell

Scally: Confessions of a Category C Football Hooligan, A. Nicholls

Come On Then, T. O’Hagan

Celtic Soccer Crew: What the Hell Do We Care, J. Kane

The Men in Black, T. O’Neill

Red Army General: Leading Britain’s Biggest Hooligan Firm, T. O’Neill

6:57: The Story of Pompey’s Hooligan Crew, J. Payne

Top Boys: Meet The Men Behind The Mayhem. C. Pennant

Cass, C. Pennant

Congratulations: You Have Just Met the ICF, C. Pennant

Thirty Years of Hurt: The History of England’s Hooligan Army, C. Pennant and A. Nicholls

Want Some Aggro? C. Pennant and M. Smith
Terrace Legends, C. Pennant and M. King

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