

Football Chants and the Continuity of the *Blason Populaire* Tradition

Joanne Luhrs

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

National Centre for English Cultural Tradition

University of Sheffield

December 2007

Abstract

This study explores the role of football chants in the continuity of the little-known traditional linguistic genre of *blason populaire*. In brief, the term *blason populaire* refers to the traditional expressions of group identities and rivalries. While some older forms of *blason populaire* have declined significantly during the last hundred years, such as the older village rhyme and some county nicknames, it has emerged that football chants are a major vehicle keeping the genre alive in England today (Green and Widdowson 2003). Sung week in and week out at football grounds across the country offering boasts of the merits of one team against the deficiencies of the opposing team's representatives, they are an example of how *blason populaire* is being carried forward into the twenty-first century. Based on ethnographic data collected during participant observation at football matches and interviews with football fans, the study explores the nature of the football chants to assess how they resemble the themes and functions of *blason populaire*, as well as the ways in which they create, maintain and contest the identities and rivalries so crucial to the genre. Current issues surrounding the use of football chants, such as censorship, are also considered due to the wider implications they could have on the future of *blason populaire*.

Contents

	Page Number
Acknowledgements	
List of tables and figures	
1. Introduction	
1.1 General introduction	1
1.2 Aims	3
1.3 Overview	5
2. An Introduction to the <i>Blason Populaire</i> Tradition	
2.1 Introduction	7
2.2 What is <i>blason populaire</i> ?	7
2.3 Functions	8
2.4 Forms	13
2.5 Content	22
2.6 Levels	25
2.7 Causes of change	32
2.8 The effects of political correctness	37
3. Football Chants Today: Identity, Folklore and Transmission	
3.1 Introduction	43
3.2 Football and identity	43
3.3 Football chants and identity	51
3.4 Football chants and folklore	56
3.5 Football chants today:- issues of transmission	60
3.6 Summary	66
4. Methodology	
4.1 Introduction	67
4.2 Qualitative versus quantitative research	67
4.3 Participant observation	71
4.4 Interviews	89
4.5 Internet research	93
4.6 Overview	94
5. The Integrative Football Chant	
5.1 Introduction	95
5.2 The anthem	98
5.3 The integrative club chant	106
5.4 The integrative player/manager chant	125
5.5 The integrative fan chant	131
5.6 The integrative location chant	137
5.7 Summary	139
6. The Divisive Football Chant	
6.1 Introduction	140
6.2 The divisive club chant	143

6.3 The divisive player/manager chant	150
6.4 The divisive fan chant	159
6.5 The divisive location chant	169
6.6 The divisive referee chant	171
6.7 The divisive police chant	172
6.8 The divisive other chant	173
6.9 Summary	175
7. Football Chants and the Construction of Masculinity	
7.1 Introduction	177
7.2 Football: a male world	177
7.3 <i>Blason populaire</i> and gender	184
7.4 All boys together: male bonding	189
7.5 Emasculating the rival	193
7.6 Summary	204
8. The Future of the Divisive Football Chant: - Issues of Censorship	
8.1 Introduction	206
8.2 The censorship of traditional language	206
8.3 The censorship of football chants	209
8.4 Problems of censorship: a case study	216
8.5 Implications of censorship on the divisive football chant	230
8.6 Summary	232
9. Conclusion	233
Bibliography	239
Appendices	250
Appendix 1: Observed matches	251
Appendix 2: Integrative chants	253
Appendix 3: Divisive chants	280
Appendix 4: Miscellaneous chants	297
Appendix 5: Tunes of chants	298
Appendix 6: Interview guide	300

Acknowledgements

A number of people have provided me with valuable assistance during the writing and preparation of this thesis. Firstly, special thanks are due to my supervisor, Professor Joan Beal, for her support and encouragement throughout the study, as well as for her invaluable comments and enthusiasm that have guided me through it. I am also grateful to Professor Katie Wales for reading my drafts thoroughly and providing useful insights. I am indebted to Professor John Widdowson for introducing me to *blason populaire* during our work together on traditional language change, and for encouraging me to explore this little-known genre further. His work on the subject and his enthusiasm for it have been inspirational. I would also like to thank Jill Redford, archivist at the National Centre for English Cultural Tradition at the University of Sheffield for continually locating relevant archival material for me.

The following football clubs have been of great assistance during my fieldwork and have made it possible for me to attend fixtures I might not have otherwise been able to, by kindly offering to provide match-day tickets: Aston Villa, Charlton Athletic, Millwall, Notts County, Rochdale, Rotherham, Scunthorpe United, Sheffield Wednesday, West Bromwich Albion, West Ham United, and York City. For this I am deeply grateful. A special thank you is also extended to my informants who very kindly gave up their time to talk to me about their experiences as football fans, giving me a glimpse into their lives. Thanks is also given to the many thousands of football fans who have made this study possible by continuing to sing so passionately in support of their clubs week in and week out, despite the ever-increasing challenges that they face.

I would like to express my gratitude to my family, who have supported me throughout the study and shown incredible interest in my work. In particular, I would like to thank my parents, Josie and Keith Green, for their constant encouragement and confidence in me. Finally, heartfelt thanks are given to my husband Matthew and our son Noah. To Matthew, for help with practical matters such as proofreading chapters, technical assistance, and attending matches with

me but most of all for his continued emotional support, encouragement and for believing in me. To Noah, thank you for never failing to make me smile, especially during times of stress. I could not have done this without either of you. Suffice to say, any faults that remain are my own.

List of Tables and Figures

	Page Number
Tables	
2.1 Sub-genres of <i>blason populaire</i>	14
2.2 Referential levels of <i>blason populaire</i>	26
4.1 The database	83
Figures	
4.1 Response from clubs	76
5.1 Integrative sub-categories	97
6.1 Divisive sub-categories	142
7.1 Integrative and divisive expressions of masculinity	194
7.2 Insult terms	195

1. Introduction

1.1 General introduction

My motivation for this thesis arose out of my work as research associate on an AHRB-funded research project entitled “Traditional English Language Genres, 1950-2000: Continuity and Change”, led by Professor John Widdowson at the National Centre for English Cultural Tradition (NATCECT), University of Sheffield between 2000 and 2003 (Green and Widdowson 2003).¹ It aimed to explore continuity and change in five traditional language genres in England between 1950 and 2000, looking at proverbial usage; traditional sayings and expressions; rhymes and riddles; *blason populaire*; and the language of children’s traditional play and games. A survey of existing material in the Archives of Cultural Tradition at NATCECT, consisting mainly of student projects and theses and additional material from the Survey of Language and Folklore held there, was conducted to provide an insight into past usage, whilst a questionnaire survey was conducted across England to provide up-to-date information on current usage.

One of the key findings of the research concerned the little-known genre of *blason populaire*. It is necessary here to provide only a short description of what exactly the genre is, as chapter two provides a detailed discussion of it. In brief, the genre can be defined as:

An expression of one group’s outlook and self-image, often involving the implied simultaneous detraction and/or detriment of another (rival) group. (Green and Widdowson 2003 p.9)

It was discovered that some older forms of *blason populaire* had declined, some to the point of obsolescence. For example, village rhymes that had been popular in the nineteenth century, such as “by Tre, Pol and Pen you shall know the Cornish men” and “large parish, poor people, sold the roof to buy the steeple”, as well as some county nicknames such as “Kentish Longtails” and “Essex Calves” were rarely used. However, a more positive finding emerged in that

¹ Since writing this publication, my surname has changed from “Green” to “Luhrs”.

football chants had replaced the older forms to keep the genre alive in England today. Sung week in and week out at football grounds across the country offering boasts of the merits of one team against the deficiencies of the opposing team's representatives, they are an example of how *blason populaire* is being carried forward into the twenty-first century.

Other scholars have hinted at the connection between football chants and *blason populaire*. For example, Snell (2003), speaking of "local xenophobia", which shares similar characteristics to divisive forms of *blason populaire*, states:

'Oi can't read and oi can't write, but I can drive a trac-tor' chant the Chelsea football fans to infuriate their rival Ipswich supporters – a modern urban equivalent of a kind of inter-village rivalry and abuse that ran rampant in the past. (p.9)

Similarly, Bennett (1990) has linked the nicknames that are applied to football clubs and their supporters, and so often used in the chants, to the genre:

Nicknames are still given to people who live in cities, towns and villages but the Milnrow Moonrakers, Shaw Gawbies and Owdham (Oldham) Owls have been attached more recently to the present-day manifestation of the place's representatives – in the shape of football teams, which become representative of group identity Used in a context of extreme and aggressive regional chauvinism the *blason populaire* tradition as seen in the area of football violence is as unstable and undisciplined as the fans themselves. (p.20)²

However, the traditional language research project was the first to examine this important relationship in anything more than a short paragraph. Even so, it was still not possible to give it the full attention it deserved due to it being considered within the wider study of continuity and change in four other traditional language genres as well. Due to the significant implications that the finding could have for the future of the *blason populaire* tradition, it is my intention in the present thesis to examine the genre's relationship with football chants more closely.

² Despite making this connection, Bennett's criticism of both football fans and their *blason populaire* is unduly harsh and simplistic and suggests a misunderstanding of the positive value of the genre in football support.

1.2 Aims

The aims of this exploratory study are two-fold. The first aim is to investigate the claim that football chants are a modern-day form of *blason populaire* in more detail and to establish the main trends that make it so. In order to achieve this aim I have analysed football chants collected through participant observation at football matches across England between January 2003 and September 2004. I have also spoken to football fans on their use of the chants and the identities and rivalries that they express. This part of the data was recorded during interviews with football fans and also through the content of messages posted on a fans' Internet forum. A qualitative approach has been applied to the research as such a methodology is considered more suitable to exploratory studies of this nature. For example, Snape and Spencer (2003) have noted the importance of a qualitative study in accommodating new ideas, suggesting that it is ideal for:

analysis which is open to emergent concepts and ideas and which may produce detailed description and classification, identify patterns of association, or develop typologies and explanations. (p. 5)

This is a topic to which I return in chapter four when I discuss the methodology in more detail. A functional approach has been applied to the analysis of the collection of football chants. In particular, the integrative/divisive framework devised by Widdowson (1981) for the study of *blason populaire* in order to discuss its function has been used. Furthermore, it has been expanded to recognise that football chants are more complex as *blason populaire* than simple classifications of "integrative" or "divisive" suggest. The expanded framework underpins the investigation and it is hoped that it will aid future investigations of the genre. Based on the data collection I have explored the nature of the football chants to assess how closely they resemble the themes and functions of other forms of *blason populaire*, as well as the ways in which they create, maintain and contest the identities and rivalries so crucial to the genre.

My second aim, which arises naturally as a consequence of the study, is to fill the inexplicable gap in knowledge that currently surrounds *blason populaire* in England today. *Blason populaire* is a term that has thus far received little attention from scholars. Apart from a small number of articles, a scattering of student projects and theses, and the traditional language project (Green and Widdowson 2003), only a handful of complete volumes are dedicated to the genre, the majority of which concern French examples (for example, see Bennett 1990; Canel 1859; Dundes 1965; Gaidoz and Sebillot 1884; Scott 1975; Simpson 1973; Taylor 1931; and Widdowson 1981). Although there are scattered references to English *blason populaire* in articles and chapters of general folklore texts, there remains no comprehensive work dedicated solely to the genre in England. It is surprising that it has not yet been subjected to more detailed and up-to-date in-depth investigation, as it is a genre that can provide a wealth of information in relation to identities and rivalries on a number of levels. Widdowson (1981), one of the few scholars who has given *blason populaire* the attention it deserves, highlights this gap in the academic literature available, suggesting that it is worthy of more serious examination:

It is clear that the forms and functions of *blason populaire* merit comprehensive and systematic study. In common with other traditional verbal genres, the references are scattered and inconclusive, and few such forms have been studied in the full context of living speech. (p. 44)

As Widdowson's final sentence reveals, coupled with this gap in knowledge about the genre is the concern that the few studies that have been conducted, in England at least, have largely ignored live present day material collected in actual use but have relied on older material from the past or that gleaned from secondary sources and anecdote (Scott 1975; Bennett 1990; Widdowson 1981). Bennett (1990), for example, proposed to offer a "dynamic" as opposed to a "static" model of *blason populaire* by "drawing on contextual forms and functions of *blason populaire* traditions operating in present-day English society" (p. 19). However, her study is somewhat hindered by her reliance on secondary material.

In relying on data from secondary sources, it is often the case that the context of an item is lost. However, context is crucial in any study of folklore, as both Bennett and Dundes have illustrated:

... we cannot understand folklore or its function unless we also understand in the greatest possible detail the contexts in which it was used. (Bennett 1987 p. 8)

One reason for collecting context is that only if such data is provided can any serious attempt be made to explain WHY a particular text is used in a particular situation. (Dundes 1978, p 28)

Context is especially important in the study of *blason populaire* where inflammatory comments are frequently traded. Without context, it is impossible to determine if any harmful intent is behind their use or whether the expressions are merely harmless jokes. In my collection of football chants, the context of each chant was recorded, together with the information from fans that provided further background to their use. It is hoped that these factors, together with the ongoing discussion of present-day issues surrounding football chants, will make the present study one of the first to discuss *blason populaire* “in the full context of living speech” that is so desperately needed in explorations of the genre and which Widdowson (1981) advises.

1.3 Overview

As context is so important in the study, in chapter two I begin by providing an introduction to *blason populaire* which forms the basis for the discussion of football chants within the genre. I examine its functions, forms, content and levels of operation before moving on to discuss changes that have affected it in recent years, such as the growth of political correctness. In chapter three I place the study of football chants as *blason populaire* in its wider context by discussing their use today in relation to the two integral areas that concern the genre: identity and folklore. To do this I consider the relationship between football chants and these two areas. I also evaluate the chants in their present day context by looking at issues that affect their transmission. I then move on in chapter four to discuss the methodology I used in the research. This is followed by an examination of integrative and divisive football chants in chapters five

and six respectively, where I apply the integrative/divisive framework to the analysis to illustrate their value as modern day examples of *blason populaire*. In chapter seven I focus on how football chants, both integrative and divisive, construct notions of masculinity and reflect the fact that football at all levels is considered a male domain. This is of particular importance in their classification as *blason populaire*, as gender is a key theme that is used in expressions of the genre. It will be evident throughout the discussion that football chants have faced, and continue to face, major threats to their existence in recent times. I explore this matter in detail in chapter eight by looking at the issues of censorship that surround the use of football chants, including legislation introduced to combat racist and homophobic chanting as well as other discriminatory abuse. I also consider the problems of censorship through providing a case study of fan reactions to the use of chants about the 1984-5 Miners' Strike, at a game between Notts County and Barnsley. This leads naturally to a discussion of the future of the divisive football chant within this environment of increasing censorship. Such censorship could have serious implications on the status of football chants as *blason populaire*. As such, any threat to them is ultimately a threat to the genre as a whole.

2. An Introduction to the *Blason Populaire* Tradition

2.1 Introduction

As *blason populaire* is a term that is little known in England, the natural starting point for this investigation is an introduction to the genre. I will begin by defining just what exactly *blason populaire* is before moving on to consider its functions, forms, content, and levels of operation. I will then examine reasons behind the changes that have occurred in the genre in recent years, as well as looking at the effects of political correctness on a genre that largely prides itself on its politically incorrect nature. So widespread is the use of *blason populaire* yet so little recognised is the actual term, it is such that the reader may have no prior knowledge of what it means but will immediately recognise the phenomenon on seeing the examples set out in the coming pages.

2.2 What is *blason populaire*?

Blason populaire is a folkloric term apparently coined by Frenchman Auguste Canel in the nineteenth century. Archer Taylor (1931) states that the German translation of the term is “Ortsneckereien” (p. 99). However, despite holding an important place in English folklore and playing an integral role in the portrayal of local, regional and national rivalries, there is no English equivalent of the term. Alan Dundes (1965) has suggested that the sense of the term in the English language is “roughly ‘ethnic slur’” (p. 43), although such a definition is highly problematic for reasons that will be discussed shortly. In the aforementioned research on traditional language (Green and Widdowson 2003), we applied the more useful and accommodating definition:

An expression of one’s group outlook and self-image, often involving the implied simultaneous detraction and/or detriment of another (rival) group. (p. 9)

To help grasp an understanding of how the term has been derived, it is useful to consider several definitions of the word “blazon” taken from the OED.³ As a

³ Throughout this thesis, all references from the OED are taken from the online edition, available from <http://www.oed.com>

noun, it is defined as “a shield in heraldry; armorial bearings, coat of arms; a banner bearing the arms.” As a verb, it is “to publish vauntingly or boastfully, boast of” and “to proclaim, make public, ‘trumpet.’” Taking into account these dictionary definitions, together with the definition of the genre, it becomes apparent how the term *blason populaire* emerged as a label for a linguistic genre focussing on the traditional expressions of identities and rivalries referring to particular communities, groups or places. When using an expression of *blason populaire*, taking into account the application of the noun “blazon”, the speaker is in essence using a verbal coat of arms to display his or her allegiances. Similarly, when considering its use as a verb, the speaker is boasting of his/her identity, often at the expense of another rival group.⁴

2.3 Functions

Dundes (1965) has suggested that the English sense of *blason populaire* translates as “roughly ‘ethnic slur’” (p. 43). However, this is too simplistic a definition. Generally, when a piece of *blason populaire* is used, a value judgement is made, frequently stereotypical and often disparaging about the referents or the referent community, but this is by no means a pre-requisite as Dundes’ use of the word “slur” would seem to imply. The genre can function other than as an insult to an outsider group as a display of rivalry. When used by insiders within a group about their own group, it can function as a unifying force, an expression of partisanship, and ultimately a marker of a shared identity.

In contrast to Dundes, Archer Taylor (1931) provides a fuller account of the functions of the genre by recognising its ability to express the positive as well as the negative attributes of the referent community:

Some are merely traditional insults which have lost all meaning in the course of time Perhaps most such local nicknames contain a hostile or at least an unfriendly suggestion There are, furthermore, some sayings

⁴ To avoid confusion, it is necessary to point out that “blason” is the French form of “blazon”, hence why I have used the latter in the discussion of definitions of the word but nevertheless continue to refer to the genre as *blason populaire*, which has no English equivalent.

which seem to be the direct opposite in spirit of these local nicknames [where] an admirable trait is singled out as a characteristic. (p. 99-100)

Widdowson (1981) provides a useful framework illustrating how the positive and negative attributes operate on opposing levels for the group who use the expressions and the group at which they are aimed. He writes of *blason populaire*:

.... its principal function is to present a stereotype of a particular group or region. It therefore serves the dual function of presenting a specific group or region in a favourable light, and in so doing implies or intends a slight upon other groups. The first of these functions is integrative while the second is divisive and calculated to initiate or maintain conflict, at the verbal level at least, between the groups concerned. (p. 36)

To illustrate the integrative and divisive framework that Widdowson explains, two examples of *blason populaire* will now be examined. Looking firstly at the integrative function, some expressions of the genre present themselves as immediately integrative. Such an expression is the old county nickname “Suffolk Fair Maids” (Green and Widdowson 2003 p. 353). By describing all of the women in the county of Suffolk as beautiful, it is undoubtedly presenting them in a positive light. However, although integrative on the surface, it can, contrastingly, also be used divisively. By marking only females from Suffolk as “fair maids”, the nickname by default suggests that women in all other counties in England are not as beautiful. Thus, it operates divisively for the outsider group, that is, women who are not from Suffolk. Contrastingly, one county nickname that presents itself as immediately divisive is “Silly Suffolk” (Green and Widdowson 2003 p. 353). It immediately stereotypes the inhabitants of Suffolk as simple, thus it is divisive for the referent group, in this case Suffolk residents. Alternatively, it is integrative for the speaker, who is presumably not from Suffolk, through the implicit suggestion that anyone from outside of the county has a higher level of intelligence. These two examples of county nicknames referring to inhabitants of Suffolk highlight the duality of function of many of the expressions in the genre. They can operate integratively for the speaker and the insider group, who are either praised directly or, in the case of derogative remarks about a rival group, indirectly through the expressions.

Contrastingly, they can operate divisively for the outsider group who are directly insulted through disparaging comments, or indirectly through boastful remarks about a supposedly superior group or community from which they are excluded. Scott (1975) examines the psychological impact of *blason populaire* for both the insider and outsider groups more fully, highlighting the integrative and divisive elements. He writes:

It is apparent from the English blason populaire that the residents of specific geographical areas feel this same need for self-esteem based only on the fact of residence. Not only do stereotypes function to belittle one group, they also function for the individuals in the aggressor group by giving them the personal status attributed to the group. In all of these examples, there is at least implicit, and sometimes explicit, suggestion that those using the rhyme are not guilty of the faults which they attribute to others. Even without context, this may be seen to be the basic function of blason populaire. (p. 11)

Widdowson's discussion of the framework progresses one step further from Taylor's acknowledgement of the explicit positive and negative functions of the genre by demonstrating how the functions are often implicitly reversed for the outsider group from the insider group who uses them. This will be adopted and expanded in the forthcoming analysis of football chants.

Sometimes the immediately obvious function of an expression, and thus its meaning, can change over time. This is evident in the nickname "Yorkshire Tykes", applied to inhabitants of Yorkshire. The nickname derives from the old association of the small terrier dog once nicknamed a "tyke" with the Yorkshireman. When used by outsiders of the region, the nickname drew on the negative characteristics of the dog, transferring them to the presumed nature of the Yorkshireman. However, it has now lost its negative connotations, with Kellett (1994) stating that "at first used pejoratively, the nickname is now generally accepted by Yorkshire people, who proudly apply it to themselves" (p. 190). It is no longer just an unfavourable and divisive comment used by outsiders but is an integrative nickname that is celebrated by inhabitants. Its use as a nickname for South Yorkshire football club Barnsley FC, as well as "Toby Tyke" being the club mascot highlight this. It is not impossible for "tyke" to be used by outsiders. However, it is probable that its use as an insult term becomes

less appealing when it is viewed so favourably by the group at which it is aimed. This reversal in function of some items of *blason populaire* over time from a negative to a positive statement is also evident in other aspects of language. For example, the drive for politically correct language in the 1990s resulted in a number of marginalised groups “reclaiming” the stigmatised and offensive terms normally reserved for use by outsiders as insults as their own. Margaret Doyle (1990) has written of this process:

Some terms that are considered offensive as ‘labels’ are being adopted among members of the labelled group as positive self-defining terms. ‘Nigger’ and ‘Queer’ are two examples. (p. 152)

Using the examples above to illustrate this point, the “reclaiming” of language enables the insider groups, in this case black people and homosexuals, to embrace terms such as “nigger” and “queer” respectively, that carry negative connotations when used by outsiders. Used by members of the insider groups, they serve as strong markers of in-group identity. However, it remains that the terms still have the pejorative force to be highly controversial when used by outsiders, as Cameron (1995) has illustrated:

It is obvious that the use of *nigger* or *queer* means something different in the mouth of a white or straight person than it does when used by Niggas With Attitude or the radicals of Queer Nation. Outside the group, such ‘reclaimed’ terms have the potential to connote not solidarity but bigotry. (p. 148)

In the USA, the word is not even used in reference by outsiders; it is called the “N” word. Thus, in a reversal over time, these terms have been taken away from the outsider group who use them offensively about another group and have become the property of the insiders who use them about their own group in a positive manner. This change in function and use of reclaimed language bears striking resemblance to the reversal in function that is seen to occur to some expressions within Widdowson’s integrative/divisive framework.

Jansen's (1965) description of what he terms "the esoteric-exoteric factor in folklore" has similarities with the integrative/divisive framework. In describing the esoteric and the exoteric, he writes:

The esoteric applies to what one group thinks of itself and what it supposes others think of it. The exoteric is what one group thinks of another and what it thinks that other group thinks it thinks. (p. 46)

Although Jansen does not relate the concept directly to *blason populaire* but to folklore more generally, it lends itself easily to studies of the genre. Indeed, it plays an integral role in the formation and maintenance of identities so important to the function of *blason populaire*, as he later illustrates:

The esoteric part of this factor, it would seem, frequently stems from the group sense of belonging and serves to defend and strengthen that senseThe exoteric part of this factor is, at least in part, a product of the same sense of belonging, for it may result from fear of, mystification about, or resentment of the group to which one does not belong. (p. 46)

Similarly, when considering the applications of the concept, it again has a particular resonance for the *blason populaire* genre. For example, Jansen identifies three areas of folklore that he believes the esoteric-exoteric factor is particularly relevant to:

- Folklore generally prevalent about a particular group.
- Folklore prevalent in one particular group about another particular group.
- Folklore prevalent within one group and concerned only with that group. (p. 47)

The three areas are key components used in the expression of *blason populaire* and can be mapped onto the integrative/divisive framework. For example, the first area can function either integratively or divisively dependent upon the status of the speaker as either an insider or an outsider of the referent community; the second area functions primarily on a divisive level; while the third is mainly integrative. Both the esoteric-exoteric and integrative/divisive frameworks identified by Jansen and Widdowson respectively should play

crucial roles in much-needed future explorations of the genre, and are worth developing further.

2.4 Forms

Blason populaire can be expressed in a variety of forms. As Dundes (1965) has highlighted:

Names, phrases, rhymes, songs and jokes which one group uses to characterize specific peoples and places fall under a general category which folklorists call '*blason populaire*.' (p.43)

All of these forms can be classified as traditional linguistic genres in themselves, but when concerned with issues of identities and rivalries, frequently in relation to location, they also fall under the genre of *blason populaire*. For example, "From Hell, Hull and Halifax, good Lord deliver us" indisputably falls within the genre of traditional sayings and expressions. However, its focus on location and its derogatory content about the two cities also mark it as an item of *blason populaire*. To avoid confusion in the coming pages, I will refer to the forms of *blason populaire* as sub-genres. While it is true that all of the sub-genres can be treated as linguistic genres in their own right, in the context of my investigation their belonging to the genre of *blason populaire* is of primary importance, and their forming a smaller unit within that. Having clarified exactly what is meant by a sub-genre in the present investigation, I will now look more closely at some of them. There appear to be six main types at the linguistic level, all of which are listed in table 2.1 and accompanied by several examples.

SUB-GENRES

1. Nicknames	Yorkshire Tykes. Scousers. Essex Girls Monkey-Hangers
2. Proverbial usage	An Englishman's home is his castle. As wise as a man of Gotham. What Manchester says today, the rest of England says tomorrow
3. Traditional sayings & expressions	It's a one-eyed city. The only good thing to come out of Scotland is the road to England. Life stops north of Watford
4. Jokes	You can tell when you reach Wigan – the motorways are cobbled. Why does the Mersey run through Liverpool? To stop it getting mugged.
5. Rhymes	From Berwick to Dover, three hundred miles over. Yorkshire born and Yorkshire bred, Strong in the arm and thick in the head. Fast and true like Coventry Blue
6. Football chants	There's only one team in Yorkshire. Toon Army Stand up if you hate Man U

Table 2.1 The Sub-Genres of *Blason Populaire*

As is evident from the examples in table 2.1, many items of *blason populaire* use highly formulaic language. This not only helps to enhance their memorability but it ultimately enables their transference from one region to another. For example, the following rhyme can be applied to any other area of the country by the replacement of “Yorkshire” with another region:

Yorkshire dumplings born and bred,
Strong in the arm and thick in the head.
(Green and Widdowson 2003 p.333)

This rhyme is most frequently used at the county level, with popular replacements for Yorkshire including Cheshire, Derbyshire or Norfolk. Similarly, the traditional saying “The only good thing to come out of Scotland is the road to England” can be applied to other places by the substitution of alternative referents in the place of Scotland and England. This saying is made even more flexible by the fact that its usage is not restricted to just one level. For instance, although the variant operates at the national level, it is just as frequently used at the county, town and even village/district levels:

The county level:

The only good thing to come out of Yorkshire is the road to Lancashire

The town level:

The only good thing to come out of Preston is the road to Blackpool

The village/district level:

The only good thing to come out of Fleckney is the road to Kibworth
(Green and Widdowson 2003 p.301)

The fluid nature of many expressions of *blason populaire*, then, prevents them from becoming the sole property of any one group. The ease with which one place can be replaced with another in different contexts facilitates their widespread knowledge and usage throughout the country.

During the last hundred years, *blason populaire* has undergone significant changes in form. Simpson was one of the first to highlight apparent changes that were occurring in the forms of the genre:

The small tight-knit rural communities of the past formed an excellent environment for one particular form of folklore, the traditional taunts and witticisms directed by people of one village at those of another. This type of humour was once very widespread, and took the form of rhymes, nicknames, proverbial sayings, and stock comments. The majority of them were noted down in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and are presumably much rarer nowadays; needless to say, they are quite unjustified, and probably always were! (p.151)

In the traditional language project, Widdowson and I investigated these claims in more detail (Green and Widdowson 2003). Before highlighting the findings, it is useful at this point to provide a background to the project and the methodology we used. The aim of the project was to examine continuity and change in traditional linguistic genres between 1950-2000. Five linguistic genres were under investigation, namely proverbial usage; traditional sayings and expressions; rhymes and riddles; *blason populaire*; and the language of children's traditional play and games. Two methods were employed in establishing the nature and scope of continuity and change in the five specified genres. The first approach was to consult the relevant material in NATCECT's archives, collating any appropriate data from the tape archive and from manuscript, typescript and other material contributed to the Survey of Language and Folklore, which had monitored continuity and change in English language, folklore and tradition for almost forty years. This data provided information on the pace of continuity and change in traditional language usage during the second half of the twentieth century. The second approach was to conduct a snapshot survey to provide the latest information on usage through responses to questionnaires focussing on each of the five genres. Sampling for this mini-survey included information on the usage of both genders in four age groups. The primary means of distribution of the survey was through the recruitment of volunteers from a nationwide media appeal channelled through local newspapers. The established network of contributors to the Survey of Language and Folklore (SLF) was also utilised. In order to echo the distribution of SLF informants, the snapshot survey sample was biased towards the Yorkshire region. Following the collation of data from both sources, the information was compared, with data from the snapshot survey effectively updating the existing archival evidence.

Included on the snapshot survey questionnaire for *blason populaire* was a selection of rhymes, sayings, county nicknames and football chants. Preliminary research appeared to confirm Simpson's speculation that aspects of the genre were in decline. For example, it suggested that many of the rhymes, sayings, nicknames and proverbs were declining in usage. However, the outlook was not as bleak as Simpson declared. Football chants emerged from this data as a sub-genre that could prove vital in the continuity of the genre. In order to investigate this theory, we included ten examples on the questionnaire, with space for informants to add their own variants. The results from the snapshot survey confirmed that *blason populaire* was in decline, or at least some of the older forms were, as the archival evidence had already suggested. The highest rate of usage for items in the most frequently used genre of proverbial usage was 73% for the proverb "Time flies". Contrastingly, for the genre of *blason populaire*, the highest rate of usage overall was just 38% for the proverb "An Englishman's home is his castle". In particular, the analysis indicated a widespread decline in the knowledge and use of county nicknames (for example "Essex Calves", "Buckinghamshire Beef and Bread", "Hertfordshire Hedgehogs" and "Wiltshire Moonrakers") and rhymes and sayings (for example, "From Berwick to Dover, three hundred miles over", "Large parish poor people, sold the roof to buy the steeple" and "Fast and true like Coventry blue") about inter-village rivalry, which had been popular during the nineteenth century. While the geographical bias of the sample towards Yorkshire could no doubt account in part for the low levels of knowledge and usage of some of these items, it cannot fully explain the apparent obsolescence of many of them.

As hinted at in the preliminary archival research, the findings also confirmed a much more positive change in that football chants were indeed emerging as a modern manifestation of *blason populaire*:

... the analysis identified a recent and radical change in the genre, in this case a development which bids fair to sustain such usages in the future. This is the establishment and dramatic rise in popularity of chants and songs exchanged by rival fans attending football matches and other sports events ... they appear to be taking over the role of old expressions of inter-

community rivalry, breathing new life into a genre which otherwise appeared to be potentially under threat. (Green and Widdowson 2003 p.514-5)

Nine of the ten examples of chants included on the snapshot survey questionnaire were in the higher rankings of usage, six being amongst the ten most popular items in the genre as a whole. All of them were known by at least half of the sample population. They were the sub-genre out of all items featured on all questionnaires that elicited by far the greatest number of variants from informants. Consequently, although the levels of overall usage were lower in comparison to items in other genres, the vast number of variants and the high levels of knowledge of the chants indicated that they were in widespread usage across the country as any football fan who watches the game live or on television can testify.

It is important to note at this point that although football chants are one of the primary vehicles keeping *blason populaire* alive in England today, they are not the only sub-genre responsible for its continuity. Although county nicknames have inevitably declined almost to the point of obsolescence, in many cases additional information submitted by informants suggested that the sub-genre was still in widespread circulation but that its usage had simply shifted from the county to the town level. For example, rather than groups being identified by the county they reside in (e.g. "Hertfordshire Hedgehogs"), it is becoming increasingly popular for the town or city to be the point of reference and to serve as the marker of a collective identity (e.g. "Wigan Pie-eaters").⁵ This shift in the levels of operation of *blason populaire* will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

Another popular sub-genre of *blason populaire* in twenty-first century England is undoubtedly the joke. Jokes did not lie within the scope of the traditional language project. However, many examples were evident in the archival material, as well as a small number being provided by snapshot survey

⁵ However, that is not to say that the county level is not used at all, or that new nicknames do not emerge at this level. For example, "Essex Girls" emerged as a new county nickname in the 1980s and will be discussed in more detail presently.

informants. They are an ideal way to express *blason populaire*, with judgements about a rival group that might otherwise seem harsh in the form of a rhyme or saying masquerading as innocent, tongue-in-cheek comments. For example, the joke "Why does the Mersey run through Liverpool? To stop it getting mugged." appears relatively harmless in the form of a joke. However, if the assertion was simply made that Liverpool had a high crime rate and the majority of its inhabitants were criminals, the locals would be offended and the implications could inevitably be more serious. The apparent humorous context removes this confrontational edge. As well as being told orally, it is increasingly popular for jokes to be transmitted via e-mail. E-mail transmissions of jokes tend to be longer narrative sequences than those that were recorded by informants in the archival material and the snapshot survey (these jokes were generally of the one-line question followed by a short answer), but nevertheless many of them still exhibit the issues of identities and rivalries that are trademarks of *blason populaire*. Such an example of a joke transmitted by e-mail is:

Once upon a time in the Kingdom of Heaven, God went missing for six days. Eventually, Michael the archangel found him on the seventh day, resting.

He inquired of God, "Where have you been?"

God sighed a deep sigh of satisfaction and proudly pointed downwards through the clouds.

"Look Michael, look what I've made" said God

Archangel Michael looked puzzled and said, "What is it?"

"It's a planet," replied God, "and I've put LIFE on it. I'm going to call it Earth and it's going to be a great place of balance."

"Balance?" inquired Michael, still confused.

God explained, pointing to different parts of Earth, "For example, North America will be a place of great opportunity and wealth while South America is going to be poor; the Middle East over there will be a hotspot and Russia will be a cold spot. Over there I've placed a continent of white people and over there is a continent of black people,"

God continued, pointing to different countries. "This one will be extremely hot and arid while this one will be very cold and covered in ice."

The Archangel, impressed by God's work, then pointed to another area of land and said, "What's that?"

"Ah," said God. "That's Yorkshire, the most glorious place on Earth. There are beautiful people, 7 great cities, many impressive towns and is the home of the world's finest artists, musicians, writers, thinkers, explorers and politicians. The people from Yorkshire are going to be

modest, intelligent and humorous and they're going to be found travelling the world. They'll be extremely sociable, hard-working and high-achieving, and they will be known throughout the world as speakers of truth."

Michael gasped in wonder and admiration but then proclaimed, "What about balance, God? You said there will be BALANCE!"

God replied wisely, "Wait until you see the w*nkers I'm putting next to them in Lancashire." (Personal e-mail correspondence, October 27 2003)

It draws on the long-standing rivalries existing between the counties of Yorkshire and Lancashire, with the inhabitants of Yorkshire being portrayed in a more favourable light than their Lancashire neighbours.

Another joke cycle transmitted via the Internet is the mock charity appeal, a formulaic joke which is applied to any place that has suffered some form of real-life disaster. Following the summer floods of 2007, the following e-mail circulated about Rotherham, one of the South Yorkshire towns badly affected:

Subject: FW: Rotherham Flood Update /Appeal

A major flood hit on Monday evening.

Epicentre: Rotherham, England.

News of the disaster was swiftly carried abroad by the town's 35,000 racing pigeons, as victims were seen wandering around aimlessly muttering "fookinhell" and "chuffinnorah".

The flood decimated the town, causing £30 worth of damage. Several priceless collections of mementos from the Balearic Isles and the Spanish Costas were damaged beyond repair. Three areas of historical burnt out cars were disturbed.

Many locals were woken well before their Giro arrived. Radio station RotherFM reported that hundreds of residents were confused and bewildered still trying to come to terms with the fact that something interesting had happened in Rotherham. One resident, 15 year old mother of 3, Tracy Sharon Braithwaite said: "It was such a shock, my little Chardonnay-Madonna came running into my bedroom crying. The twins, Tyler-Morgan and Megan-Storm slept through it all. I was still shaking when I was watching Kilroy the next morning". Locals were determined not to be bowed, as looting, muggings and car crime carried on as normal.

So far, whilst the British Red Cross has managed to ship 4000 crates of Sunny Delight to the area to relieve the suffering of stricken locals, rescue workers searching through the rubble have found large quantities of personal belongings including, benefit books, jewellery from Elizabeth Duke at Argos, and bone china from Pound-stretcher.

Can You Help?

Please respond generously to our appeal for food and clothing for the victims of this disaster.

Clothing is needed most of all, especially:

Fila or Burberry baseball caps.

Kappa tracksuit tops (his or hers)

Shell suits (female)

White sports socks

Rockfort boots or any other product sold in Primark

Culturally sensitive food parcels are harder to put together, but your efforts will make a difference. Microwave meals, tinned baked beans, ice-cream and cans of Colt 45 or Special Brew are ideal. Please do not give anything that requires peeling.

Remember:

22p buys a biro for filling in compensation claims

£2 buys chips, crisps and a blue fizzy drink for a family of 9

£5 will pay for a packet of B&H and a lighter to calm a child's nerves

Urgently required: Tinned whippet food. Bones for Jack Russells

Please do not send tents for shelter. The sight of such posh housing will cause residents to believe they have been forcibly [sic] relocated to Doncaster.

(Personal e-mail correspondence, July 12 2007)

An almost identical version was received following earthquakes in Kent in April 2007, save for regional variations in the dialect and stereotypes presented (personal e-mail correspondence May 10 2007). This particular joke cycle is interesting in that it combines two different types of *blason populaire*. There are the typical regional parodies of the place concerned, together with the insults based on the “chav” stereotype⁶. The “chav” elements running through the joke are identified by the typically “chav” names, Chardonnay-Madonna and Tyler-Morgan, the Elizabeth Duke jewellery and the clothes appeal at the end which lists the well-known “chav” brands. Juxtaposed alongside these are the traditional northern stereotypes that enhance the comic elements: pigeon racing, whippets, and exaggerated mockery of the Yorkshire accent with phrases such as “fookin hell” and “chuffinnorah”. The overall picture of Rotherham presented here is one of economic deprivation and poverty, with reference to giros, cheap food, burnt-out cars and teenage mothers. However, the ultimate insult is reserved for the final line in which people from Rotherham are compared unfavourably with their close neighbours of Doncaster. Both of the

⁶ This relatively new example of *blason populaire* will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

jokes discussed here provide examples of another form of *blason populaire* keeping the genre alive in England today.

The ever-increasing e-mail transmission of jokes and other forms of folklore spread via the Internet have led to the emergence of a new folkloric genre: netlore. Netlore specifically deals with folklore that is transmitted via the Internet. This highlights the ever-changing nature of transmission of folklore and how it evolves to take advantage of the latest technologies. As it has for other folkloric genres, the Internet has offered endless opportunities for the circulation of *blason populaire*. Websites abound that celebrate local stereotypes. For example, <http://www.scouser.com> celebrates all things Scouse. Contrastingly, others are dedicated to the vilification, rather than celebration, of a particular place or group of people. For example, there are numerous websites devoted to the mockery of the “chav”. Such websites may include jokes, examples of typical dialect and/or slang, and quizzes to test how Scouse or how “chav” you may be. The use of the Internet in the transmission of *blason populaire* has also made visual examples more accessible.

2.5 Content

Any subject matter can be used in expressions of *blason populaire*. However, some themes are more common than others. Looking firstly at integrative expressions of the genre, it is not unusual for the attractiveness of females to reflect positively upon a particular place. I have already illustrated how “Suffolk Fair Maids” operates in this way. Similarly, there is also the expression “Lancashire Fair women” (Thiselton-Dyer 1905 p.127).⁷ Sometimes, a place may be famed for its food produce, and this may serve as a signifier of all that is good about the community in general, as in the old expression “Buckinghamshire beef and bread” (Green and Widdowson 2003 p.350). It is not uncommon for a number of places to be juxtaposed alongside one another, with each of their most renowned features, as in the following rhyme:

⁷ The theme of attractiveness will be discussed more fully in chapter seven.

Sutton for mutton, Carshalton for beeves,
Epsom for whores, and Ewel for thieves
(Thiselton-Dyer 1905 p. 130)

While the first two places are apparently well-known for the positive characteristics assigned to them based on the quality of the meat, the same cannot be said of Epsom and Ewel in the final two lines, with Epsom being renowned for whores and Ewel notorious for its thieves. As these few examples have shown, any product or character trait that a place or group is famous for can be used as a cause for celebration, and ultimately a display of superiority, in integrative examples of *blason populaire*.

In contrast to integrative expressions, divisive statements contain any elements that can serve to belittle a rival group, with the ultimate aim of making one's own group appear superior. While any putdown or abusive term can be used to achieve this, the same themes tend to recur. Scott (1975) has suggested that the subject matter of old divisive village rhymes can be split into two distinct groups: those that are about lifestyle and those that concern character traits:

There are two basic categories of derision which appear in the rhymes: the first deals with the way of life or style of living in a town; and the second comments on the character of the people in that town. The elements of life style which appear often in *blason populaire* are poverty, diet, cleanliness and workmanship. Intelligence, morality and pride are the elements of character which most often receive comment in rhyme. (p.15)

However, while these categories may be sufficient for a discussion of one form of the genre, the older village rhyme, they are not comprehensive enough for broader discussions of *blason populaire* and further themes have been identified. Widdowson (1981), for example, has provided a more inclusive listing of the common themes for divisive expressions:

1. Comparative geographical isolation (often with the added suggestion of hereditary defects among the inhabitants, especially slow-wittedness and foolishness, due to inbreeding).
2. The size, architectural features and furnishing of the local church.
3. The poverty, pride, dirtiness, foolishness, wickedness or other supposed reprehensible characteristics of the inhabitants. (p. 42)

Whilst some of the themes listed by Widdowson may have become less popular now, such as church features, his list is more satisfactory than Scott's in providing an overview of typical subject matter for divisive expressions. For example, in contrast to Scott's discussion of themes, Widdowson also considers the insults that are not only about the inhabitants or members of a group but those that comment directly on a place. Many such themes remain constant in modern *blason populaire* today and reinforce the notion that the chants are a legitimate new form of the genre.

Most themes can be universally applied to any place or group. However, sometimes a certain trait or theme becomes synonymous with a particular place or its inhabitants. This is especially the case with so-called "fooltowns" (Davies 1998). For example, the Nottinghamshire village of Gotham has become notoriously linked with foolishness and for many years has had the saying "as wise as a man of Gotham" attached to it, meaning not very wise at all. Numerous tales and jokes have been in circulation about the alleged simplicity of people from Gotham (for example, see Briggs 1970). However, they are rarely used today. Similarly, people from Wiltshire have been blighted by the county nickname "Wiltshire Moonrakers", again referring to their alleged simplicity. These are just two of many examples that illustrate how specific towns can become infamous for supposedly negative character traits, in contrast to those instances that are easily transferable from place to place and group to group. While this section has provided an overview of some of the key themes for *blason populaire*, it is important to point out that it is not exhaustive. People will use any flaw, whether real or imagined, to deride another group. Similarly, any topic can be used as a foundation for praise. The ones presented here are those that have proved most popular over the years. In chapters six and seven I will return to these themes and see how many of them are utilised in divisive football chants of today.

2.6 Levels

While many of the themes of *blason populaire* have remained constant through time, the levels at which the genre operates have not. In addition to the changes in the forms of *blason populaire* that were discovered in the traditional language project, substantial changes also emerged in the levels at which it is used (Green and Widdowson 2003). It can function at village/district, town/city, county, regional, national, occupational, personal, religious and class levels, displaying identities and/or inter or intra-group rivalries. Table 2.2 gives examples of *blason populaire* from each of these levels.

Referential Levels of *Blason Populaire*

Level:	Expression:
1. Village/District	As wise as a man of Gotham.
2. Town/City	Barnsley was the last place God made and he forgot to paint it.
3. County	Lincolnshire Yellowbellies
4. Regional	Life stops north of Watford
5. National	Come on England!
6. Occupational	The parson prays for all, The lawyer pleads for all, The soldier fights for all, But the farmer pays for all.
7. Personal	Blonde bimbos
8. Religious	Why are synagogues round? So the Jews can't hide in the corner when the collection plate comes round.
9. Class	Chav

Table 2.2 The Referential Levels of *Blason Populaire*

The first five referential levels all have location as the common factor. Indeed, *blason populaire* is most frequently used about specific geographical locations. However, it is important to note that it can also include expressions about any one group where there is at least one common factor, as the last two levels in the table illustrate. So, for instance, expressions and jokes about different occupations and professions abound. Lawyers and doctors are subjected to particular scrutiny from other groups purely on the basis of their profession. Similarly, and increasingly, expressions of the genre emerge from stereotypes based on physical characteristics, leading to stigmatised out-groups. To illustrate, people with blonde hair, particularly women, are frequently typecast as "bimbos" lacking any common sense and intelligence. Red-haired people are also ridiculed for their hair colour and supposedly related fiery natures. Numerous other stereotypes are in circulation based on physical attributes as well as those focussing on other such personal characteristics. All such expressions I have described as operating on the personal level (that is, they are based on physical features and/or personality traits). The nine referential levels of *blason populaire* outlined in table 2.2 are not exclusive. Rather, they outline some of the main ways in which the genre operates, or has operated in the past. It is important to remember, as already stated above, that any group united by at least one single common factor, be it residence, appearance or religious beliefs, can become a target for *blason populaire*, and thus marked as an out-group. This makes it impossible to present an exclusive listing of *all* of its levels of use.

In a discussion of rhymed *blason populaire*, Scott (1975) noted that "its strongest manifestation in the English tradition is on the village level" (p. 11). While this may have been true of rhymed *blason populaire* in the past, it is no longer the case today. In the traditional language project, we established that usage of all forms of the genre had shifted from village to primarily the town/city level (Green and Widdowson). This is not surprising, considering the dramatic changes that have occurred in rural village life over the last hundred years, which I will discuss in more detail presently. The popularity of expressions of the genre at the town/city level is highlighted by a significant change occurring within the sub-genre of nicknames. As briefly mentioned earlier, the majority of the examples of nicknames featured on the snapshot

survey questionnaire in the traditional language research operated at the county level. “Essex Calves”, “Cambridgeshire Camels”, “Kentish Long-Tails” and “Buckinghamshire Beef and Bread” were among the ten county nicknames included on the questionnaire. Only two out of the ten were used above the 5% level of significance (“Yorkshire Tykes” and “Lincolnshire Yellowbellies”), while the remaining eight were apparently obsolescent, on the basis of the sample. Even allowing for the bias in the sample to Yorkshire and, to a lesser extent, Lincolnshire does not justify such low levels of knowledge and usage of these nicknames.

While it was concluded that county nicknames were inevitably declining in usage, the supplementary material recorded by informants indicated that nicknames as a sub-genre of *blason populaire* were not under threat but that their level of usage had significantly altered in England, from the county level to primarily the town/city level. Several informants recorded well-known nicknames for inhabitants of cities throughout England, such as “Brummies” (Birmingham), “Cockneys” (East London), “Geordies” (Newcastle) and “Scousers” (Liverpool), as well as some perhaps lesser known examples that operated at this level including “Pie Eaters” (Wigan), “Monkey Hangers” (Hartlepool), “Kiddyites” (Kidderminster), and “Dee-das” (Sheffield), suggesting that town and city nicknames are more widespread in England today than the county nicknames that were once so popular.

Although the majority of the county nicknames used in the survey were in decline, or indeed obsolescent, it is not unknown for new ones to emerge and persist at that level. One of the alternative nicknames provided for “Essex Calves” was “Essex Girls” (Green and Widdowson 2003 p.344). The nickname, gaining popularity in the 1980s and used throughout the country, conjures up images of loud, promiscuous females not intellectually blessed and most frequently answering to the now often ridiculed names of Sharon or Tracy. Hundreds of jokes exist about the archetypal Essex Girl⁸ and numerous volumes

⁸ One typical example in The Archives of Cultural Tradition is “How does an Essex girl turn the light on after sex? She opens the car door.” (Accession number 92-057 1992 p126)

of these have been published.⁹ So entrenched in the mind of the nation has this derogatory image become that Essex County Council has blamed the less than complimentary stereotype for deterring tourists from visiting the county. In the summer of 2002, the council launched a campaign to improve the county's image and to eradicate the stigmatised figure of the Essex Girl (Wynne-Jones 2002; Young 2002). This attempt would appear to have been futile, as the jokes about the Essex girl survive and perhaps what is one of England's most widely known and frequently used county nicknames continues.

Despite the findings from the research illustrating that the functional levels of *blason populaire* have altered, with expressions of the genre operating most frequently on the town/city level, the importance of context must not be ignored in determining the level used. The level applied by the speaker can ultimately depend upon the contextual situation. In the case of football chants, when a match is being played between two villages/districts in the same town, it may be the case that village/district rivalries will be foregrounded as the two sets of supporters compete with vocal assertions that one village is superior to the other or assertions may be made that there is "only one team in Sheffield", thus making all but one team insignificant. Alternatively in this scenario, fans at a match between two teams from the same town or city may use factors other than place to define their superiority, as well as the hatred felt for their closest rivals. For instance, one of the key chants used by Sheffield Wednesday and Sheffield United fans relates to a grudge match between the two sides in the 1970s which has become known as "The Boxing Day Massacre". The Sheffield Wednesday variant is:

Hark now hear the Wednesday sing,
United ran away,
And we will fight forever more,
Because of Boxing Day
(Sung to the tune of "Mary's Boy Child")
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 16)

⁹ For example, Wood, L. (1991) *The Essex Girl Jokebook*. London: Corgi.

United fans obviously make the appropriate changes in lines one and two.¹⁰ Religious identity can also be used to distinguish between two clubs from the same town or city, where appropriate. For example, the rivalries between Glasgow Rangers and Celtic have almost exclusively been based on the clashes between Protestantism and Catholicism throughout the history of the two clubs. Inter-town/city rivalries become apparent in the case of teams from two towns competing with one another, while county conflicts may enter into the equation when those teams are also from two (often neighbouring) counties that have a hostile relationship with one another. Any rivalries expressed at the local or regional levels, such as the village/district, town/city and county levels described above, can be momentarily put to one side when it is necessary for the nation to join together in support of a national team or event. Local allegiances are temporarily forgotten while the national identity assumes pride of place. Thus, the referential levels of *blason populaire* are fluid entities.

The changes to the levels of *blason populaire* above are all concerned with place. However, the arrival of a new nickname in recent years, which has become universally used across England, has signalled another change to the levels of the genre, in this instance with the class level serving as the primary characteristic to be mocked in a way that it has not been previously. The nickname “chav” has emerged and is a negative statement based on a number of characteristics, namely perceived social class, appearance and style. As it is perhaps one of the most prominent and widely used examples of *blason populaire* in general use in England today, it is worth discussing in some detail. The term normally conjures up the image of youths dressed in certain brands of designer clothing, with the males typically wearing Burberry check baseball caps and the girls large gold-hooped earrings with hair scraped back in a high pony tail. Either sex will be adorned with an excess of gold signet rings and chains. The character Vicky Pollard played by Matt Lucas in the comedy series *Little Britain* provides the archetypal “chav” figure. The OED definition of a “chav” is:

¹⁰ The use of this chant will be discussed in more detail in chapter five.

In the United Kingdom (originally the south of England) a young person of a type characterized by brash and loutish behaviour and the wearing of designer-style clothes (esp. sportswear); usually with connotations of a low social status.

This entry was added to the online edition in June 2006. “Chav” differs from many expressions of *blason populaire* in that it can be applied to people across the country, regardless of where they are from. In this sense, it can be considered to be equivalent to the occupational, personal and religious levels of *blason populaire*, with place of residence not being a defining factor in its use. However, that is not to say that it is never linked to place, with some locations being more susceptible to their inhabitants being assigned with the negative stereotype. For example, Chatham in Kent is reportedly home to many chavs and in some quarters the term is actually reported as deriving from the town. For example, the earliest recording of its use given in the OED is 1998 and linked to Chatham. Similarly, Ayto and Crofton (2006) also highlight this possible derivation.

So prevalent is the term today that websites have been dedicated to the “chav” and numerous books have been written to celebrate, or more fittingly in most cases, denigrate them. Similarly, many formulaic jokes are also in circulation, typical of those that have previously been popular about Essex Girls and blondes:

What do you call a chavette in a white tracksuit? The bride.

How do you identify the bride at a chav wedding? She's the most pregnant one.¹¹

While “chav” undoubtedly bears resemblance to other expressions of *blason populaire*, it has one key difference: it is one of the few expressions based purely on (perceived) social class, with attire and style being a signifier of this. It is true that *blason populaire* does use economic inferiority as the basis for many of its expressions and stereotypes (Scott 1975; Widdowson 1981). However, most of these, while undoubtedly drawing on economic insults, define

¹¹ These jokes and others like it can be found at <http://www.chavworld.co.uk/jokes.htm>

a group of people in relation to a specific place. For example, the nickname “scallie” which is used in Merseyside has similar connotations to the “chav”. Contrastingly, a “chav” is defined first and foremost in terms of class and the resulting affluence, or lack of it, with place most often being a secondary, and not always necessary, characteristic. It is more often than not applied universally to people across the country, regardless of where they are from, rather than confined to a particular area.

The examples of the levels of *blason populaire* in this section have illustrated just how fluid they can be. Although it is fair to say that some levels have declined in usage (with regard to the genre as a whole and in the content of specific sub-genres), it would be naïve to surmise that they are being eradicated altogether. While the town/city is the most popular level for expressions in England today, in the appropriate context and dependent upon the motives of the speaker, any other level can be adopted. The levels are constantly evolving, and as well as new levels being identified, new groups within particular levels emerge, as in the appearance of “chav”. This is a result of the ability of the genre to adopt *any* one factor to define an in-group or out-group, and its flexibility to change in order to have relevance for a particular period of time.

2.7 Causes of change

In the traditional language project, we held several factors accountable for the changes that had occurred to the genre:

... the effects of greater physical and social mobility of the population, and of course the impact of recent developments like the concern for political correctness. (Green and Widdowson 2003 p.10)

One of the primary causes responsible for the changes to *blason populaire* is the migration of the population from small rural communities to larger urban towns and cities that took place in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This, together with greater social mobility and improved transport systems, is reflected in the shift in usage of all forms of the genre from village to primarily town and city levels today, the town or city being the primary focus of

identification for most people in England. Thus, many of the older village rhymes popular in the nineteenth century are now redundant.

Returning now to nicknames, and the shift from county to the town and city level, it is apparent that the cause for this shift can also be attributed to the move of the population to urban centres. Joyce (1991) has stated that "...the county was second only to the nation itself as the focal point around which Englishness was constructed in the second half of the nineteenth century" (p.167). However, in the same way that industrialisation resulted in more focus on towns and cities in the place of villages, likewise less emphasis was also placed on counties to again make way for the growing importance of urban areas. The alleged dates of origin of some of the most popular town and city nicknames suggests that they emerged during a period of growing industrialisation in England. According to the OED, "Cockney" is the only nickname to have emerged before industrialisation occurred, with the earliest recording of it as a name to describe people born in London, particularly those from the East End of the city, being 1600. Before this time, as early as 1521, it was apparently used to describe the supposedly weaker constitution of the town-dweller in comparison with country-folk, as a "derisive appellation for a townsman, as the type of effeminacy, in contrast to the hardier inhabitants of the country." From this definition, it is apparent why "Cockney" became a popular nickname for inhabitants of London. The first recording of the nickname "Geordie", according to the OED, came over some 250 years after "Cockney" had first been recorded. The OED cites the first recording of the nickname as a term to describe inhabitants of Tyneside as 1866. In the latter stages of the nineteenth century, however, it was apparently also applied more generally to "a coal-pitman", no doubt drawing on the strong links between the north-east of the country and the mining industry. At the turn of the twentieth century, the term had become synonymous with the former usage, losing its more general application and again becoming a name by which to describe a Newcastle inhabitant.¹² The two remaining nicknames,

¹² Wales (2006) has highlighted that the OED's entries for *Geordie* are misleading, stating that the origin of the term "has never satisfactorily been explained, and the possible contribution of local songs and ballads to its linguistic history has been completely overlooked" (p.133). She goes on to provide evidence of the term that predates several of the definitions set out in the

“Brummie” and “Scouser”, both apparently became popular in the mid-twentieth century for the inhabitants of the cities Birmingham and Liverpool respectively.¹³ These origins, particularly the final three, suggest that urban nicknames became more popular with the growth and establishment of key industrial areas at the expense of the once popular county nicknames.

The move from rural to urban life necessarily brought with it a change in lifestyle and working conditions, with the focus shifting to industrial rather than agricultural labour. In turn, this led to some expressions of *blason populaire* being less relevant to everyday life and therefore declining in usage. Such an example is a saying that was featured in the survey on traditional language, “Exmoor, where they have three months’ winter and three months’ hard work” (Green and Widdowson 2003 p.345-6). It describes the harsh weather conditions in Exmoor that persist for much of the year, and that have in the past limited the amount of agricultural and outdoor work that can be achieved. It is not surprising that this saying, and others of its kind, have been rendered obsolescent when the introduction of sophisticated farming machinery and the creation of jobs outside of the farming community have made its content irrelevant. In a similar vein to the impact of the change in working conditions, technological advances in other fields have also led to the loss of some expressions. For example, supposed meteorological improvements mean that it is no longer necessary to rely on old weather prophecies (often in rhymed form), such as:

When Beddingham Hills wear a cap,
Ripe and Chalvington gets a drap
(Archives of Cultural Tradition, accession number 89-313 1982 p. 80)

In our survey we found that the rhyme, used to predict wet weather, is apparently now obsolescent, the impact of the weather forecast on radio, television and the internet no doubt playing its part in its decline and that of other rhymes like it.

OED. This indicates that further research into the origins of *Geordie*, and other nicknames like it, is necessary.

¹³ The OED cites the first recording of Brummie as 1941 and Scouser as 1945.

The above reduction in expressions of *blason populaire* relating to the weather can also, in part, be attributed to the increase in scientific knowledge. This is also one of the possible causes of a decline in the use of rhymes such as the two below:

A wooden church, a wooden steeple,
Rascally church, rascally people.
Market Weighton, Robert Leighton,
A brick church, a wooden steeple,
A drunken priest and a wicked people.
(Green and Widdowson 2003 p.350)

Proud Preston, poor people,
High church, no steeple.
(Green and Widdowson 2003 p.350)

These rhymes (and their variants) were very popular in the nineteenth century and illustrate the tendency of the people of that time to judge the economic and moral status of a village primarily on the size and grandeur of its church. Numerous variants abound about different places. In England today we now have the measures to assess such matters more accurately by looking at official government statistics rather than by making presumptions based on the condition of a town's main place of worship. It could also be regarded as a reflection of social changes. For example, for many the church no longer holds the pivotal place in the community that it once did, with people relying on other groups and affiliations, such as football teams, to provide that community feel. In interviews conducted with football fans, comparisons between religious worship and football fandom were made, with comments such as "it's not just a colour but it's what you believe, it's in a sense a kind of religion" (John). Similarly, another informant spoke of his support for Barnsley FC in the following way: "football's my religion, Oakwell is my church" (Mark). This saying highlights the significance of football support for the fan and how in many cases it has overtaken allegiance to the church. It is unsurprising that the snapshot survey findings suggested that the rhyme based on the church and the state of its steeple, is virtually obsolescent in England today, while football chants have taken its place.

There is almost always an exception to every rule and this is the case when considering the decline in expressions based on the features of a church that reflect the state of the corresponding place. For example, the nickname for Lincoln City, “The Imps” is derived from the figure of an imp that is situated on a pillar in Lincoln Cathedral. The imp is the subject of many local stories, as well as the logo of the football club. Similarly, Chesterfield is famed for the crooked spire of its parish church, St Mary’s and All Saints, or “the church of the crooked spire” as it is affectionately known. Such is its fame that it is behind many examples of *blason populaire* about Chesterfield and it has resulted in the nickname “the Spireites” for the town’s football club and its followers, which functions integratively for the insider group, and is featured in a number of integrative football chants sung by the fans. However, the crooked spire has also been the impetus for a plethora of less complimentary insults about the town and its residents. For example, a local legend suggests that “the first Chesterfield virgin to come to the church to be married will cause the spire to straighten up again” (Widdowson 1981 p.38). Another divisive example based on the crooked spire is the following football chant, which is frequently used to deride Chesterfield fans:

You can shove your crooked spire up your arse,
You can shove your crooked spire up your arse,
You can shove your crooked spire,
Shove your crooked spire,
Shove your crooked spire up your arse
(Bremner 2004 p.80)

A variant of this is also aimed at Blackpool fans in reference to their famous tower. These examples illustrate that, although some themes of *blason populaire* do decline in popularity, they do not necessarily disappear altogether. In this sense, and based on these few examples, football chants are remarkably similar to older forms of the genre. This will become ever more apparent in later pages.

2.8 The effects of political correctness

In addition to the changes in lifestyle and the advances of science that have occurred during the last century which have subsequently resulted in changes to the genre, a heightened awareness of racist and sexist language and a drive for political correctness in the 1990s could also potentially have an enormous impact on *blason populaire*. Before going any further, it is necessary to clarify just what exactly the term “political correctness” means. Cameron (1995) has summarised its main concerns:

The so-called ‘politically correct’ are known for their insistence on replacing usages which they deem insulting and objectionable to various ‘minorities’. Thus high school girls become ‘women’, mankind becomes ‘humanity’, disabled people become ‘physically challenged’ and black people in the US become ‘African-Americans’. (p.116)

While Cameron would seem to suggest that the main interest of political correctness is simply replacing the unacceptable and ultimately offensive terms used to describe particular groups, this is not the case. It also seeks to challenge the underlying assumptions and attitudes of the society in which speakers use the terms. As Cameron later suggests:

...drawing attention to someone’s use of language is one way of making previously unremarked assumptions manifest to them; and this can on occasion be the first stage in changing their attitudes. (p.142)

Thus, if a speaker is reprimanded for using a stigmatised term to refer to a person of a specific race, sex or other category, the speaker will (it is hoped) think about what they have said, realise why the term was so offensive, and refrain from using it in the future. Whilst I acknowledge that this is an important element of political correctness and agree with Cameron’s argument that “... calling some oppressed group by a different name will [not] magically change the condition of its members” (1995 p.141), it is not my motive to become embroiled within the heated debate that surrounds the topic. Rather, in this chapter I am going to concentrate purely on its effects on *blason populaire*.

Going back to the first quotation from Cameron, the emphasis on the insulting terms about minority groups which political correctness seeks to eradicate clearly has far-reaching consequences for *blason populaire*. Although it is not compulsory for all expressions of *blason populaire* to issue a slight upon a rival group, be it a neighbouring town, an opposing football team or the opposite sex, it is more common than not for it to operate in this way. A group that believes itself to be superior to a rival will highlight this superiority by marking the supposed inferiority of the rival in a derogatory (and frequently offensive) manner. As *blason populaire* is concerned with the verbal expression of group identity and rivalry, and political correctness is concerned with the fair and equal (including linguistic) treatment of, in particular, minority groups, it is to be expected that the two will come into conflict, and some expressions of *blason populaire* have been, and will continue to be, lost to the cause of political correctness.

A brief analysis of several jokes that were submitted on collecting slips for the Survey of Language and Folklore at NATCECT and classified as *blason populaire* will attempt to illustrate the effects of political correctness on the genre. A number of jokes were collected during the 1970s and the majority share the same characteristic; that is, they are all highly racial, and very shocking to modern sensibilities. I have included two of the jokes below:

Q. What do you call a wog falling off a cliff?

A. Chocolate drop.

(Archives of Cultural Tradition, accession number 97-480 CS3144, collected Sheffield 1970)

Q. What's red on the outside, black on the inside and makes you laugh?

A. A London bus full of wogs falling over a cliff.

(Archives of Cultural Tradition, accession number 97-480 CS3143, collected Sheffield 1970)

Both examples use the derogatory nickname "wog" to refer to black people, a nickname that was commonly used during this time period. In both instances, the victims of the jokes are members of ethnic minority groups in England. While such jokes proved popular in the Archives of Cultural Tradition during

the 1970s, suggesting their apparent currency in England at the time, their use today is strongly censored and criticised. Though apparently jokes, they are highly offensive to the out-group whom they describe, as well as to the majority of the general population, and while their use may not have disappeared completely, it has significantly reduced. Despite Cameron (1995) arguing that “the main effect of the ‘PC’ controversy has been to make every available usage having to do with race or gender politically loaded and thus offensive to somebody” (p.135), in this instance there can be no doubt that the attempted removal of such insulting language can only be a positive move.

While the amount of racist (and indeed sexist) language may be declining in use due to the concern for politically correct speech, it would be naïve to conclude that it is no longer used at all. Nowhere is this made so explicit as at football grounds in England. The use of racist language and gestures has been a common feature at football matches since at least the 1970s, peaking in the 1980s and 1990s, when a growing number of black players began making first team performances for professional clubs. Walvin (2000) provides detail about how the fans reacted to the increase in black players:

... a new overt racism, directed against a new generation of black players, began to surface and to pollute the game more deeply than any other disagreeable element. Racists found a fertile soil in football; a perfect arena in which to vent their bizarre views, subjecting black players – and anyone at hand – to a barrage of abuse and gestures which shamed the game and its followers. Organised racist and facist groups – and their publications – wallowed in the attention they received. And for years football’s authorities chose to ignore the problem. (p.194)

Black players were subjected to monkey chants and gestures, as well as more explicit verbal insults. One of the more severe instances of racial abuse during this period took place at a Coca-Cola cup-tie between Mersey rivals Liverpool and Everton at Anfield in October 1987. John Barnes made his home debut for Liverpool and, according to Back *et al* (2001), was subjected to “some of the most widespread racialized chanting and barracking, by Everton supporters, ever witnessed in an English football ground” (p.52). More recently, attempts have been made, and legislation introduced, to combat the use of any discriminatory

language at football matches. This legislation and its implications on *blason populaire* and the football chant more specifically will be discussed in chapter eight. However, for now the discussion will focus on the effects of political correctness on *blason populaire* more generally.

Political correctness has clearly played a pivotal role in a reduction in the use of racist jokes and football chants. It is no longer acceptable to use expressions that stereotype groups on the basis of their ethnic origins, particularly in the case of minority groups. Thus, as we have seen in recent years, no doubt we will see in the future a further decline in the use of racist expressions of *blason populaire*. But aside from racist language, what about the impact of other aspects of political correctness on the genre? It would seem logical that a heightened awareness of politically correct usage would ultimately have led to a decline in all types of *blason populaire*. Surely, as the main aim of political correctness is to reduce language that stereotypes and offends specific groups, it would follow that many expressions of *blason populaire*, from the national to the local level, are under threat, as in many cases their sole purpose of existence is to offend and insult a rival. This ultimately marks many expressions of the genre “un-pc”. Despite many expressions of *blason populaire* not being politically correct and offering derogatory insults about specific groups, especially in regard of geographical location, apart from the instance of racist abuse this has not had a great impact on their use. Whilst it is true, that some forms of the genre have declined, this is not a result of any concern for political correctness, but rather due to the shifts in the styles of usage and the levels at which the genre operates on. For example, although the use of county nicknames may have declined, banter still occurs at this level in the form of sayings and football chants. Below are some recent examples of these forms of *blason populaire* operating at the county level:

The only good thing to come out of Yorkshire is the road to Lancashire.

Or:

The only good thing to come out of Lancashire is the road to Yorkshire.
(Green and Widdowson 2003 p.301)

There's only one team in Yorkshire (Green and Widdowson 2003 p.322)

Similarly, a whole host of expressions still persist at the town, regional and national levels. But why is this so when one group is frequently stigmatised in an offensive manner purely to promote a rival group's sense of self-esteem and supposedly superior identity, going against all that political correctness stands for? Why should these expressions persist when moderately successful attempts are being made to eradicate similar expressions of *blason populaire* at the racial level from usage? It can be argued that racist language has declined, especially in the case of football chants, due to a growing public awareness of the controversy that surrounds them, as a result of the increasing legislation. Contrastingly, other types of local, regional and personal insults do not carry the same serious implications as they are largely excused as harmless, hence the lack of legislation surrounding them.

It would be easy to suggest that attempts are being made to eradicate racial abuse using the argument that, unlike many regional or personal insults, it operates within an unequal power structure. The victims are predominantly from minority groups and the verbal slights that are made against them through expressions of *blason populaire* are frequently reflections of the discrimination they face from the wider society. Back *et al* (2001) have suggested this in their discussion of racism in football:

It is often claimed that people who have ginger hair get abused or players who have put on weight get abuse. Such justifications gloss the fact that racism and racist ideologies have an ideological weight that is in no way commensurable with ideas surrounding regional associations, hair colour, or obesity. No one was ever enslaved for coming from Liverpool, or for being overweight or having ginger hair. (p.119-120)

However, this statement ignores the fact that although regional, local and personal insults are often perceived as harmless tongue in cheek banter, they can be just as hurtful and as serious as racist abuse. Although most expressions of *blason populaire* that are not racist are treated as harmless, it is not uncommon for them to have a confrontational edge or more serious consequences. In fact, they can be loaded with just as much prejudice as racial abuse, as can the attitudes from which they arise. For example, in June 2007 it was reported that a family with ginger hair had been forced to move home on several occasions as

a result of bullying about their hair colour. The family had endured both verbal and physical abuse, as well as damage to their property (Topping 2007). Similarly, although poking fun at Liverpudlians is considered acceptable and little more than a bit of fun, they can suffer very real discrimination in the workplace on account of their accents. For example, a survey of employers found that 46% would not employ someone with a broad regional accent, with the Scouse accent being considered amongst the worst to have (Cottell 2003). Although these examples are about attitudes and prejudice rather than the verbal expression of *blason populaire*, such attitudes are frequently manifested in the genre. As such, they illustrate how it can cross the line of being only verbal and have very real consequences on a par with racist abuse for the victims. Nevertheless, the majority of such expressions at the local, regional and personal levels are still perceived as lacking any serious malice.

Despite the fact that in the age of political correctness it may appear that our every word is under scrutiny and open to potential censure, this does not necessarily mean that *blason populaire* as a linguistic genre overflowing with non-pc language will be lost to the cause. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, most expressions of *blason populaire* are used in a private, or at least an informal, setting, often but not always between friends and acquaintances. As such, they are not exposed to the same sanctions that they would be if they were used in the formality of a work-place meeting or any other institutional setting. However, this is slightly different in the case of football chants, which are performed in front of a large audience and hence more prone to proscription, especially in recent years, as I will discuss further in chapter eight. Secondly, part of defining one's own identity comes through the process of defining what one is not. The expressions of the resulting identities and rivalries are crucial in self-definition, both at the individual and the group levels. For these reasons they will persist as important markers of identity for the in-group, and of rivalries against the out-group in order to distinguish what one is and is not. Having considered the key characteristics of *blason populaire* and the current situation surrounding it, in chapter two I will now discuss football chants in relation to the two strands underpinning the genre: identity and folklore.

3. Football Chants Today: Identity, Folklore and Transmission

3.1 Introduction

The aim of the present chapter is to place the study of football chants as *blason populaire* into its wider context by discussing them in relation to the two key aspects of the genre: identity and folklore. Folklore offers endless opportunities for the expression of identity and football chants as *blason populaire* are one of the most blatant expressions of this. Thus, given the interconnectivity between the two, it is fitting that identity and folklore are discussed together. I will begin by providing a brief overview of the relationship between football and identity before moving on to consider football chants as a verbal expression of this identity. The issue of football chants as folklore will then be examined, which leads us naturally to consider the changing nature of their transmission. I will conclude by providing a short summary of the status of football chants in England today.

3.2 Football and identity

Football has always proved to be an ideal vehicle for the transmission of notions of identity, at the national, regional, local and even, in the early stages of the game, at the parish and street levels. From the club to which we pledge our allegiance and the colours we choose to wear, to the songs and chants we sing and shout at the weekly match, football support is peppered with signifiers of our identity as fans at both the individual and collective levels, through which our loyalty to a particular place is frequently illustrated. Such allegiances are forms of *blason populaire*: we emblazon our identity through the use of club colours and chants that distinguish us from other groups of football supporters.¹⁴ The study of the relationship between football and identity is a relatively new subject, although there is already a proliferation of studies, including Brown 1998, Armstrong and Giulianotti 1999, Robson 2000 and Back, Crabbe and Solomos 2001. That football serves as a marker of identity is not a new concept. Even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, before the days of the organised association game, it was an important vehicle for the expression of identities.

¹⁴ See also Brailsford (1992) and page 45 of the present volume.

The greatest importance was placed on the performance of rivalries, with the actual game itself being secondary to the inter-village fights that were often the main motivation for the game. This is evident in Cuddon's (1980) description of football as being "... often not much less than street warfare or an excuse for inter-parish, inter-village or inter-manor fighting" (p.32). Although expressions of identity had long been found in other pastimes, football offered a new outlet for these rivalries, for one day offering a chance to escape from an otherwise bleak existence. For example, it has been noted by Elias and Dunning (1971) that in the Middle Ages, the game became just one of the many ways in which ritual fighting was arranged for specific days of the year:

Semi-institutionalised fights between groups arranged on certain days of the year, particularly on Saints' days and Holy days, were a normal part of the traditional pattern of life in medieval societies. Playing with a football was one of the ways of arranging such a fight. It was, in fact, one of the normal annual rituals of these traditional societies. (p.120)

While it is evident from these examples that one of the main attractions of early folk football was merely the opportunity it offered for fighting with one's neighbours, if a theory about football originating as an ancient fertility rite is to be believed, then a real prize was involved for winning: the blessing of fertile land for the following year (Marples 1954). No doubt the high level of reward at stake intensified the competition and thus the rivalry of the two competing communities. Not only were local identities and rivalries demonstrated, but also those unrelated to place. Any two groups could be juxtaposed alongside one another and pitted as rivals. So, for instance, in Inveresk in Scotland, it was common for married wives to compete against their spinster counterparts (Marples 1954).

Even before the game was formalised in the nineteenth century, in addition to the verbal and physical exchanges between both the fans and the players that served as important markers of identity, items of clothing were increasingly being used to signal one's loyalties. As early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was not uncommon for badges showing one's allegiances to be worn:

A reminder of the great age of emblazons and quarterings is still there in the heraldic devices used in the badges of many sports clubs and associations. They may tend to be displaced by modern logos, but many remain, and their heraldic and sporting significances are both well worth exploring. (Brailsford 1992 p.42)

In this sense the club badges quite literally act as a coat of arms in the same way that replica kits and other club merchandise do today, a material expression of one's identity, and of *blason populaire*, as opposed to the linguistic expression of the genre that will form the major part of this study. As the game began to take on a more organised form in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, clubs were formed based on local ties such as street residence, workplace, and church. The importance of place in the club's consciousness is illustrated by the fact that "local customs and trades were celebrated by highly decorated mascots, and teams seem to have been happy to adopt nicknames which emphasised local connections and idiosyncrasies" (Russell 1997 p.59). For instance, Sheffield United is nicknamed the "Blades" after Sheffield's once flourishing steel cutlery industry. The importance of such local customs is also emphasised by Barnsley FC's change in their coat of arms at the end of the 2002-03 season. The club gave fans the opportunity to choose between the traditional white rose of Yorkshire emblem that had been used by the club for many years and the town's coat of arms depicting the image of a coal miner and a glass blower, mining being the main industry of the town until the 1980s. After a vote by the fans, the latter emblem took pride of place on the left hand side of the players' shirts at the beginning of the 2003-04 season, with 65% of voters opting for the change.¹⁵ This move not only illustrates the importance of mining in Barnsley's heritage. It also symbolises the growing trend for the town or city to serve as the main point of identification for people, rather than a greater association with the county or region more generally.

Having looked briefly at how football came to be such a powerful channel for identities I will now examine in detail just some of the ways in which these

¹⁵ For more information, see www.barnsleyfc.premiumtv.co.uk/page/NewsDetail/0,,10309~374696,00.html

identities are conveyed and how notions of identity and football fandom are apparently changing in reaction to the supposedly eroding concept of the "local". One of the key areas that scholars have examined in relation to football is the opportunity it presents to supporters for symbolising their group membership. As Holt (1989) has noted, it gives fans a feeling of belonging and represents their insider status as an inhabitant of a particular place:

In a world where industrial production and urban life had cut loose the more intimate and human scale of the past where factories employed thousands of men and cities housed hundreds of thousands - supporting a football club offered a reassuring feeling of being a part of something even if the crowd itself were for the great part strangers to one another. Supporters achieved symbolic citizenship. Through regular encounters with other clubs, the members of a crowd in a sense found out who they were. By supporting one side against teams representing different towns, men were constantly affirming and defining their own pride of place. (p.172)

Although Holt is outlining the situation of football fans in the late nineteenth century, the function of "symbolic citizenship" could easily be transferred to the situation of many fans at the beginning of the new millennium. The football club can be seen as a motif for all that is good about a town if the team is flourishing. Conversely, it can have a negative effect on the town if it is struggling.

Much of the literature on football and identity has concentrated on the levels on which identity operates and the resulting rivalries that inevitably occur. Undoubtedly, the local and national levels have been the most frequently examined. From the early years of the game it was most common, and indeed most convenient, to support the team closest to one's home, as Walvin (1986) notes:

Smaller towns could direct their interest to one particular club, while in the bigger cities a number of clubs effectively divided up their footballing constituency into rival factions of supporters. Much of that process was accidental – a simple process of urban settlement and the attraction of specifically local support to the nearest club. (p.47)

While local rivalries were evident, it was nevertheless common, as well as entirely acceptable, in the first half of the twentieth century at least, for fans to support more than one team, in particular local or regional neighbours. Such support was not regarded as a display of fickleness towards one's main club. Rather, it was seen as a sign of enthusiasm for the game and a marker of the quality of the team that, in other circumstances, may be the opponents (Russell 1999). Contrastingly, supporting more than one team in the twenty-first century is undoubtedly regarded as a lack of loyalty and commitment to one's first team. One only has to consider the intense rivalries that exist between intra-city rivals Manchester City and Manchester United, Everton and Liverpool, and Sheffield United and Sheffield Wednesday to realise that such support is not readily admitted, or accepted, by football fans today, even if the purpose of visiting the local rivals is only to witness the quality of their playing style rather than as a show of affection.

Although local rivalries are undoubtedly the strongest form of rivalry in football today, more important than these in the early part of the twentieth century were the larger rivalries that existed between the North and the South of England. As Holt (1989) states:

Professional football in England was largely a northern game before 1914, and when their teams played clubs from the south their perception of the northerner as tough in comparison to the 'soft' southerner was at stake. Bitter local rivalries might be temporarily suspended in order to see that the hated Arsenal were sent back to London with their tail between their legs or that the North won their periodic representative match against the South. Southerners had to be shown what northern men were made of. (p.175)

It was not unheard of for thousands of northern fans to make the long journey to Wembley in support of a neighbouring northern team who had reached the final of the FA Cup. While such friendliness with local rivals is uncommon today, the pattern of support is echoed in the twenty-first century by supporters of English domestic clubs throughout the country who momentarily suspend their local support to unite in support of the English national side. However, in most cases the local rivalries are often the most intense and while they can be cast

aside in the case of support for the national team, they fail to be shifted for the mere sake of collectively supporting a team from the same part of the country.¹⁶ Russell (1999) has exemplified this erosion of distinct northern and southern identities, rightly claiming that it is now the specific place within the north or the south that is the most important part of a supporter's identity:

... these new styles have increased the antagonism between supporters of, for example, Leeds United and Manchester United, to the point where any sense of 'northern' identity in the context of football is more likely to flow from a sense of being a member of one specific northern location rather than any wider imagined community. (p.20-1)

This is also emphasised by the switching of Barnsley FC's coat of arms from the white rose emblem of Yorkshire to one that reflects the heritage of the town. Nevertheless, the Yorkshire identity remains an important part in the group collective of Barnsley fans despite this switch, illustrated through their frequent use of the simple chant "Yorkshire" at many of their games.

In recent years it has been claimed that patterns of football support have substantially altered and ultimately challenged traditional notions of local and regional identity. Greater changes have occurred than whether fans identify primarily with the club at the local level or more generally at the regional level. From the 1960s onwards significant changes were in evidence as improved transport links together with the growing difference in performance levels of city clubs and their smaller town rivals diluted the attraction of the typical local team in favour of the increasingly popular and successful clubs in major cities which were now easily accessible. Russell (1997) summarises the growing appeal of the "glamour" clubs:

The decline of local patriotism was partly a function of the shifting patterns of footballing allegiance, as potential supporters of small town clubs preferred instead the allure of the successful city clubs, either losing interest in the local side altogether or maintaining only a rather erratic affection. (p.204)

¹⁶ However, this may be acceptable for supporters of large clubs who hold affection for smaller teams from the same region, but rarely when the clubs are in the same league and the competition is thus heightened.

The growth of football on television from the 1960s onwards made it even more viable for fans to support the larger clubs which were now more accessible given the growing exposure they received in the media. The introduction of enticing matches on satellite television in recent years has also made it possible to watch almost any successful team from the comfort of one's own home. Likewise, the rise in club merchandise has also made it possible for allegiance to a club to be shown without actually attending matches. These factors, together with the growing emphasis on winning and success have made larger clubs even more appealing to fans. Rising costs of admission have also played a part in the level of active support, with prices necessarily increasing as a reflection of the improved stadia following the implementation of vital ground improvements in the Taylor Report (1990) as a result of the Hillsborough disaster in 1989. This in turn led to concern that the game was attempting to attract more middle-class fans, female fans and families, which would have serious consequences on the traditionally local, working-class male support.

However, many of these fears have proved largely unfounded and the expected move away from the "traditional" male working-class fan supporting his local team to the "new" middle-class glory-hunter attracted to the newly accessible glamour teams has not been as profound as anticipated. Consecutive fan surveys conducted by the Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research have illustrated this, finding that supporting one's local team continues to be the main motivation for fans to support a team (Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research 1997; 1999; 2000). For example, 69% of Premier League season ticket holders in both the 1996-7 and 1998-9 surveys were born within twenty miles of the club that they supported, with this figure rising to 70% in the 1999-2000 season. Similarly, Brown (2002) found that even at Manchester United, the fan-base included a high proportion of local fans. Examining and comparing the trends of residence of Manchester City and Manchester United season-ticket holders, he found that, despite the widely held perception that the majority of Manchester United fans do not come from Manchester, the two clubs exhibited very similar trends, with both retaining strong local ties.

Research conducted by Malcolm *et al* (2000) based on an analysis of questionnaire surveys conducted between 1984 and 1997 has also suggested that changes have not been as dramatic as first thought. They found that little had apparently changed regarding the age and gender ratios of the crowd. Likewise, there was little to support the claim that the game was attracting a more middle-class fan:

Indeed, the two nation-wide Carling Surveys reviewed actually show a slight decrease in the proportion of middle-class spectators watching Premiership football between 1993/94 and 1996/97. (p.137)

Speculating as to why there is so little change in the substance of the crowd, they make the following suggestion based on data collected about Luton Town fans:

The importance of fandom was located within the sense of shared identity, an identity which could be enhanced through success, but perhaps more importantly, was protected from failure. These characteristics of fandom make it unlikely that the composition of the crowd will change rapidly, given that the majority of the crowd will be highly committed to the club, other spectators and fandom as a source of identity. Given this commitment, it seems unlikely that relatively cosmetic changes will have a particularly significant impact on the majority of the crowd. Certain strategies may attract new fans, but overall the majority of the crowd will show considerable stability over time – supporting their team ‘through thick and thin’ – and regardless of changes to the physical environment. (p.140)

Malcolm *et al*'s comments explain why even with the added lure of successful teams being more accessible, existing fans would not turn their backs on the clubs they have supported for many years. Likewise, not all new fans will necessarily be drawn to the success stories but will continue to be attracted to their local teams. Even in the twenty-first century, football continues to play a key part in the expression of loyalties to a particular, and often local, place, despite perceived threats to traditional support.

3.3 Football chants and identity

While traditional local and regional patterns of football support may have been subjected to inevitable change during recent years, one element of support has remained constant: the verbal expression of allegiances through football chants and songs. It is sometimes presumed that football chants are a modern phenomenon. For example, Jacobson (1975), in his discussion of Chelsea football chants, has suggested that:

Contrary to what one might expect, it is a relatively recent development. As far as I can tell, communal singing and chanting of teams' names began on a large-scale as recently as the middle-to-late sixties.” (p780)

While it may be true that chanting did become more prevalent during the 1960s and that the style of it did begin to alter, with the increase in the use of popular songs as well as the rise in chants aimed at particular players and managers, singing at football matches has been common since the game's formative years. For example, as early as the 1890s Russell (1997) has found evidence of fans singing:

In the 1890s, for example, Sheffield United supporters adopted the music hall drinking song, the 'Rowdy Dowdy Boys', while Southampton followers developed what the local papers termed their 'distinctive Yi! Yi! Yi! Chant.' (p.58-9)

It was common for music hall songs to be adopted by fans and sung before the match. So important did this communal singing become that song sheets were issued to fans, and in 1927 the singing was introduced in the pre-match programme of the FA Cup Final. However, it was only in the second half of the twentieth century that the singing began to resemble what we hear at football matches today. Both Morris and Russell have provided details of how the modern football chant as we know it today emerged:

In the early 1960s the proud Kopites not only sang the latest Liverpool songs, but they began to adapt them to the mood of the moment. They invented new words for the tunes, relating their comments to the local players, their rivals, and special incidents in the game. When visiting fans at the other end of the ground heard this, they soon started to imitate

the Kopite chants, changing the words yet again to suit their own grounds and players. In this way, like a chain-letter, the habit of inventing or adapting chants spread from club to club until it covered the entire country. Many of the singing fans now had no idea how or where their favourite chants had begun. But that mattered little. A major ritual had been established and it quickly expanded to include, not only the warm-up period before the match, but the ninety minutes of play as well. (Morris 1981 p.305)

Housing almost 30,000 fans under a roof which amplified noise levels to a frightening extent, the Kop became probably the most celebrated 'end' in the world. It was during the club's 1961-62 Second Division promotion season that fans began to develop the collection of rhythmic chants that were soon to become the common currency of English and, indeed, European football crowds. (Russell 1997 p.194)

In both accounts here there is a common theme and one that is a widely held assumption: that Anfield, the home of Liverpool FC, and the Kop in particular, is also the home of the modern day football chant. As Morris notes, it was common for Liverpool fans to adopt the popular tunes of the day and take them as their own, either maintaining the original lyrics or modifying them to suit the specific situation to which they were applied. This is a tradition that spread to other clubs and has remained to the present day.

In addition to the change in style of chanting that the Sixties saw, there was also a less welcome accompaniment, with the chants playing a role in the rising violence that occurred both inside and outside the football ground, as Thrills (1998) has noted:

Outbreaks of stadium warfare were routinely accompanied by chants and songs which derided and threatened the opposition as well as boasting of previous triumphs on the terraces [...] The trouble tended to be focussed on the vast standing areas behind the goals, the so-called "ends", in which territory was gained or conceded as if contested by two clashing medieval armies. (p.33)

The violent nature of the chants was not a new trait. Indeed, abusive divisive chants have been apparent from the game's infancy. For example, both Robson (2000) and Armstrong and Young (2000) have provided evidence of warnings to fans concerning abusive language in match-day programmes from the early twentieth century. However, during the 1960s and 1970s the chants began to

carry the very real threat of actual violence, with many serving as war cries between rival factions, as Jacobson (1975) has described:

The football often becomes irrelevant; the effect of two large groups of fans threatening, challenging and intimidating each other from opposite ends of the ground flying their colours and singing their war songs, rather like two medieval armies encamped on nearby hillsides warming up before the battle. If an actual attack on the enemy is staged by the North Stand, the Shed roars with approval and excitement encouraging its advance commando group with blood thirsty war cries. (p.782)

Many of the Chelsea chants (and their variants used at other clubs) discussed by Jacobson are still in use today. However, while they remain divisive and may speak of violence, it is rare that they go beyond verbal abuse in the way that they did during the hooligan era. Although hooliganism, and its accompanying chants, continued to blight the game during this time, some respite was offered on the terraces during the 1980s with the growth of carnivalesque behaviour, as Armstrong and Young (2000) have noted:

By the early 1990s what we have identified as a carnivalesque activity had been the norm at football grounds for over 25 years. In the 1980s certain songs and chants began to be accompanied by the waving of a range of inflatable artefacts whose use swept the English grounds. (p.201)

As well as the use of inflatable props, the content of chants also took an absurd turn, with many being coined for no other reason than to entertain or amuse, a characteristic that remains true of many football chants today, as the present study will testify. At the same time, however, the football chant was coming under increasing threat from the authorities, a matter that will be discussed both later in this chapter and in chapter eight.

Despite the threats to their status, football chants today are an integral part of the match-day experience, giving fans a way to make themselves heard by singing their team's praises, venting their frustrations, displaying their loyalties and rivalries, or simply by connecting with their inner child through some of the absurd chants that are sung. Where else can such communal shows of identity and rivalry be found today? Under what other circumstances is it acceptable to

call a rival group “dirty northern bastards” or “a town full of scrubbers” without there being some form of redress? Such is their importance that it is frequently said that the often, though not always, superior vocal support of the home side’s fans can give them an advantage. The significance of the chants is not lost on the players, with Danny Blanchflower once having said that “the noise of the crowd, the singing and the chanting, is the oxygen we players breathe” (Thrills 1998 p.33).

Their presence is considered a vital ingredient at football matches and some have gone as far as to suggest that the game would cease to exist without them. For example, Morris (1981) emphasises their importance in the following way:

Without the atmosphere they create, without their fierce loyalties and their intense longings, the whole sport would collapse, not merely for financial reasons, but because it would lose its spirit – its tribal agony and its tribal joy (p.234)

Ultimately, they provide a platform from which the fans can be heard. That they also transmit identity is undeniable and any academic study of them is quick to point this out. For example, consider the statements below:

These songs act as a kind of summoning of collective identity. (Back *et al* 2001 p.52)

As a public collective expression of social and cultural identity, football chants have no other modern-day equivalent. (Armstrong and Young 2000 p.180)

Looking specifically at Millwall chants, Robson (2000) has described just how important they are in helping fans identify with their club, to such an extent that they symbolically *become* the club:

The commitment to singing the same songs, performing the same motions and being in the same place time and again generates a block of ritualized experience in which the body, once replaced in the context in which these experiences were accumulated, can become literally and affectively saturated with the sense of *being* Millwall. (p.166)

For both the fans and players alike, the importance of football chants cannot be denied.

In the chants collected for this project it is immediately obvious that the majority are concerned with partisanship of one type or another, and while it is undoubtedly the case that fans often sing purely for the sake of singing, more often than not the verbal taking of sides is apparent as one set of fans attempts to mark their superiority over another.¹⁷ Like other forms of *blason populaire*, the display of identity through football chants can operate on a number of levels, not only in order to portray the positive, or negative, characteristics of a club but also to serve as a reflection on the place to which it is affiliated. So, as in other expressions of *blason populaire*, we encounter chants on the following levels:

Town/city level	There's only one team in Sheffield
County level	Lancashire, Lancashire, Lancashire
Regional	You dirty northern bastard
National	Come on England
Personal	You fat bastard
Religious	Hello, hello, we are the Billy boys, Hello, hello, we are the Billy boys, We're up to our knees in Fenian blood, Surrender or you'll die, We are the Bridgeton Derry boys ¹⁸
Class	Get to work, Get to work, Get to work you lazy twats, Get to work you lazy twats.

The chants used at all levels operate most frequently by providing comment on the place from which the club being sung about, or its fans or players, originate. Indeed, as we will see presently, any topic can be used to provide praise or

¹⁷ The chants in the miscellaneous sub-category, listed in Appendix 4, illustrate this tendency for anything to provide suitable singing material, especially when there is little happening on the pitch to sing about.

¹⁸ This chant is used by Glasgow Rangers and can be found in Merrills 1997 p.281

vilification. However, it is the local and regional insults that are the most played out.

Although football fandom has proved to be a fruitful field of inquiry for scholars in recent years, the study of football chants has remained surprisingly under-represented within this field, especially in comparison with the literature that abounds on football hooliganism and football fans more generally, for instance. Any study of the chants is usually contained within a section or a chapter of a book concerned with football support more generally. Clark (2006) has noted this gap in literature:

... one theme of some importance has ... only been marginally touched upon. The songs and chants that accompany football matches are central to many a match-day experience.” (p.495)

Considering that, as Clark states, the chants are a vital element at the football match, it is surprising that they have not yet been subjected to more thorough analyses. However, this balance is beginning to be redressed, with a steadily increasing number of articles and longer studies now joining the few older serious investigations (for example Robson 2000, Clarke 2006 and Luhrs 2007). There has also been an increasing popular interest in their use, which will be discussed later in this chapter. As the discussion between football chants and identity will be present throughout the study, it is necessary to only provide a brief introduction here. I will now turn my attention to the relationship between football chants and folklore.

3.4 Football chants and folklore

The relationship between football chants and folklore is just as important as their relationship with identity. Football in general is rich in folklore, ranging from the superstitions of the players and fans to the legendary status that becomes attached to popular players; from the legendary tales of away days or cup successes to the football-related terminology used by insiders of the game; from the football shirts, hats and scarves to the souvenirs, banners and other material merchandise with which fans can adorn themselves. Football chants

are also an important aspect of the folklore that surrounds the game. The means of transmission of an item is crucial in its definition as folklore. The main essence of the discipline is that its materials are transmitted orally and/or traditionally. For example, Dorson (1976) has said that in “the traditional concept of folklore the spoken word is paramount. Oral tradition and oral transmission are supposedly the sine qua non” (p.51). Similarly, Brunvand (1978) has stated that it is

...the traditional, unofficial, non-institutional part of culture. It encompasses all knowledge, understandings, values, attitudes, assumptions, feelings, and beliefs transmitted in traditional forms by word of mouth or by customary examples. (p.2)

Butt and Small (1993) have also emphasised the oral element in their definition of folk speech which “may be broadly defined as traditional forms of language passed on by word of mouth within a culture” (p.47).

Although the emphasis in these definitions is firmly on the oral and traditional aspect of the subject, folklore, like any other discipline, has to keep pace with the demands of the modern world and its ever-improving technologies and modes of communication. So, for instance, Dundes and Pagter (1975; 1978; 1987; 1996) have studied the folklore of photocopied documents and other printed office materials. Similarly, as seen in chapter two, there is the emerging field of netlore that deals with the study of folklore transmitted via the Internet, such as chain emails. These genres recognise that with changing and improving technologies, traditional does not necessarily mean oral or “by customary examples”, as Brunvand suggests. However, while folklore has the capacity to deal with modern transmission of some of its genres, it is the oral transmission that is of concern in the discussion of football chants. For traditional linguistic genres, spread by word of mouth, oral transmission is essential. Football chants fill these conditions for a linguistic genre of folklore perfectly, being passed on by word of mouth and sung communally by the crowd. Some chants may be learned through song sheets distributed to fans or printed in fanzines and on Internet sites, while others may be practised on coaches or in pubs before the game. However, the majority arise spontaneously from the game in response to

specific events as they occur, while some are heard by rivals and are then customised to suit another team. This no doubt accounts for the vast number of variants of the same football chant type. Morris (1981) notes this process in his work:

And as the chanting habit spread, it became almost impossible to keep track of which chant began where. Eventually they all became inextricably mixed together – common tribal property to be used by all the true supporters of any club. (p.306)

The link between football chants and folklore has not gone unnoticed. Redhead (1987), for example, has stated that “it is football culture itself which has the last remaining authentic ‘folk’ in Thatcher’s Britain” (p.137). Similarly, folk singer Martin Carthy is credited with telling Irwin (2006) that

... football crowds represent the one true surviving embodiment of an organic living folk tradition; i.e. a network of songs which evolved out of existing songs, sung by the people, adapted to meet the specific needs of geographical identity and seemingly created by spontaneous combustion, the unheralded originators remaining anonymous. (p.13)

It was also the belief that football chants are a modern form of folk poetry that led Barclaycard to launch a competition searching for the country’s first chant laureate in the 2003-04 season, with Nic Gault of Barclaycard proclaiming that “football chanting is a modern-day art form” (Smith 2003). However, as I will illustrate presently, the rules of the competition seemed to undermine this assertion by effectively stifling, rather than encouraging, the creativity of the football fan. Despite this growing recognition of football chants as a folk tradition, in what is becoming an emerging pattern with the main themes of this investigation, little has yet been done to explore them in this context in any great detail.

Although football chants are a traditional linguistic genre in their own right while at the same time being classified under the genre of *blason populaire*, such is their flexibility that they also overlap onto other traditional genres, sharing many of the same features. Many chants, for example, bear a remarkable resemblance to traditional folk songs, in particular soldiers’ and war

songs. Both genres operate integratively for the in-group and divisively for the out-group. There is also a competitive edge to many examples of both. We only have to look at a World War Two battle song to see immediate comparisons with the football chant.

Oh merry, oh merry,
Oh merry are we,
We are the Warwickshire Yeomanry.
Sing high, sing lo,
Wherever we go,
The Warwickshire Yeomanry never say no.
We can ride,
We can fight,
We can fuck all the night.
We are the prostitute's ride and delight.
(Sung to the tune of If moonshine Don't Kill Me, I'll Live Till I Die)
(Page (ed.) 1975 p.54)

This is a battle song of the Warwickshire Yeomanry but also bears all of the hallmarks of a football chant falling into the integrative fan sub-category. The first section of the song can be seen as a rallying cry, presenting a positive united image of the Warwickshire Yeomanry to the outside world. The last section is more concerned with the promotion of unmistakable masculinity, with reference to fighting, sex and prostitutes. These themes recur again and again in football chants, as we will see in chapter seven. Aside from the similarities in content, football chants actually make use of the tunes that originally accompanied military songs, for example "When Johnny Goes Marching Home" and "Marching Through Georgia".

As well as traditional songs, football chants also resemble the chants and rhymes of the playground, and often function in the same way. In their survey of the lore and language of schoolchildren conducted in the 1950s, the Opie's (1959) noted the partisanship expressed by children. This partisanship they identified with a number of things, including scouts, elections, sport, place or school, and presumably any other group rivalries that may emerge. So closely are the chants of the playground and those of the football ground connected that many of the chants heard at football matches can also be found in the school playground. Instances of the partisan rhymes so typical of those found in the Opie's work are

also evident in material held at the Archives of Cultural Tradition, as well as being included in the repertoire of football fans. Both examples below were collected from local school children in the 1970s.

Two, four, six, eight.

Who do we appreciate? Sheffield Wednesday.

(Archives of Cultural Tradition, accession number 98-648 CS/11994
South Yorkshire 1971)

Glory, glory Leeds United,
Glory, glory Leeds United,
Glory, glory Leeds United.
We'll win the FA Cup.

(Archives of Cultural Tradition, accession number 98-231 CS/5872
Rotherham 1971)

This section has aimed to illustrate the value of football chants as folklore. They are multi-functional and such is their flexibility that they can quite easily fall into more than one folkloric genre under the appropriate circumstances, such as playground rhymes or folk songs. Like all forms of *blason populaire*, the chants can be classed as a linguistic genre in their own right. However, they can also be considered alongside traditional song and playground rhymes as the examples above have illustrated. Thus, they offer much to the field of folklore.

3.5 Football chants today: issues of transmission

While football chanting and singing may have had a constant presence at football matches since the game's early days, in recent years several changes to football regulations have emerged to threaten their very existence, and their traditional mode of transmission. Perhaps the first change that had the potential to have a negative effect on the traditional chanting of the fans was the move from open terraces to all-seater stadia, a recommendation made by Lord Justice Taylor in the Taylor Report (1990), following the Hillsborough stadium disaster of 1989. Taylor did not believe that implementation of his recommendation would signal change in the chanting from fans:

I am not convinced that the cherished culture of the terraces is wholly lost when fans are seated. Watching the more boisterous and demonstrative sections at all-seater grounds, I have noted no absence of concerted singing, chanting, clapping or gesticulating in unison. The communal spirit is still there and finds ready expression. To such extent as the seating limits togetherness or presents movement, that price is surely worth paying for the benefits in safety and control. (p.13)

However, despite this reassurance many fans believed that it would have far-reaching consequences, for several reasons. Firstly, there was the concern that the game would become too expensive for some, effectively “pricing out” traditional working-class fans. Secondly, fans would be spread throughout the stadium and allocated to specific seats, unable to congregate in their traditional groupings that had led easily to the orchestration of chants. Clark (2006) has summarised the impact of these problems:

Football's post 1990s fashionability is well recorded, and the reduction in seating availability coupled with an increase in demand sent ticket prices rocketing for those clubs in fashion. This had two resulting consequences; firstly, it excluded those traditionally associated with carnivalesque behaviours unable to afford, or gain access to those tickets; and secondly, those wishing to sing, found themselves increasingly isolated and dispersed due to the strictly enforced seat allocation policies. (p.497)

Both of these factors went hand in hand with the belief that the game was aiming to attract more middle-class fans in an attempt to curb some of its nastier elements, such as hooliganism and racist chanting, which were by now giving football a bad name. In addition, the increasing number of female fans attending football matches, which also goes together with a focus on the game apparently becoming more middle-class, was also blamed on the apparent decline of the chant:

In the United Kingdom the number of female players has risen, but more noticeable has been the pressure within football's 'Culture Industry' to draw women with sizeable disposable incomes into the grounds. Consequently, more traditional male practices – such as chanting or swearing – have been legally circumscribed. (Finn and Giulianotti 2000 p.263)

It is ironic that many of the female fans whom Finn and Giulianotti blame for a decrease in chanting are actually as resistant as any man to these changes. This issue will be explored further in chapter seven. Taylor's opinion was not the widely held view of the football fans, and for many the move to all-seater stadia, together with the allegedly increasing middle-class audience, signalled the decline of the football chant. Writing in the 1990s, numerous authors lamented its demise:

The general 'embourgeoisement' of the soccer crowd too has encouraged a less vocal and more 'post-tourist' spectator to visit the ground for the match on the way to the club superstore, leaving quieter (smaller) stadiums than in the past century of soccer fan culture. (Redhead 1997 p.88)

Now, quite often, the fans don't even sing at all With football embracing modern ways, there are many who now claim the days of the terrace singalong are numbered. (Thrills 1998 p.1)

However, these claims are exaggerated, as the data collected in this study illustrates.

Another issue that is of more immediate concern for the future of the football chant today is the issue of censorship. Increasing censorship in recent years has proved a serious threat to the football chant as we know it today and also has implications for the genre of *blason populaire* more generally. Thus, due to its importance in the context of this study, it will be discussed in detail in chapter eight. However, it is important to mention it here, albeit briefly, in terms of the effects it may have on the transmission of chanting. The first instance of official censorship of football chants occurred in the 1990s, with the introduction of the Football (Offences) Act of 1991, which introduced new measures to outlaw racist chanting at football matches. Homophobic chanting was identified as a specific problem in 2006, and measures were introduced to combat it. Furthermore, on an international scale, FIFA have taken steps to rid the game of all discriminatory chanting. As I will show in chapter eight, this could pose serious problems for the future of the football chant. After all, a large proportion of chants, and it could be said the majority of divisive ones, operate

by being discriminatory towards someone. Only time will tell what the effect will be.

The remaining issue concerning the transmission of football chants in recent years initially looks like a positive move. This was the launch of Barclaycard's competition in November 2003 to find the country's first "chant laureate", taking advantage of a growing public interest in football chants. The winner of the competition was to receive £10,000 to spend on tickets and travel to Premiership fixtures of their choice in the 2004-5 season to compose chants that would "observe key moments" (Motion 2003) in the season, with the overall aim being to compose "witty, insightful, rousing and original chants that reflect the pride and passion of the game" (Smith 2003). Chair of the panel of judges, poet laureate Andrew Motion (2003), summarised the qualities they were looking for:

In a competition such as this there is obviously an obscenity line it would be unwise to cross. Equally obviously wit and robustness are essential. The point of a good football chant, after all, is to enjoy yourself, and to annoy the opposition, as well as to praise and commemorate. (p.7)

He goes on to state two further elements that they were hoping to see:

But there are two other things that may prove more elusive. One is the sense of spontaneity that chants generate – of having arisen by some anonymous natural process, perhaps as a result of one person's ingenuity, perhaps from a group, before they are taken up by the larger community. The other is the notion of development – of being true to the quick changing nature of the game, while at the same time needing or wanting to be more than a few lines or phrases (p.7)

The competition was mocked, both in the media and by the fans alike. For example, Utton (2003) summed up the problem, stating that it was

... unlikely that anything composed according to their rules and judged by the Poet Laureate is ever likely to really take off on the terraces. Football fans come in two forms. There's the prawn sandwich-eating corporate types so beloved of Man United's Roy Keane, who barely pay any attention to the action on the pitch let alone risk starting a chant, and there's the old dyed-in-the-wool terrace man ... if you should approach

him with a plea to stop singing rude things about the opposition and start on a witty, self composed jig instead, the very best that can happen to you is a laugh in your face.

Similarly many fans thought it was unnecessary, with some thinking that it was an attempt to further sanitise the game and that they did not need help in creating chants. I am not without my own concerns about the competition, with the main one being that it goes against the general ethos and nature of football chants. An important aspect of many football chants is that they arise spontaneously out of the game and other events at the football match. This is testament to the quick-witted nature of football fans to develop swift responses to match the fast-moving pace of events both on and off the pitch. Furthermore, the chants are frequently anonymous and in many cases authorship would be difficult, if not impossible, to determine. Surely, the idea of composing chants in advance and stipulating what can and cannot be included in them is not the best way of promoting their creation.¹⁹ It is not necessarily the method of composition of the chants that is at issue here. After all, popular football chants can essentially be created anywhere. What is problematic is the prohibition of certain forms of language from the competition through the assertion that “there is an obscenity line it would be unwise to cross” (Motion 2003 p.7), which carries with it the implicit suggestion that a good football chant has to be “clean.” The competition is effectively telling the fans what football chants can and cannot be entered and ultimately asking them to change the general nature of chants in order to adhere to the competition rules. While swearing is by no means compulsory, it is certainly an essential ingredient of many football chants. The fact that Barclaycard felt the need to curb this language in their quest for the perfect football chant represents the growing consensus amongst authorities that football chants should be purged of such language.

¹⁹ That is not to say that chants cannot be created prior to the game. For instance, the famed Manchester United fan Pete Boyle is responsible for many popular Manchester United chants that have been sung at Old Trafford. He admits to having written some whilst in the bath, before distributing the lyrics to other fans either via fanzines or in the pub prior to kick-off and then instigating the chants during the game. Such has been his success that he now has several compilation CDs of his creations and also takes bookings for his performances. See Thrills 1998 pp 50-5 for more information on Boyle or visit his website <http://www.peterboyle.co.uk>

The final problem with the competition is the implication from Motion that a good quality chant needs to be longer than a few lines. He writes that the judges were seeking chants that were “true to the quick-changing nature of the game, while at the same time needing or wanting to be more than a few lines or phrases” (p.7). On the contrary, a good football chant does not have to be of “epic” length. In fact, it is often the case that short and simple chants, with a high level of repetition, are the most popular and amongst the wittiest. For example, out of the chants I collected, amongst the most amusing and witty is:

Get the pigeon,
Get the pigeon,
Get the pigeon off the pitch,
Get the pigeon off the pitch
(Sung to the tune of “Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer”. 1 token)
(Appendix 4, miscellaneous chant 2)

This was sung during Wigan versus Barnsley’s fixture at the JJB Stadium in May 2003 when a pigeon flew onto the pitch and remained there for a long period of the game, despite the best efforts of the Wigan goalkeeper to remove it. The chant followed in the tradition of many before it by adopting the “Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer” tune and using a simple, repetitive formula. Like this chant, looking at the chants collected overall, the majority are in fact of the short and/or repetitive variety, making them invariably easy to remember and thus adopted by the rest of the crowd. While the chants of epic length and with complex lyrics that the competition was ultimately looking for, may fit in with Motion’s notion that football chants are “folk poetry” and “a modern day art form”, they do not present a balanced view of the chants heard around football grounds across the country week in and week out. With such rules as those outlined here, Barclaycard can be accused of curtailing, rather than encouraging, the natural “folk poetry” of football fans.

The eventual winner of the competition was announced in May 2004, with Jonny Hurst being proclaimed the chant laureate. He himself received criticism primarily because although a Birmingham City fan, his winning entry was penned in honour of a player from his team’s arch rivals Aston Villa. Little has been heard of him since his win, although at the time he claimed that it was not

the aim of the competition to create chants that would make it into the stadium (Fraser 2004). However, this undoubtedly defeats the object of the competition. If its purpose was not to provide impetus for the development of chants, then surely this suggests that it was more about the poetry of football than the chants that are heard across the country every weekend. Perhaps the conclusion that can be drawn from this episode is that chants work best when they are made for the fans by the fans and that they are more successful when the fans are left to their own devices rather than being issued with rules and constraints on their creativity.

3.6 Summary

Although the effects of increasing censorship remain to be seen, it is clear that the fears that all-seater stadia would kill the football chant have not been borne out. The football chant is alive and well in England today. The present study is testament to that fact. Football chants are a popular subject in recent times and appear to have a trendy “edge” about them. This is highlighted by the fact that since the late 1990s numerous popular books have been dedicated to their discussion, including titles such as “Dicks Out Two: You’re Not Singing Anymore” (Merrills 1997), “You’re Not Singing Anymore: a riotous celebration of football chants and the culture that spawned them” (Thrills 1998); “Shit Ground, No Fans: it’s by far the greatest football songbook the world has ever seen” (Bremner 2004); and “Sing When You’re Winning: football fans, terrace songs and a search for the soul of soccer” (Irwin 2006). Similarly, football chants are always newsworthy. Although it is not uncommon for certain chants to cause controversy and be widely condemned in the media²⁰ it is becoming increasingly popular for them to be celebrated, with newspaper quests to find the best and favourite football chants in the country and other such celebratory writing.²¹ This is hardly the sign of a tradition that is dying out, as some have suggested. Having placed football chants in the context of the present study, in chapter four I will now move on to discuss the methodology of the data collection used.

²⁰ For example, see Alexander 2006, Campbell 2006, and Kay 2006.

²¹ For example, see Hey 2006, O’Connell 2006 and Phillips 2007.

4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Having provided the background of the present study, I will now discuss the methodology used for the data collection. I used a qualitative approach, in particular ethnographical, conducting the majority of the data collection through participant observation at English football matches between January 2003 and September 2004. In addition, I also conducted interviews with fans and accessed a fans' Internet forum in order to gain their perspectives on the value of chants. I will begin by discussing my reasoning for using a qualitative approach, before moving on to consider the techniques I used and how I collected the data, as well as introducing the classification system that will be used in the forthcoming analysis.

4.2 Qualitative versus quantitative research

Much debate surrounds the use of quantitative versus qualitative data in research and which, if any, is superior. While it is not essential to examine these arguments in detail, it is necessary to distinguish between the two. Quantitative research, as the name suggests, relies on data that can be quantified. It is frequently used to test the validity of predetermined hypotheses in experimental settings by adhering to rigorous standardised controls. The method normally uses large sample populations, with the results capable of being generalised to the wider population. Contrastingly, qualitative research suits small-scale projects, with much attention being given to the finer details of a group. The data is often collected in its natural environment, arising out of everyday life rather than being conducted in an artificial setting. It is less rigid than quantitative research and allows for previously unconsidered themes and topics that might evolve naturally from the data to be taken into account. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) have discussed some of the distinguishing features between the two differing approaches:

The word *qualitative* implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured (if measured at all) in terms of quantity, amount, intensity or

frequency. Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situation constraints that shape inquiry. Such researchers emphasize the value-laden nature of inquiry. They seek answers to questions that stress *how* social experience is created and given meaning. In contrast, quantitative studies emphasize the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes. Proponents of such studies claim that their work is done from within a value-free framework. (p.10)

This comparison of the two fields by Denzin and Lincoln, together with my own brief summary, should provide us with ample detail about their differences.

Considering that in one way quantitative and qualitative approaches can be seen as polar opposites, it is predictable that controversy can surround which is allegedly superior. Advocates of quantitative research might claim that their methods are better in the belief that they are more scientific. Likewise, qualitative researchers may believe that theirs are superior because they provide more detailed analysis of the group under investigation. Despite these debates, it remains the fact that neither is necessarily better in all circumstances. Rather, what is of more importance is that the appropriate approach is used in the appropriate context (Silverman 2005). I will now move on to discuss why the qualitative method was more suitable for my research than the quantitative.

The first thing that attracted me to the qualitative approach was that my research was exploratory in nature. Flick *et al* (2004) have written of the value of such an approach when little research into the specified field has been conducted:

Qualitative research may always be recommended in cases where there is an interest in resolving an aspect of reality ('field exploration') that has long been under-researched. By using such 'naturalistic' methods as participant observation, open interviews or diaries, the first batch of information may be obtained to permit the formulation of hypotheses for subsequent standardized and representative data collection. (p.9)

As a consequence of little existing research having been carried out on *blason populaire*, together with the aim of this study being to explore football chants as a form of the genre in detail, it is logical that I had no firm hypothesis to test. Whereas quantitative data relies on the stringent testing of hypotheses from the

outset, it is not a crucial element of qualitative data collection. In fact, Meinefeld (2004) has gone as far as to suggest that their use can endanger qualitative studies:

In place of the requirement to reveal prior knowledge in the form of hypotheses, therefore, in qualitative methodology there arises a requirement for a suspension of this prior knowledge in favour of the greatest possible *openness* to the particular meanings and relevances of actors – an openness that is seen as being endangered by the prior formulation of hypotheses. (p.154)

Indeed, this openness to emergent ideas from the research was certainly advantageous in the present research, helping to shape the data analysis in a way that would not have been possible had I had a strict hypothesis to adhere to. This will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter in relation to my extension of Widdowson's integrative/divisive framework. Another consideration was the kind of data that I would be collecting and where from. A tendency of qualitative research is that it is the "naturally occurring data" of everyday life, (Silverman 2006 p.44). The most obvious way for me to collect data was to attend football matches and collect the football chants occurring naturally and spontaneously during the games, in order to examine their status as *blason populaire*.

The final criterion for choosing the qualitative method was that football chants would be very difficult to quantify, especially at this tentative stage in the research into football chants as *blason populaire*. Marsh *et al* (1978) have highlighted this difficulty in collecting quantitative data from the football crowd. Speaking of participant observation at football matches, they write:

There is nothing particularly 'scientific' about such experiences – they do not constitute data or allow for quantification. But on the basis of experience one is more able adequately to make sense of what fans have to say and the ways in which they describe their social world. (p.119)

The spontaneous manner in which chants occur in response to on the pitch and off the pitch events makes each performance unique. Some chants may be sung week in and week out while others have more fleeting popularity, used only

once or when circumstances permit. Similarly, fans of a team may be ardent chanters one week while relatively quiet at the next match, or their team's position in the league or performance on the pitch may dictate how much they sing. Furthermore, at some football matches it is difficult to hear the full range of chants that occur. This is especially the case when taking into account those sung by the opposition, often situated at the opposite end of the ground. These chants are obviously harder to hear. However, despite this difficulty it is nevertheless vital to record those opposition chants that can be heard in order to assess the dialogue that takes place between rival fans in order to provide as full a context to the use of a particular chant as possible. None of these factors lend themselves easily to quantitative methods.

Having suggested why a qualitative approach was most suitable to my data collection, I will now look specifically at the method within the discipline that I used: ethnography. Fetterman (1998) states that it is "the art and science of describing a group or culture" (p.1). Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) provide a more detailed description of what ethnography involves, as does Brewer (2000), and it is useful to consider both of these:

We see the term as referring primarily to a particular method or set of methods. In its most characteristic form it involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research. (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995 p. 1)

Ethnography is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'field' by methods of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner. (Brewer 2000 p.6)

It involves a sustained period of observation in the field and contact with informants in order to gain a sound understanding of the topic under investigation.

As can be surmised from the statements from Hammersley and Atkinson and Brewer, ethnographic fieldwork is not limited to one method. Rather, it is more common for two or more methods to be blended together to increase the probability of achieving valid results. Participant observation and, perhaps to a lesser extent, interviews are generally the hallmarks of ethnographic research, with considerable amounts of time spent in the field setting. As the main technique of my planned data collection was participant observation at football matches, complemented by interviews to unravel the motives behind their use, ethnography presented itself as an ideal approach for my research. I will now examine the participant observation I conducted in more detail.

4.3 Participant observation

Fetterman (1998) has described some of the key features of participant observation:

Participant observation characterizes most ethnographic research and is crucial to effective fieldwork. Participant observation combines participation in the lives of the people under study with maintenance of a professional distance that allows adequate observation and recording of data. (p.34-5)

Playing an integral role in ethnographic research, it involves extended periods in the field. In fact, so important is participant observation within ethnography that Delamont (2004) has suggested that the two terms can mean one and the same thing:

Participant observation, ethnography and fieldwork are all used interchangeably ... they can all mean spending long periods watching people, coupled with talking to them about what they are doing, thinking and saying, designed to see how they understand their world. (p.218)

Gold (1958) discusses in detail four types of participant observer, describing them as the complete observer; the observer as participant; the participant observer; and the complete participant. My observer's role did not easily fit into any one of these types. In one sense, I was the complete participant. To the people I was studying I was simply another football fan watching the match. I

immersed myself into this role. My background as a football fan enabled me to do so with ease, as I already knew the appropriate way to act at a football match. This was the most marked at Barnsley matches, where I was a real fan of the club.²² Some situations, however, were more difficult than others. On most occasions, I could observe games neutrally and was not affected by the score line. However, it was challenging as a Barnsley fan to sit amongst Sheffield Wednesday fans at Hillsborough, particularly whilst a goal was celebrated. Similarly, I had to learn to contain my joy when they were defeated. My self-control at these fixtures proved most trying at a fixture between Sheffield Wednesday and Bristol City at Hillsborough in February 2004. On the same day, Barnsley lost their away fixture at Grimsby by six goals to one. Every time Barnsley conceded a goal, the score flashed up on the electronic score board at Hillsborough and was greeted with cheers from Sheffield Wednesday fans, while I had to sit and not say a word in order to conceal being a Barnsley fan.

The second way in which I could be classed as a complete participant lies in the fact that my research was conducted covertly, which is again a hallmark of the complete participant, with Gold stating that “the true identity and purpose of the complete participant in field research are not known to those whom he observes” (p.219). However, Gold goes on to highlight that pretence is also a key characteristic of this type of observer. It is this aspect of Gold’s interpretation of the complete participant that distances my own role from it. While my observations were covert, at no point did I pretend to be something that I was not. Although I did not support the overwhelming majority of the teams I observed, it still remains the fact that I was taking an interest in the games that I was watching and was there to watch the matches, like all other fans present. It is, after all, not compulsory to be a fan of either side in order to gain access to a football match.

In direct contrast to the complete participant role, in another sense my position was sometimes more suited to the position of the complete observer. For

²² However, being a fan of the club I was observing did pose some initial problems as at first I found it difficult to switch to my researcher persona at these games, as I did not associate them with work but rather a normal Saturday afternoon activity.

instance, at many games I was not a fan of either of the clubs involved. To a certain extent, this led to a sense of detachment from the game itself and a lack of the emotion that "real" fans experience throughout the course of the ninety minutes. I was in some ways quite simply an outsider observing proceedings. However, where my role as a complete observer becomes confused is that on all occasions I could nevertheless empathise with fans' feelings and emotional outbursts, stemming from my insider status as a football fan in general, even if I was not a fan of the teams I was watching. Marsh *et al* (1978) have emphasised the need to be involved, even if only marginally, in order to conduct successful participant observation at football matches:

Many people seem to equate this kind of methodology [participant observation] with going along to events and simply looking at what goes on – they seem to leave out the participation bit. But an involvement, albeit a rather restrained one, in the action is a basic requirement. One needs not only to observe what is happening but also to *feel* what it is like to be in a particular social situation. This experiential aspect does not come about by being a totally disinterested onlooker. It comes about through an attempt to share in the excitement and emotions which, for soccer fans, constitute the 'electric' atmosphere which is seen as being the most important aspect of Saturday afternoons. (p.119)

My existing status as a football fan, then, led me to have some kind of involvement, even if not consisting of the same kind of immersion in the game experienced when watching my own team. Considering these contradictions in my own role, Gold's classification would appear to be too rigid. The individual nature of each episode of participant observation and the long periods over which it is conducted makes it difficult for any observer to fit neatly into only one of the four observer types throughout the course of fieldwork. Davies (1999) has highlighted this importance of context and advises against always adhering to one observer type:

A more useful guide is the way in which ethnographers ground their observations in critical reflection on the nature of their participation and its suitability to the particular research circumstances, and the relationship between researcher and subjects. (p.73-4)

Having established that my role of observer changed depending on the context of the football match I attended, I will now discuss how I conducted the participant observation. My position was of the covert observer, which suggests that I hid my intentions from the group I was studying. However, to say that I hid my intentions is misleading. Rather, I did not make my position to the fans known, but likewise at no point did I hide anything. Adopting the position of a covert observer is a controversial issue and raises serious ethical questions. The main concern for many scholars is that it potentially deceives the group under study. For instance, Jorgensen (1989) is forthright in his condemnation of covert observation for this very reason:

... covert participation involves deceiving insiders because they are not informed of the research. Aside from being dishonest, covert strategies violate the norm of informed consent because people are unable to agree to participate in the research. Covert strategies thereby fail to respect the rights of human subjects. (p.47-8)

If scholars advocate against using covert methods, it is necessary to justify why I used it. For my research it did have significant advantages over overt observation. It was important that fans were not aware of my intentions to collect football chants as such knowledge could potentially affect the authenticity of the data I collected, and it was possible that the dilemma of the “observer’s paradox” (Labov 1978) could emerge, in this instance leading to fans simply chanting for my benefit, in essence staging a performance. As my research was conducted in such a large public arena, there was no question of it being unethical. Indeed, it would have been impossible to announce my intentions to at least several thousand people before each match in order to gain their consent. Moreover, as soon as the chants leave the lips of the performers they are in the public domain, which is perhaps most clearly emphasised by their regular discussion in the media, in fanzines and on the Internet. They are essentially public property. Furthermore, the position of the fans was not jeopardised at any stage as their anonymity was never compromised. Although Davies (1999) has argued that covert observation *can* be unethical, she maintains that in certain situations, it is appropriate:

There are forms of research that are also covert but do not always carry the same ethical objections. Research in public places – for example, observations of public rituals or performances – does not require notification of the presence and intent of the researcher. (p.57)

Her description of situations where covert observation is acceptable matches the context of my own research. Thus, rather than insisting that all covert observation is wrong, it would be wiser to again take context into account when deciding whether to conduct overt or covert participation.

The main period in which my participant observation was scheduled to take place was the 2003-4 English football season. However, due to my already awakened interest in football chants and being a Barnsley FC season ticket holder, I began collecting data in the 2002-3 season. Overall, the observations took place between January 2003 and September 2004. Due to the exploratory nature of my research, I did not limit the data collection to just one football club, at this stage it being more beneficial to have an overview of the chants in circulation throughout the country. The danger at this stage was that some kinds of chants might be omitted if my research was obtained at just one club, before the trends had actually been identified. On one level, it could be argued that this broad approach goes against one of the main characteristics of ethnographic and qualitative research by failing to focus on one specific group of fans from a particular club. However, the counter argument is that football fans in general form the specific subculture under investigation in this instance so I was essentially focussing on one group. Indeed, if I had limited my research to just one club, I would have undoubtedly missed out on many attractive fixtures, from a chanting point of view, that provided me with rich data, occurring in unique circumstances, and allowing me to collect chants that would have otherwise been unobtainable, as will be discussed presently.

In preparation for the data collection I contacted the majority of professional football clubs in England to see if they would be able to help my research in any way by providing access to match tickets, particularly for games involving local or regional rivals, which can be notoriously difficult to obtain tickets for. I

wrote to fifty-eight clubs in the English professional leagues.²³ I did not write to every club at this stage as I did not want to be overwhelmed with positive responses and unable to fit all of the games into my timetable, although with the benefit of hindsight this was an over-optimistic concern. I initially selected the clubs by considering the perceived intensity of rivalries with other clubs within close geographical proximity to each other, as well as the distance they were from my own base in order to control financial costs and, to a lesser extent, travelling times. In addition, I also sent a copy of my letter to both the Football Association and the Football League. However, both were unable to support my research in any way.

The response rates to my letters were disappointing, with less than half of the clubs contacted replying to my letter, as figure 4.1 illustrates.

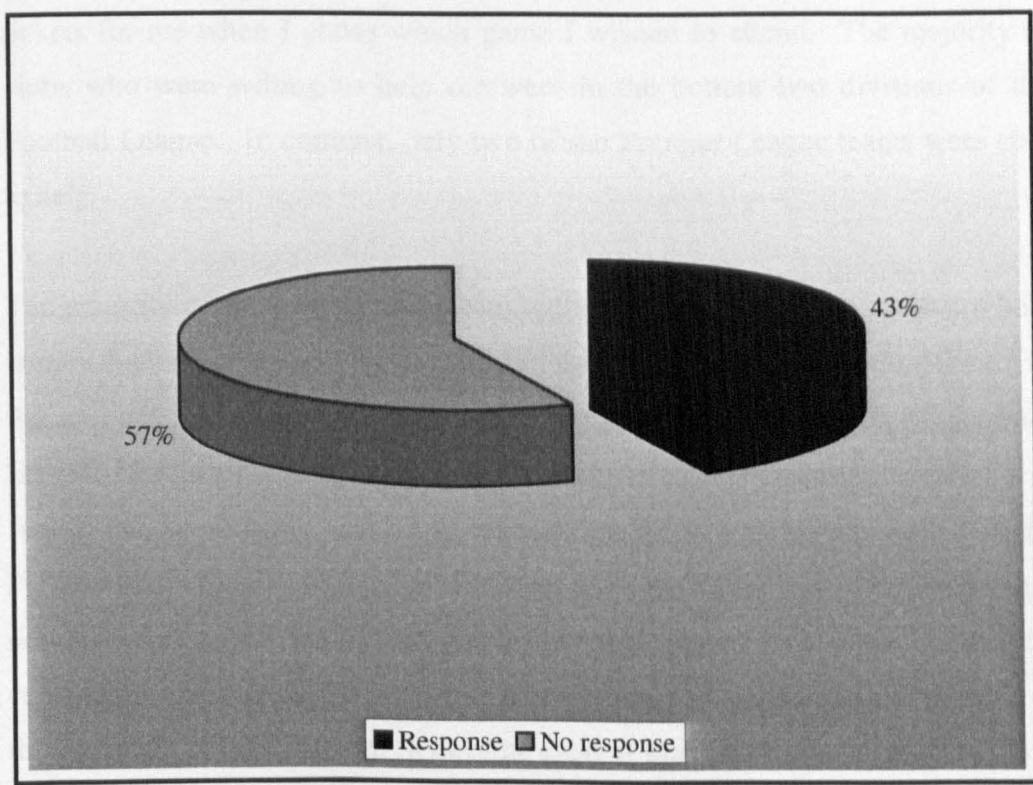


Figure 4.1 Responses From Clubs

²³ At the end of the 2003-2004 season, the Football League divisions changed their names, which saw Division One become the Coca Cola League Championship, Division Two become Coca Cola League One and Division Three. The changes made were merely to the names, with all three divisions still staying under the control of the Football League. The FA Premiership remained the top division in the English professional game. For the purposes of the present research, I use the former names.

Just 19% of the clubs contacted were able to help, and 24% unable to offer assistance, leaving the remaining 57% of clubs that did not respond. The clubs that kindly offered me some form of assistance were, in alphabetical order Aston Villa; Charlton; Millwall; Notts County; Rochdale; Rotherham; Scunthorpe; Sheffield Wednesday; West Bromwich Albion; West Ham United; York City. Of these, Notts County and Rotherham sent me tickets to specific games, the former to their local derby with Chesterfield. Six of the remaining eight clubs offered me tickets to games of my choice. The majority were for one game. However, Aston Villa sent me tickets to two games during the season, while Sheffield Wednesday kindly offered me tickets to a number of games of my choice throughout the season. West Bromwich Albion and West Ham United each gave me a press pass for attendance to a game of my choice. Charlton Athletic were of great assistance, with a member of staff advising me where the best place in the ground was to hear the chants and arranging the appropriate tickets for me when I chose which game I wished to attend. The majority of clubs who were willing to help me were in the bottom two divisions of the Football League. In contrast, only two of the Premier League teams were able to help.

The majority of the 24% of clubs who replied to my request but could not help simply enclosed a current fixture list and details of how to purchase tickets. In the case of Premiership clubs, (namely Arsenal, Everton, Liverpool, Manchester United, Newcastle United and Tottenham Hotspur), a standardised leaflet was sent to me, presumably sent to all requests for ticket information. Most of the Premier League clubs who did reply stated that I would have to join membership schemes and apply for tickets in the normal way. This was impractical considering the huge ticket demands and waiting lists at these clubs, as well as the timescale of my research. It became clear at this early stage of my fieldwork that I would not be able to attend some of the high status matches I had hoped to. Following the responses from the football clubs, I devised a timetable of the games I hoped to attend. In addition to the tickets I had kindly been given, I also purchased tickets to some games, as well as using my Barnsley FC season ticket.

As well as the live matches I attended, I also collected data from games screened on television. Although attending a match was obviously my ultimate aim, watching on television did have several benefits. Firstly, as I have already mentioned, it was especially difficult for me to obtain tickets to top Premier League matches. Due to the immense popularity of games between the top clubs in the country and the all-important derby games, television was frequently the only access I had to such games.²⁴ Secondly, the televised game could be recorded and watched at a later date. An additional advantage of the televised game is that if chants are difficult to understand, the recording can be repeated infinitely until the wording becomes clear. The final benefit of collecting data from televised games is that the viewer gets a more rounded view of the interchange between rival fans. For example, you can clearly hear the banter of both sets of fans, which is often difficult to distinguish at live games as a consequence of sitting with just one set of fans whose noise necessarily drowns out that of rivals simply due to seating arrangements. The Sky Active feature available for most, if not all, Premier League matches screened on Sky Sports also provides a more authentic match-day experience for the armchair fan than watching it normally on television. The feature enables the game to be viewed from a variety of different camera angles and alternative commentaries to accompany it. Of particular use was the option to turn the commentary off completely, thereby enabling me to hear only uninterrupted noise of the crowd, as would be the case at a live game. Overall then, television coverage enabled me to collect data that would otherwise have been inaccessible.

There were inevitably numerous weekends where several games I would have liked to attend clashed. I found the main problem was that many derby games take place on the same weekends. Furthermore, as clubs only play at home roughly every fortnight, this again limited the times I could attend. These factors led to me having to use some of the free tickets I had acquired simply when I had a free weekend rather than at a specific match I might have wanted to go to. Such a random approach had both advantages and disadvantages. For instance, I attended the Rochdale versus Cheltenham match in February 2004.

²⁴ At some of the clubs where I acquired tickets, I was told that I would not be able to use them for derby games due to their needs to prioritise tickets for their own fans.

This was a very dull match where I collected few chants and one at which my tickets would have been better used on a different occasion. However, it was the only available weekend where it was possible to use the ticket. On other occasions, this opportunistic approach worked much to my advantage, perhaps the best example being the Charlton Athletic versus Leeds United fixture at The Valley in November 2003. Like the Rochdale versus Cheltenham fixture, it did not look like it would be the most fruitful of matches for my research. However, it produced some of the most varied and amusing chants I collected throughout my fieldwork. The match took place just after Leeds had finally (though unsurprisingly) been plunged into administration. On the way to the ground from the local train station, fans mocked Peter Risdale and Alan Leighton (the former chairman and deputy chairman respectively), who the fans blamed for the financial dire straits of the club, with chants of

Leighton/Risdale's got our money,
Leighton/Risdale's got our money,
Na na na na – hey,
Na na na na

(Sung to the tune of "Let's All Have a Disco". 2 tokens, 2 variants.)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 11)

Even the journey to the ground produced a variety of chants from Leeds fans in response to various occurrences on the overcrowded train journey, illustrating the spontaneous wit and reaction to outside events involved in creating football chants, and also showing that fans do not necessarily have to be at the football stadium for the chanting to begin. In essence, their performance often begins on the way to the ground and is not restricted to merely comments about the game, the players or the fans.

Another instance of the serendipity of some of my match choices was evident at a fixture between York City versus Mansfield Town at the then Bootham Crescent (now renamed KitKat Crescent) in February 2004, again chosen simply because it was the only weekend that I was available when York were playing at home. I had picked this fixture many months before when initially devising my timetable for the season, and until I was actually walking to the ground did not realise that a fans' protest had been organised by York fans for that day, against

the proposed plan to sell Bootham Crescent, the home of York City, for land to build houses on. Many fans marched in a procession to the ground chanting "You can stuff your fucking houses up your arse" and "You'll never kill York City" amongst other things and were carrying banners expressing similar sentiments. Arriving at the ground approximately thirty minutes prior to the start of the game, the fans congregated outside and continued their chanting until closer to kick-off. This was also an interesting game to attend as it was the only one I observed where a club mascot, in this case Yorkie the Lion, stood in front of the stands for the duration of the game rallying the fans to sing, by banging on the railings and making gestures of encouragement. I also witnessed some of the most original and spontaneous ingenuity from the York fans, who were quick to respond to incidents occurring around the ground, often unrelated to the game itself. For example, when a loudspeaker announcement was made during the first half of the game for a Mr Terry Exelby to contact a steward, it immediately prompted York fans situated behind the goal to start singing "Oh Terry, Terry; Terry, Terry, Terry, Terry Exelby" and "We love you Terry we do". Thus, like the Charlton versus Leeds United match, whilst this fixture may not have been my first choice when I originally planned my timetable, it transpired to be one of the most productive, due to events that could not possibly have been predicted.

Similarly, the timing of the Premiership fixture between Leeds United and Manchester United at Elland Road on 18th October 2003 was fortuitous in light of the controversy surrounding Manchester United player Rio Ferdinand at the time, and again serves to highlight the coincidental nature of some of my match choices. The meeting of the two teams is one that, even under normal circumstances, prompts the display of undoubtedly one of the fiercest rivalries in English football. However, the tension at this game was compounded by the fact that former Leeds United player Rio Ferdinand was returning to his old club as a Manchester United player and was viewed as a traitor in the eyes of the Leeds fans who had once worshipped him. As if to add even more provocation to what promised to be an already explosive situation, Ferdinand was embroiled in the infamous missed drugs test scandal, for which he was later banned from the game for nine months. It was his first game since details of his having failed

to take a random drugs test in September had emerged. Therefore, it was inevitable that he would be subjected to even more vitriol from the home fans than normal. Had the fixture been scheduled for a different week, then the opportunity to collect chants such as "Rio takes it up the nose" and "Rio is a cokehead" would have been lost. Again, in this instance, the talent of the football fan to respond to events experienced off the pitch is displayed.

A total of 1000 football chants were collected from seventy-four football matches and fifty-two football clubs were observed between January 2003 and September 2004. A list of the matches I observed is presented in Appendix 1. I attended 50% of the matches and watched them live, with the remaining 50% observed on television. The matches were all played at the professional level in England, including FA Cup and League Cup fixtures. When attending live matches, the immediately obvious way to record my data was to use audio recording equipment such as a tape or mini-disc recorder. However, my initial attempts to do this were unsuccessful. Due to the fact that the football stadium has an acoustic quality, with fans shouting out different things simultaneously and people within close proximity of the recording equipment conducting individual conversations, the recordings were largely unclear. Therefore, I decided to manually record the chants. As I was in the position of the covert observer, I did not want the position of my role to be uncovered, for the reasons just discussed above, so I surreptitiously noted the chants down during the course of the game.

Having collected the chants for analysis, I designed an Access database on which to record and store them. This was the most suitable programme for the storage and manipulation of data for several reasons. Firstly, it is relatively simple to use but nevertheless capable of a sophisticated level of analysis. Secondly, it allows data to be sorted in multiple ways, as will be discussed in greater detail presently. I constructed the database using eleven fields, each field containing a piece of contextual information about the football chant. It was necessary to enter as much contextual information as possible about a chant, in order to achieve the most accurate and complete results possible. The importance of context should not be underestimated, as we have already seen in

chapter one. Toelken (1996) has noted its significance in relation to folklore, suggesting that “some 80 percent of orally transmitted material would be thought crude if it were encountered out of context” (p.8). This is particularly true of football chants, with their often risqué nature making them easily subject to criticism and censure if heard out of context. The fields of context used are listed in table 4.1:

Table 4.1**The Database**

Chant ID	The unique ID number assigned to every chant entry.
Football Club	The club whose fans are chanting. The clubs in the drop-down menu are those in the Premier League and Nationwide League Divisions One, Two and Three in the 2003-04 season. I have also included the option of "other" for chants that have been used by fans of clubs not listed in this menu.
Opposition	The opposition of the club whose fans are chanting. The clubs listed are the same as in the 'Football club' field.
Competition	The division or cup competition the match took place in. The options in the drop-down menu for this field are: Premier League; Nationwide Division One; Nationwide Division Two; Nationwide Division Three; Conference; FA Cup; League Cup; Various; Other; Unknown.
Chant	The words of the chant are noted here. As any text box in Access has a maximum of 255 figures, it was necessary for another box to be inserted underneath this one for the rare occasion when a chant exceeded this limit. Therefore, I have not treated this second box, which I entitled 'Additional', as an extra field as it contains only surplus material from the chant field rather than any new information of its own.
Chant type	This field is pivotal in the analysis as it provides the options by which to classify the chants. The options in the classification system are an extension of Widdowson's integrative/divisive framework and are as follows: anthem; integrative club; integrative player/manager; integrative fan; integrative location; divisive club; divisive player/manager; divisive fan; divisive location; divisive referee; divisive police; divisive other; miscellaneous.
Tune	The name of the tune, if known.
Source	Details of where the chant was heard. Options in the drop-down menu are: live; television; newspaper; book; fanzine; matchday programme; internet; other. ²⁵
Details	Where the game was played.
Notes	For any further information about the chant or the match that might be useful. The final score is also recorded here.
Date	The date of the match.
Record Number	The unique record number given to each chant entry, which will be used to identify them in the Appendices.

²⁵ While all of my primary data was collected at live matches or on television, some of the secondary material that I collected and stored on a second (identical) database were from some of the other sources, hence their inclusion. This will also prove an important tool in further research.

Access proved to be an ideal programme on which to manipulate the data. The keyword search option enabled me to search the entire database for a specific word or phrase (either in any/all of the fields or by a specific field), making it simple to find a specific chant, or chants that were similar. The query tool facilitated more sophisticated organisation and searching of the database. Building the queries, for example, enabled data to be sorted according to a particular field or by a particular option within a field. So, all of the chants by Manchester United fans could be listed, or all of the integrative chants, or all of those collected at live matches, and so on and so forth. This made it easy to examine trends and was thus a crucial feature for my data analysis.

The integrative/divisive framework that Widdowson (1981) applied to *blason populaire*, and which I discussed in chapter three, formed the basis of my analysis and I extended it in order to make it more comprehensive for this purpose. Although I have already discussed the framework in chapter two, it is useful to be reminded of how it operates. Basically, the integrative function of a piece of *blason populaire* applies primarily to positive statements about particular groups, communities or places, while the divisive function is applied to those statements which are overtly negative about the referent group. Widdowson's framework proved perfectly adequate for his examination of the functions of *blason populaire*. Indeed, it was a major step forward in the study of the genre to recognise both its positive and negative functions for the insider and outsider groups respectively, and to devise a formal system. However, while maintaining the importance of the integrative/divisive framework in studies of the genre and using it as a firm basis for my analysis, it was essential for it to be expanded. Using it as it was would entail that the football chants be classified as one of only two categories: integrative or divisive. However, in the preliminary analysis of data it became apparent that football chants are more complex as pieces of *blason populaire* than the use of only these two categories would suggest, and simply classifying them as "integrative" or "divisive" without elaboration would tell us little about their individual function. For example, integrative football chants can be used to praise the manager of the football team or the players; the club; the location of the club (i.e. the town, city or region in which it is based); or the fans. They can also be in the form of

anthems, which are typified, in brief, as songs that come to represent all that a particular club stands for. Divisive football chants have even more varied subject matter. In addition to the topics used for integrative chants (excluding the anthem), the referee and police are also frequently the subjects of this type of chant, as well as any other suitable target in the context of a particular game. Furthermore, there are miscellaneous chants that are neither integrative nor divisive in intention and often have no other purpose than to amuse (or, more often, to bemuse).²⁶

The discovery of the need to expand the integrative/divisive framework to make it suitable for a thorough discussion of football chants highlights the importance of the “openness” that qualitative methods can bring to the data, discussed earlier in the chapter. In the case of the present research, the lack of initial hypothesis enabled the classification of chants to arise naturally out of the data, and to be developed as the analysis progressed, rather than being predetermined with the accompanying risk of missing out vital information in such an exploratory study. In addition to the quotation on the subject that we have already seen from Meinefeld (2004), Flick *et al* (2004) have also noted the value of being open to new ideas:

Qualitative research can be open to what is new in the material being studied, to the unknown in the apparently familiar This very openness to the world of experience, its internal design and the principles of its construction are, for qualitative research, not only an end in themselves giving a panorama of ‘cultural snapshots’ of small life worlds, but also the main starting point for the construction of a grounded theoretical basis. (p.5)

In the present research, the openness of the research design has provided a rigorous tool with which to analyse any future studies of *blason populaire*. This will become more apparent when we discuss how the framework was expanded.

²⁶ As such, this type of chant cannot be classed as *blason populaire*. However, I included it in my research as such chants regularly take place at football matches and to exclude them from my data would be to misrepresent the verbal repertoire of football fans, and of course their different motives behind the various types of chants.

Taking into consideration the large degree of variation, and therefore necessarily function, of football chants that can be grouped together as either integrative or divisive, I expanded Widdowson's simplistic framework in order to take into account these subtle distinctions, by distinguishing between, and thereby categorising, the different types of integrative and divisive football chants, resulting in thirteen categories by which to classify them and enabling a more comprehensive analysis of their status as a new form of *blason populaire*. Indeed, such distinctions are vital if progress is to be made in the study of *blason populaire*.

1. Integrative – anthem
2. Integrative – player/manager
3. Integrative – club
4. Integrative – location
5. Integrative – fan

6. Divisive – player/manager
7. Divisive – club
8. Divisive – location
9. Divisive – fan
10. Divisive – referee
11. Divisive – police
12. Divisive – other

13. Miscellaneous

While this classification system has been especially tailored for classifying football chants as *blason populaire*, slight modification can make it applicable to all forms of the genre. For instance, 4, 5 and 8 in the system can all be used as targets for all forms of the genre, while 5 and 9 can be generalised to expressions about inhabitants/members of a particular place or group, rather than fans of a particular football club. It is hoped that it will prove useful in future discussions of the genre.

At this point, before an in-depth discussion of the chants ensues, it is important to highlight how I will distinguish between different chants in the forthcoming pages. I will do this by using the example of a popular chant collected during the research:

<i>Type</i>	We love you [name of club] we do, We love you [name of club] we do, We love you [name of club] we do Oh [name of club] we love you (73 tokens, 31 variants)
<i>Token</i>	We love you Barnsley we do, collected on 1/2/2003
<i>Variants</i>	We love you Barnsley we do, We love you Sheffield we do

A chant *type* refers to a specific kind of chant and all of its variants, as in the first example. A *token* is used to describe each chant in the sample, for instance the collection of “we love you Barnsley we do” on a specific date. To further exemplify, 1000 chants were collected, equating to 1000 tokens. A *variant* is the particular version of a chant type used. The sample comprises each chant type collected at a specific match, including those that may have been collected at previous matches. However, it is necessary to note that the frequency of each chant type per game was not recorded and the figures here represent one token per chant type per game by one set of fans, even if it was repeated more than once.²⁷ This was due to the overall aim of the research being to establish trends in football chants as *blason populaire* and the main purpose of their collection being to analyse their content in relation to this. At this stage it was considered unhelpful to quantify them.

It is necessary to discuss the criteria for identifying different chant types, an issue which is often complicated by many of them sharing the same tune and having similar lyrics, though being essentially different. This is of particular importance for distinguishing between those chant types that appear to adhere to the same stylistic formula but have some fundamental, and often subtle, difference. Chant types are generally classed as the same if they share the same formula, inclusive of all its variants and generally have the same meaning and purpose. The wording is normally identical save for, in the case of there being more than one variant, the substitution of one comparative word for another.

²⁷ The only exceptions were if two variants of the same chant types were used, in which case both variants were recorded, or if the same chant type was sung by both sets of fans, in which case it would also be recorded twice.

The description of chant types may lead to one assuming that it is simple to identify different ones easily. However, some may have very similar formulas and share the same function but may still be categorised as different chant types. For example, “we’re staying up, we’re staying up, we’re staying, [name of club’s] staying up” and “we’re going up, we’re going up, we’re going, [name of club’s] going up”, (both sung to the tune “Football’s Coming Home”) may look very similar, share the same tune, and fall into the same chant sub-category (integrative club). However, despite having a similar function, i.e. praising a club, they are ultimately different: one celebrates having avoided relegation while the other celebrates gaining promotion. The two are obviously at opposite ends of the achievement spectrum in a football division. While on the surface they appear to share the same function, ultimately praising their club’s achievements, at a deeper level they are essentially providing a different function and are used in different circumstances. “Stand up if you love the Toon” and “stand up if you hate Man U” are further examples of similar chant types being classified as different. Despite the wording being almost identical and the tune being the same, the sentiments expressed are opposing through the use of “love” in one and “hate” in another, thus making them different chant types, as well as falling into different categories.

It would appear from the examples I have used so far that if chant types have different functions and are placed in different sub-categories, then they are automatically different. However, this is not the case. There are several examples of the same chant type, with little or no alteration to the wording and underlying meaning, occurring across sub-categories as they were aimed at different targets on different occasions. Some of these are listed below, together with the sub-categories in which they occur:

Who are you?

(Divisive club, divisive player/manager and divisive fans)

You don’t know what you’re doing

(Divisive referee, divisive other)

What the fucking hell is/was that?

(Divisive player/manager, divisive other)

You're shit and you know you are
(Divisive player/manager, divisive other)

Bye bye bye bye, bye bye bye bye
(Divisive player/manager, divisive fan)

Scum
(Divisive club, divisive player/manager)

It cannot be denied that in all of these examples, the chant formula is the same. The wording does not change even though the chant types are multifunctional in that they can be used in a number of different situations and aimed at different people or things. Having discussed the intricacies of the participant observation and the subsequent classification of chants, I will now move on to look at the interviews.

4.4 Interviews

Participant observation is rarely used in isolation as the single method of research in ethnography. It is more common for at least one other method of data collection to be used to substantiate the observation data. This is also true of qualitative research more generally, being described as “inherently multi-method in focus” (Denzin and Lincoln 2005 p.5). In order to gain fans’ perspectives on football chants it was vital to speak to the fans themselves about how and why they use the chants and how they relate them to their identities and rivalries. Flick *et al* (2004) have noted the importance of representing the people’s view:

Qualitative research claims to describe life-worlds ‘from the inside out’, from the point of view of the people who participate. By so doing it seeks to contribute to a better understanding of social realities and to draw attention to processes, meaning patterns and structural features. (p.3)

Interviews with the fans presented themselves as an ideal way for me to discuss the chants in this manner, “from the inside out.” The majority of interviews were scheduled to take place in the later stages of my fieldwork when my collection of chants was complete and already being subjected to preliminary

analysis. Conducting them at this later stage was beneficial in that it enabled me to identify specific questions that my data had raised. It reduced the probability of me asking questions that would later appear irrelevant to my research in light of the analysis. All but one of the interviews was conducted between August 2005 and February 2007. However, an initial pilot interview was conducted some months earlier, with the potential questions being refined slightly in order to best elicit the material I was interested in.

My intention was to conduct the interviews in an informal manner, and to ultimately combine the structured and semi-structured interview styles, which Jackson (1987) has termed the “directive” and “non-directive” styles:

Directive interviews involve specific questions posed by the researcher; the interviewee’s comments are welcome only insofar as they are part of the answers to those specific questions. *Nondirective interviews* are totally open: the researcher listens, the subject talks. (p.96)

I did not want to adhere to the rigid questionnaire style delivery of questions with no room for flexibility that is a common feature of the directive interview. Such a style can be too restrictive, especially in the early stages of research (Fetterman 1998). However, I did not want the interviews to dissolve into idle chat, as is a danger with the nondirective style. I wanted to exercise some control over the direction of the interviews and have the opportunity to raise some of the issues in which I was interested, while at the same time being flexible enough to allow for digressions, if they arose, to areas of interest I had not previously considered but that might prove beneficial. This flexibility is one of the advantages of qualitative interviews (Flick *et al* 2004). A combination of the directive and nondirective styles enabled these aims to be achieved.

Having decided on the style of the interview, the next stage was to design the questions. I compiled a list of themes that I would like to elicit information about, such as background to support, rivalry, atmosphere, and the chants themselves. For each of the themes, potential questions were devised, which formed the basis of the interview guide (see Appendix 6). The questions in the first key area, background to support, were designed to ease the informant into

the interview situation, and to provide vital contextual and biographical information about their support for a particular club. Ives (1995 p.51) highlights the importance of biographical questions in the process of "ice-breaking" and establishing rapport. The remaining key areas consisted of questions related to my main research interest in the relationship between football chants and *blason populaire*, namely football rivalries, the atmosphere at matches and the football chants. It was not vital that the themes I chose were discussed in the order that I had listed them. Likewise, it was not compulsory that all questions were asked. Such strict following of a list can be detrimental to the interview process rather than helpful (Ives 1995). With this in mind, the theme list was to serve merely as a guide that I could briefly check during the interview to ensure that I had raised the main issues I intended. Its flexibility would also enable emerging themes that I had not previously considered to be discussed.

It was decided that, as the majority of the chants collected were from Barnsley, Barnsley fans would be ideal informants for the interviews. This choice had one main advantage in that being a Barnsley fan myself, and also living in Barnsley, gave me easy and immediate access to informants. As the interviews were not the main source of data but rather intended to complement the participant observation, six informants were considered to be adequate. Four of the six informants were previously unknown to me. However, they were recruited through a mutual acquaintance. Of the remaining two, one I knew very well, while the other was a passing acquaintance. While such a selection process is not the most "scientific" and includes a relatively small sample, it is an approach that is considered advantageous in folklore studies, as Bennett (1987) has highlighted:

... folklore study is unlike social sciences such as sociology in that it prefers small-scale studies to large-scale surveys. What it loses in universal significance by this approach, it gains in understanding. A folklorist, sitting by the fire talking to a friend of a friend is likely to be given frank answers and the sort of details about the informant's life and times that put beliefs, opinions and personal experiences into context. (p.11)

Five of the informants were male and one female. Whilst females may look to be under-represented, this imbalance reflects the gender composition of the football crowd. The ages of the informants ranged from fifteen to seventy. All but one were lifelong supporters of Barnsley FC, with the remaining one having developed an attachment for the club when he moved to the town from London some years earlier. All were season ticket holders, illustrating their high level of commitment to the club. Three attended most away fixtures, one regularly attended them, another attended them infrequently but liked to go to local derby clashes, while the remaining informant attended home fixtures only, due to family circumstances.

Interviews were conducted in the homes of the informants. As I wanted my informants to feel as comfortable as possible in order to aid the flow of the interviews, their homes presented the best means of achieving this. Interviews with three of the informants were conducted one-to-one, while the three remaining informants were interviewed as a group. They were father and sons and attended most matches together. The joint interview situation successfully enabled them to draw on shared experiences, some of which they may not have been able to recall had they been interviewed separately. Before each interview, I briefed informants about its purpose and gave them a fact sheet containing information about the research as well as the implications of participation. They signed consent forms to say that they agreed to their involvement. One of the conditions of the interviews was that they were conducted anonymously. Therefore in order to protect the informants' identities, pseudonyms have been used throughout the coming discussion. It is useful here to provide the names of informants, with their ages in parenthesis: Eric (70), Catherine (52), John (57), Richard (48), Mark (18), and James (15). The purpose of the interviews was to complement the data collected through participant observation and to add meaning to the chants. As such, in the coming chapters the interview data will be presented alongside the chants, providing perspectives on their use. The pseudonym of the speaker will be given alongside their comments.

4.5 Internet Research

In addition to the participant observation and the interviews, a third method was also used. In the early stages of my research, I identified the Internet as a useful tool in collecting information about football chants, including fans' opinions on them. The Internet has become of increasing relevance for football fans, with the ever-growing significance placed on the use of football chant websites and fans' forums that are frequently used to discuss the use of chants at games. Preliminary research revealed that these websites could yield much insight into the minds of the fans and I decided that an in-depth analysis of chant discussions via this medium would be made if the opportunity arose. The events at a match between Notts County and Barnsley FC at Meadow Lane on the 31st January 2004, played in the build-up to the tenth anniversary of the Miners' Strike and discussed on the Internet following the game, provided me with such an opportunity. The use of chants sung by Barnsley fans during the game describing the Notts County fans as "scabs" provoked heated debate both during and after the match. Thus, following the game, attempts were made to find out what Barnsley fans felt about the use of the "scab" chants, especially as they had only been sung by a small minority and had received widespread condemnation from a high proportion of those Barnsley fans not singing them. This was done by logging onto an unofficial Barnsley FC fans' website, <http://www.barnsleyfc.net>, where it became apparent that the chants had sparked controversy amongst the fans. Over the course of several days numerous threads were dedicated to their discussion and were collected for the analysis. The analysis of these discussions will take place in chapter eight.²⁸ Although only a snapshot of material relating to one particular incident is presented here, it illustrates the richness of data that can be collected in this way. Furthermore, it provides an additional means of obtaining information from the perspectives of fans.

²⁸ See also Luhrs (2007) for a thorough examination of the chants used at this match.

4.6 Overview

Having considered the methodology of the research and the three techniques used to obtain data, the remaining chapters will provide an analysis of this data. They will provide detailed discussions of the chants as examples of *blason populaire* by examining their content, as well as discussing current issues affecting both *blason populaire* and football chants simultaneously, with relevant interview data being used where appropriate. Chapters five and six are concerned with the discussion of integrative and divisive chants respectively. Chapter seven will consider the construction of masculinity in football chants, while chapter eight will discuss the issues of censorship that surround football chants in the present day. The chants set out in the discussion will be numbered consecutively and cross-referenced with their appropriate location in the Appendices. Due to their multifunctional nature, some chants will be listed and discussed more than once if appropriate. Not all chants collected will be discussed, due to the confines of space. However, each will be presented in the Appendices, alongside the group of fans who used it and the date and match at which it was recorded, together with its own unique record number from the Access database, and the relevant tune if known. I will look firstly at integrative football chant, this type being crucial in expressing and consolidating a sense of shared identity for the in-group and what can be considered to be the primary purpose of the football chant in general: showing support for one's team.

5. The Integrative Football Chant

5.1 Introduction

In a sense, it can be argued that all chants are integrative for the in-group who use them, no matter what their function or content. For example, during interviews with fans, the following comments were made regarding the bonding effects of football chants in general:

It's like a bit of banter between, you've got summat in common as well haven't you? You've got Barnsley in common with rest of people. (Richard)

It unites you doesn't it? (Mark)

It's a kind of mantra isn't it, that you, it's a formula. You know what's gonna be said and ... also it's a unifying thing because you know because it's repetitive each week you know the words and so think you can, you can turn the volume up and get this feeling that you know everybody's together ... you're as one ... I mean you are in a sense trying to put the opposition off to a certain extent but also it is a very unifying, you know a real sense of belonging. (John)

Thus, no matter whether singing integratively about one's own group or divisively about the opposition, the bonding nature of chanting communally as one is crucial in creating unity within the in-group and a shared sense of identity and belonging. However, it is nevertheless crucial to make the integrative/divisive distinction when examining the function of individual football chants.

The integrative category covers those chants that emphasise in-group identity. They are overt statements of praise and support for one's own team and also provide a means of collectively bonding as a group. This can be done by praising the club directly, or through praising a particular player or manager, the location of the club, or the fans themselves. As such, they play a crucial role in expressing the collective identity of a club and its fans. As has already been discussed in chapter two, this process of praise can implicitly disparage the out-group who by default are not deemed to have the same positive characteristics as the in-group. Many integrative chants can be classified as what Robson (2000)

calls “doing” songs, offering little more than simple repetitions of the name of the club, its location, or a player or manager’s name. Describing “doing” songs, Robson writes:

These songs employ ritually restricted language of a high order, and in the utter absence of any discursive content are the exemplary *doing* songs: the *form* of them is the thing Though these songs will be deployed in every game Millwall play, no juxtaposed identity is required for them to take off and achieve ritual efficacy; they are the foundational and constitutive elements of the expressive practices that bring *Millwall* into being These *doing* songs, centrepieces of the repertoire and ritual forms in their own right, are the most enduring and significant prerequisites of collective experience at Millwall. This is where the Collective Imaginary’s constitution of *Millwall* – as a specifically altered state of ritual being - takes place, for Millwall fans alone. (p.178)

This fits the majority of integrative chants which are highly formulaic and, especially in the case of integrative club and integrative location sub-categories, have no other comment but to repeat over and over the name or the location of the club. These “doing” songs are in contrast to Robson’s “saying” songs which are more concerned with the expression of rivalries, whether that be through divisive chants or those that are integrative but have divisive undertones.

Although it is not possible to provide a detailed quantitative breakdown on the use of the chants, it is possible to highlight some general trends that would be worthy of further research. The integrative category has the highest number of tokens, accounting for 65% of all chants collected, which is unsurprising considering that the primary purpose of the football chant is to provide vocal support for one’s team. The chants in this category have been broken down into the following sub-categories, according to the extension of Widdowson’s integrative/divisive framework, discussed in chapter four: anthem; integrative club; integrative player-manager; integrative fan; and integrative location. The most popular way to display this support is through integrative club chants, i.e. those chants that praise the club directly. These accounted for almost two thirds (61%) of all integrative chants collected. The proportion of chants for each of the remaining sub-categories was considerably fewer. However, that is not to say that such chants are any less important in the formation of a positive group

identity for both the club and the fans. After all, chants that praise a club's players/managers, fans and location all reflect positively upon the club by default. The chart below provides a breakdown of the percentage of chants in each integrative sub-category.

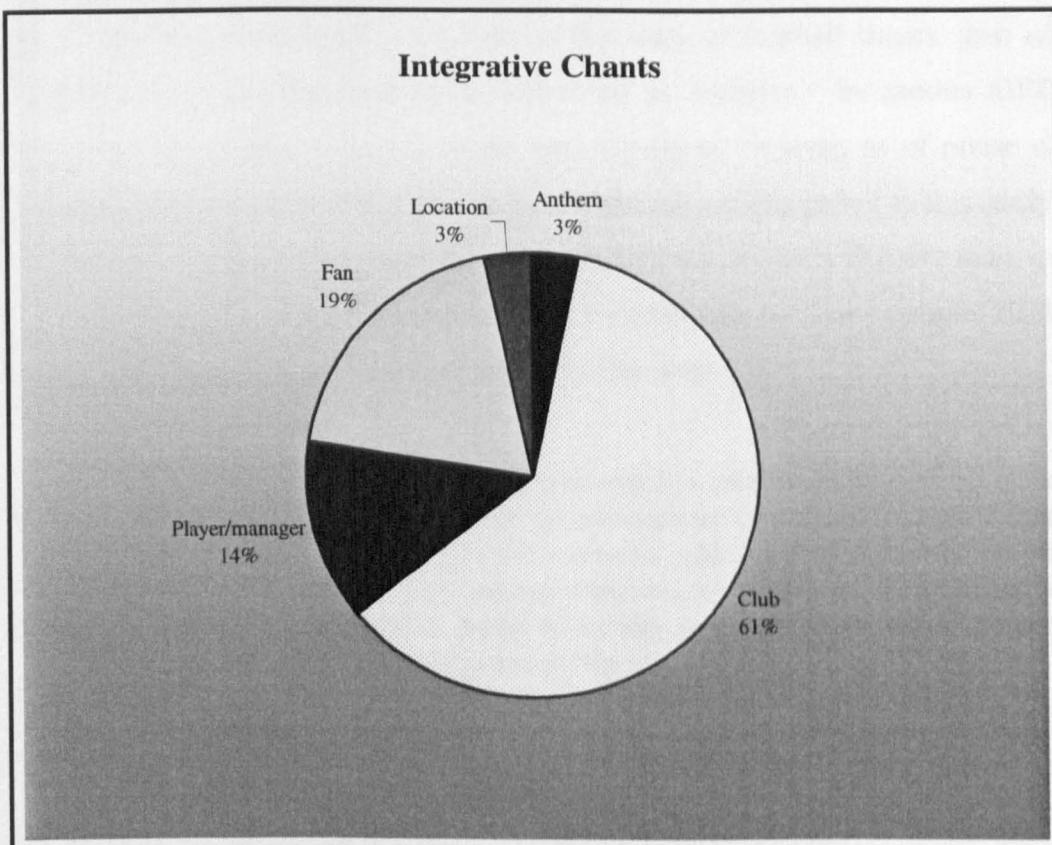


Figure 5.1 Integrative sub-categories

In the ensuing pages, there will be a discussion of the chants collected in the integrative category, centred round each sub-category and, where necessary, the secondary purpose of the chant type. Due to the high number of tokens collected, it is impossible to discuss each chant type and variant individually. For a complete listing of all chant types and tokens, the reader is referred to the Appendices.

5.2. The Anthem

I will begin by looking at anthems. In many discussions of football chants, the word “anthem” is used broadly to refer to all integrative chants as opposed to one particular type. In its loosest sense, it can be described as “a composition in unmeasured prose (usually from the scripture or liturgy) set to music” (OED). If we accept this definition of an anthem in the study of football chants, then *all* football chants can legitimately be described as anthems. In another OED definition, an anthem is defined more specifically as “a song, as of praise or gladness.” Moving one step closer to how anthems are interpreted in this study, this definition is inclusive of all integrative chants but excludes divisive ones, as is sometimes the case in discussions about football chants. For example, Back *et al* (2001) have described football songs in this way:

Mass singing of club anthems possessed a phatic quality, it revealed shared feelings and established an atmosphere of sociability rather than communication. The songs were always addressed to an audience but they were not about conversation, rather they were about being affective – raising the home team’s game, or stifling the opposition. Nowhere was this more evident than at Liverpool. (p.49)

Their description appears to allude to integrative club chants more generally. However, it is the first and italicised part of the following OED definition that I have applied in the analysis in the belief that it more accurately sums up the importance of an anthem as an assertion, and portrait, of the collective identity of both the fans and the club in question, as distinct from other integrative chants:

A popular song with rousing, emotive, qualities, often one identified with a particular subculture, social group, or cause. Chiefly with distinguishing word, denoting either the associated cause or subculture or simply the genre of music, as football anthem, rock anthem, etc. Sometimes mildly derogatory.

In this discussion, then, the football anthem, as opposed to other integrative chants, is taken to mean those chants that are strongly associated with a particular club, representing the relationship between the club and the fan. As opposed to other integrative chants, which can be universally applied to any

team by the alteration of one word to another, most clubs have a song that is specific to their team, their particular anthem. They are commonly popular songs, sometimes adapted in order to enhance their memorability and to make their association with the said team explicit. Popular anthems for football teams in England include Liverpool's "You'll Never Walk Alone", West Ham's "I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles", Leeds United's "Marching On Together", Manchester City's "Blue Moon", and Millwall's "No One Likes Us, We Don't Care".

While similar to integrative chants in that both are positive statements about the club, anthems can be distinguished from other integrative chants in that they become unique to a particular club and construct their identity as unique from others. For example, Robson (2000) has summarised the importance of Millwall's anthem in representing their unique identity:

The somewhat infamous, and representative, anthem *No One Likes Us* was developed in the early 1980s out of a collective need to somehow engage with and comment upon this uncontrollable process of negative mythicization. This song functions as a refusal of this distorting myth and as a celebration of the authentic Millwall identity known only to insiders This is now by far the most frequently and resolutely rendered song in the informal Millwall canon, and is widely acknowledged as the supporters' theme tune. (p.125)

In contrast, it is common for the integrative club chant to be easily transferable from club to club and used by many. It is this uniqueness that ultimately distinguishes anthems from integrative chants. This is emphasised by the fact that to outsiders, the anthem can be most easily identified as the one chant with which a club is associated. Similarly, fans who attend games on an irregular basis or who only attend key fixtures are more likely to know a club's anthem more than any of the other chants used by the fans. This became apparent during the interviews, with one informant claiming:

When it comes to games like Millennium [stadium] only songs that you'll sing are just like songs that are just like Barnsley, like Brazil, it's an anthem in Barnsley like *It's just like watching Brazil*. Like Manchester City I suppose Manchester City, if they were in, if they ever went to Cardiff all they'd sing is *Blue Moon* because it's only time that

all them that don't go to games, it's probably only song that they can get away with singing at any point in time in [the] game. (Mark)

The match at the Millennium Stadium that Mark refers to was Barnsley's Coca Cola League One play-off final against Swansea City in the 2005-6 season, which saw them promoted to the Championship. As many fans attended this match who did not normally go to the matches, Mark suggests that the only song they could sing was the one most associated with the club. The song repertoire at this game was in marked contrast to that heard at the second leg of the semi-final at Huddersfield where the away crowd consisted of fans who attended regularly:

We went to Millennium Stadium. There were hundreds of people that don't go to matches that don't chant songs, and like atmosphere it were good because there were a lot on us, but if like at Huddersfield, that night match at Huddersfield, there were all season ticket holders in there and that's what made atmosphere ... that's what made it so special ... that they were proper supporters who know all songs, knew when to sing em you know. (Richard)

The theme of away followings containing a more loyal and hardcore set of fans is one to which I will return later.

As these anthems are regarded by insiders as a trademark of their team, it is not surprising that great pleasure is taken by opposing fans in subverting their original meaning through the creation of parodies based upon existing stereotypes of the club, its hometown or inhabitants, or past victories or grudge games. Back *et al* (2001) have highlighted this, suggesting that "it is equally common that opposing teams take the opposition's prized mantra and parody it" (p.52). For example, the famous Liverpool anthem "You'll Never Walk Alone" has been changed by some to:

1. Sign on, sign on,
With pen in your hand,
Cos you'll never get a job,
You'll never get a job
(Sung to the tune of "You'll Never Walk Alone". 2 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 16)

This parody of the anthem is not just aimed at fans of Liverpool FC. It has also been aimed at fans of Barnsley FC as well as the fans of other clubs from traditionally working class areas. In the present research it was sung by Brighton fans to Barnsley and also by Manchester United to Liverpool fans. Other variants of the chant see the final two lines altered to “cos you’ll never work again.” Similarly, the lyrics of Barnsley FC’s anthem “It’s Just Like Watching Brazil” have often been altered by the opposition, and even by their own fans when the team has played badly, as Barnsley fan Catherine states:

But even when we got really bad thrashings even our own fans some of em were like “it’s just like watching Ryhill” or “it’s just like watching ‘Grange Hill.’” (Catherine)

Both of these examples illustrate how anthems can be altered, in the same way that other types of football chants can be, to mock a team and its fans.

Focussing now on anthems collected during the present research, I will firstly consider Leeds United’s “Marching on Together.” This anthem was written especially for the club in celebration of reaching the 1972 FA Cup Final. The song is presented below. However, it is the second part of the chorus that is the most frequently used part today.

2. Here we go, all the way with Leeds United,
We're going to give the boys a hand,
So stand up and sing for Leeds United,
They are the greatest in the land.
Chorus: Every day we're all going to say,
 We love you Leeds, Leeds, Leeds!
 Everywhere we're going to be there,
 We love you Leeds, Leeds, Leeds!
 Marching on together,
 We're going to see you win,
 La la la la la la,
 We are so proud we shout it out loud,
 We love you Leeds, Leeds, Leeds!
We've been through it all together,
And we've had our ups and downs,
We're going to stay with you forever,
At least until the world stops going round.
(11 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 2, anthem 1)

While “Marching On Together” remains the true property of Leeds United, it is sometimes used by fans of other clubs. For example, the second part of the chorus is also sung by Barnsley fans, with the final line being replaced with “we love the Reds, Reds, Reds” and it has also been heard at Bradford City and Doncaster Rovers, with Merrills (1997) going as far as to suggest that it “has become probably *the* definitive Yorkshire song” (p.127). Despite Merrills highlighting the strong Yorkshire connection associated with this song, it would be naïve and wrong to suggest that when it is sung by the fans of any other club but Leeds it is also their anthem. For the other clubs, it remains as no more than an integrative chant. It is not *the* chant that typifies what Barnsley, Bradford or Doncaster football clubs stand for but rather has been borrowed from Leeds United and adapted. Likewise, its use cannot be argued to be any more important in summoning collective identity than other integrative chants that the fans sing, in contrast to when it is sung by Leeds fans. Returning to the third definition of “anthem” in the OED, when sung by the fans of other clubs, although important in expressing and maintaining identity, it does not have the same emotive force that would be attached to the anthems of the clubs.

Perhaps the most well-known anthem of all English clubs is “You’ll Never Walk Alone”, sung by fans of Liverpool FC.

3. Walk on, walk on,
With hope in your heart,
'Cos you'll never walk alone,
You'll never walk alone
(Sung to the tune of “You’ll Never Walk Alone”. 4 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 2, anthem 3)

The anthem is a straightforward performance of the original version taken from the musical “Carousel”. The song has strong Liverpool connections, with the Liverpudlian band Gerry and the Pacemakers releasing a version of it in 1963 at a time when it was becoming increasingly common for popular songs to be used as football chants. Its association with Liverpool FC became even more significant and tinged with poignancy following the Hillsborough disaster in 1989. Earlier it was stated that an anthem generally becomes the property of

one club and, as we have seen in the previous example, if it is used by other clubs it does not normally acquire the same anthem status, remaining as an integrative club chant. However, this is not the case with Liverpool's anthem. It has also been adopted by Celtic as their anthem as well. However, its use by both clubs has sparked no small amount of controversy, most noticeably concerning which group of fans can lay claim to having sung it first and thus be the rightful owners of the anthem. Regardless of who sang it first, it remains the case that both teams use it as their anthem and for the fans of each its lyrics define who and what their club and its supporters are. It ultimately presents a united front.

"Blue Moon" is another song that is used as an anthem by two or more clubs. During the data collection, it was evident at each of Manchester City's observed matches and only in this context was it found. However, it is also claimed to be the anthem of Crewe Alexandra. The tune to "Blue Moon" is in itself a popular one used to accompany football chanting. For example, seven chant types and thirteen tokens from across all categories used the tune, with the first lines of three of them being as follows:

4. Ten men, we've only got ten men.
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 48)
5. One ball, you've only got one ball.
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 48)
6. Fuck all, you're gonna win fuck all.
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 27)

However, when used as an anthem, a verbatim performance of the original is used, although normally just the chorus:

7. Blue Moon,
You saw me standing alone,
Without a dream in my heart,
Without a love of my own
(Sung to the tune of "Blue Moon")
(Appendix 2, anthem 2)

It is clear to see why Manchester City took the song as their own, with the reference to the colour blue connecting it to their team colours and providing a link between the two. However, the connection of the song with Crewe Alexandra is harder to establish as Crewe's normal match-day colours are red and white. However, while there is no obvious link between the lyrics and the fans or the club, it is nevertheless their song and has significance for them, the most important aspect of a football anthem. Rather than being a verbatim performance of an existing song, the anthem of Charlton Athletic provides a mix of old and new elements of a well-known tune, and is unique to them:

8. Valley, Floyd Road
The mist rolling in from the Thames
My desire is always to be found at
Valley Floyd Road
(Sung to the tune of "Mull of Kintyre". 1 token)
(Appendix 2, anthem 6)

The words have particular significance as Charlton were exiled from their home between 1989 and 1992. The lyrics display the strong sense of attachment that Charlton fans place on the Valley and show how important the ground is in shaping their identities as fans. This sentiment is in no way unique to Charlton fans but can be witnessed at football clubs across the country, especially in recent times when it has been necessary for clubs to move homes, either permanently or temporarily, while ground improvements are made.

Bristol City's anthem is based on a number of key components making up the collective Bristol City identity. It draws on the typical West Country stereotype of its inhabitants as cider drinkers. Rather than this being regarded as a negative stereotype, as it would be if used by outsiders, it is shown to be a positive trait, something to be proud of. An out-group is also identified, in this case Bristol Rovers, which further reinforces the positive Bristol City identity:

9. Drink up thee cider, drink up thee cider,
For tonight we'll merry merry be.
We went down the Rovers,
To do the bastards over,
So drink up thee cider in the jar.
(Sung to the tune of "Drink Up Thy Zider". 2 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 2, anthem 4)

The lyrics are very much about the fan experience – drinking cider alongside fighting with Bristol Rovers fans – as opposed to a bold statement of pride in the club. Rather, this pride is expressed implicitly through the juxtaposition of the two aspects of Bristol City support crucial in defining who they are. This anthem will be discussed further in relation to its construction of masculinity in chapter seven.

Of the anthems discussed so far, all have some clue in their lyrics as to why they have become the signature tune of a particular club. For instance, "Marching on Together" and "Valley Floyd Road" display explicit feelings of love and attachment to Leeds and Charlton respectively. Similarly, "Drink up Thee Cider" shows the strength of support felt by Bristol City fans by juxtaposing the positive elements of their own club alongside negative comments about their rivals. In the case of "You'll Never Walk Alone" and "Blue Moon", while no direct mention of Liverpool or Manchester City is made in the lyrics, the songs have obvious links to the clubs. However, the final anthem to be discussed in this section is more complex when considering the motivation for its use. In fact, without context, its application as an anthem is both absurd and unconvincing:

10. I had a wheelbarrow, the wheel fell off,
I had a wheelbarrow the wheel fell off
(Sung to the tune of "On Top of Old Smokey". 1 token)
(Appendix 2, anthem 5)

This song has become the chant of choice at Meadow Lane, home of Notts County. In order to gain any kind of understanding as to why it is so popular, it is necessary to look in detail at its possible history. Merrills (1997) traces its

roots back to an away fixture with Shrewsbury town in April 1990. It is worth quoting Merrills at length here:

By half-time, however, they [Notts County] were a goal down – a deficit which doubled with a second goal of the night by Dean Spink soon after the restart. In true footballing tradition, the County supporters evening then took another turn for the worse when it started to pour with rain, leaving those members of the travelling multitude who couldn't find shelter under the abbreviated roof of the Station End terrace in just about as miserable a state as can be imagined – in Shrewsbury, on a Tuesday night, soaking wet, miles from home, watching your promotion dreams go up in smoke. The situation called for a song, and a nameless but now anonymously heroic figure in black and white took up *The Wheelbarrow Song* – it did, after all, look as if the wheels were about to come off of County's promotion bandwagon. Almost immediately, though, as if moved by divine intervention, the Magpies pulled a goal back through Tommy Johnson and then went on to secure a draw courtesy of Kevin Bartlett's equaliser. The drive towards the top of the table was thus sustained, promotion was eventually secured (via the play-offs, admittedly), and the restorative and inspirational qualities of *The Wheelbarrow Song* were set in stone from that day onwards. (p.95)

While this song does not illustrate anything about fan identity or declare any love of or pride in Notts County, if Merrills' statement is correct, it is the shared experience of singing it and its history which give it its meaning and attachment for Notts County fans. Whilst the anthem sub-category is not one of the most popular in the present research, it is hoped that the discussion so far has illustrated why it is so significant to football fans in portraying their own club's unique identity as distinct from other clubs.

5.3. The integrative club chant

In contrast with anthems, integrative club chants generally have the capacity to be used by any club and while each club may have its own variant of the same chant type, the chants are not considered to be the sole property of any one club in the same way that anthems are, even if they are sung on a weekly basis. Many of the chants in this sub-category are examples of Robson's "doing songs", offering little in the way of content other than repetition of the name of the club. However, this is just as important as those chants offering more

information, as the simple reiteration of the name of a club is crucial in displaying identity:

There is a lot of ones that we sing at moment are just like proclaiming your loyalty really. That's all it is, it's just like your loyalty and who you are like, your sort of identity, that's main songs that go round Oakwell these days because we haven't got much to shout about. (Mark)

This focus on identity, which was a recurrent theme in discussions of football chants with fans, highlights the importance of the relationship between football chants and *blason populaire*. There appears to be a standard core of chants used repeatedly in this sub-category, and in the other integrative sub-categories as well, evidently arising because there is not the same need to create new material for an ever-changing opposition, as can be the case with divisive chants. One's support remains constant and the same themes are recycled at each match, whereas more imagination is required to aim meaningful insults at the opposition, again typical of the subject matter of divisive chants. Nevertheless, that is not to say that chant types in this sub-category are uniform. The chants are centred upon six different themes: general support and encouragement for the team; pride in the team; responses to on the pitch events; responses to off the pitch events that may be affecting a club; achievements; and significant events in the club's history. The discussion will be based around these themes.

5.3.1 General support and encouragement for the team

I will begin by looking at those chants that offer general support and encouragement for the team. Such chants often involve little more than simply repeating the name or nickname of the club to a variety of tunes, rhythms or shouts. There is no overt statement of pride or love for a club, hence why they are differentiated from "pride in the club". However, in singing them an implicit assertion of support is shown. Where the name of a club is given in the chant, the number of variants indicates the use of the chant type at other clubs.

11. Arsenal
(40 tokens, 15 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 2)

12. C.I.T.Y. - Bristol City
(1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 34)
13. Clap clap/clap clap clap/clap clap clap – [name/nickname of club]
(7 tokens, 6 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 14)
14. [Name/nickname of club] – clap clap clap
(14 tokens, 7 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 8)
15. Albion, Albion, Albion
(Sung to the tune of “Here We Go”. 26 tokens, 10 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 5)
16. Villa Villa Villa Villa,
Villa Villa Villa,
Villa Villa Villa Villa,
Villa Villa Villa
(Sung to the tune of “Amazing Grace”. 6 tokens, 3 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 15)
17. And it's hi ho Sheffield Wednesday
(Sung to the tune of “Hi Ho Silver Lining”. 2 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 27)
18. Come on you [name/nickname/club colours]
(27 tokens, 6 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 4)
19. Go West Bromwich Albion
(Sung to the tune of “Go West”. 1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 35)

All of the chant types presented here that offer general support and encouragement for the team again fall under the rubric of Robson's “doing songs.” The only real variance between the different chant types, apart from individual variants where different names are used, is usually the rhythm or tune that accompanies them. Some are merely shouted out while others may have a rhythm accompanied by clapping. Others are sung to a well-known tune. While any set of fans can normally adapt the lyrics to suit their own clubs, some chant types have limitations, based purely on stylistic features. For example, chant 16, sung to the tune of “Amazing Grace”, seems to require that the name used

consists of, or can be shortened to, two syllables. At least that is the case with the tokens collected here using the names “Chelsea”, “Leicester” and “Villa.”

In example 19, West Bromwich Albion fans use a chant type that differs with most others of this sort in that it is unique to them and not shared with any other clubs. It emerged when the Pet Shop Boys released a version of “Go West” in 1993, originally sung by The Village People in the 1970s. The Albion faithful adapted the words slightly in order to praise their club. The invention of this chant is fortuitous in that the remainder of West Bromwich Albion’s name fits in so easily to the normal rhythm of the “Go West” tune and that it has the same number of syllables. A comparison of a line from the original song and the chant invented for the club is presented below to illustrate this point:

“Go West life is peaceful there” - the original song

“Go West Bromwich Albion” - the football chant

The tune to “Go West” has gone on to spawn countless football chants. In this research alone it was the fifth most used tune for the chants collected. Other chant types using the tune include:

20. You’re shit and you know you are
(5 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 8)
21. Champions but you’ve got no fans.
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 20)
22. Stand up if you’re going up.
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 46)
23. We’re Leeds and we’re proud of it
(4 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 23)
24. One nil and you still don’t sing.
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 29)

However, as is evident from these examples, normally the alteration to the lyrics is not as straightforward as in the West Bromwich Albion chant type, nor does it allow for a chant to be so specific to a club.

5.3.2 Pride in the team

I will now look at those chants in the integrative club sub-category that express pride in a more direct way, through actual assertions of love or actually of *being* the club, such is the depth of feeling that football support can rouse. These kinds of chants normally contain more substantive content. They can normally be used under any circumstances and are not context specific, as Mark highlights in the discussion of Barnsley fans' use of a chant sung to the tune of "You Are My Sunshine":

... there's some songs that can be sung anywhere under any circumstance. Like if you're losing four-nil and you just fancy a sing it's one of them that you can just sing cos it's like it just shows that you still love em. (Mark)

This is a feature of the chants in this section that they can be used at any point in the game, regardless of what is happening on the pitch. In a similar vein to the chants offering general support, they include both those that can be applied to any club by following a simple formula as well as ones that are club-specific and rarely transferred from one club to another.

25. We love you [name of club] we do
 We love you [name of club] we do
 We love you [name of club] we do
 Oh [name of club] we love you
 (73 tokens, 31 variants)
 (Appendix 2, integrative club chant 1)

This chant type was the most frequently collected. The use of the pronoun "we" provides a collective stance by uniting all of the fans of the club together as one, as is the case in many integrative chants. The formula can also be applied to praise particular people at a match. Other chant types of this kind include:

26. And it's [name of club], [name of club] FC,
We're by far the greatest team
The world has ever seen
(Sung to the tune of "The Wild Rover". 25 tokens, 16 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 6)
27. Stand up if you love [name/nickname of club]
(Sung to the tune of "Go West". 4 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 21)
28. Marching on together,
We're going to see you win,
La la la la la la,
We are so proud we shout it out loud,
We love the Reds, Reds, Reds!
(Sung to the tune of "Marching On Together". 1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 39)
29. Oh when the [nickname of club] go marching in,
Oh when the [nickname of club] go marching in,
I wanna be in that number,
Oh when the [nickname of club] go marching in
(Sung to the tune of "Oh When the Saints Go Marching In". 17 tokens,
7 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 7)
30. Glory, glory, [name of club],
Glory, glory name of club,
Glory, glory name of club,
And the [nickname of club] go marching on, on, on
(Sung to the tune of "Glory, Glory Hallelujah". 9 tokens, 3 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 12)
31. You are my Barnsley, my only Barnsley,
You make me happy when skies are grey,
You'll never notice how much I love you,
Please don't take my Barnsley away
(Sung to the tune of "You Are My Sunshine". 3 tokens, 3 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 24)

Due to the circumstances surrounding the performance of one variant of example 31, sung to the tune of "You Are My Sunshine", it is necessary to discuss it in more detail. Little alteration is needed in the lyrics for the chant type to be applicable to a particular club. Indeed, it simply requires the alteration of the word "sunshine" in the first and final lines with the name or nickname of the appropriate club. The chant type was collected three times,

with variants by Barnsley, Cardiff City and Stockport County. It is normally sung with no other motive than to show general support for a club. However, when sung by Barnsley fans at a home game against Luton in January 2003, its use was loaded with poignancy. After a spell in financial administration in late 2002, town mayor Peter Doyle bought the club with the help of a loan. The move was surrounded by controversy, partly due to the questionable legitimacy of the deal and partly as a result of Doyle's local reputation. Fans were worried that his interests were not with the club and that he was threatening its very existence. A protest in reaction to these events was held at the match. During the singing of the chant, fans pointed to the directors' box during the final line in a heartfelt plea to Doyle to keep the club alive. It was around this time that the chant first gained currency at the club, and it has remained a favourite ever since. Perhaps at no other time has this chant type held such significance for a group of fans than those at Barnsley that day, who at the time of the match were faced with the very real possibility that their club was slipping away from them.

It is a common feature in chant types in the integrative club sub-category (and indeed in the integrative fan sub-category, which will become apparent presently) for fans to be so consumed by the club that they become part of it, in words at least. This is highlighted in some of the chants already discussed and it is again evident in the ones now presented.

32. Forever and ever, we'll follow our team,
We're Barnsley FC, we are supreme,
We'll never be mastered by no Wednesday bastards,
We'll keep the red flag flying high
(Sung to the tune of "The Red Flag". 3 tokens, 3 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 25)
33. We are Leeds, we are Leeds, we are Leeds
(Sung to the tune of "Here We Go". 10 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 11)
34. We're Leeds and we're proud of it
(Sung to the tune of "Go West". 4 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 23)

The strong identification of the fans with their clubs in all of these chant types is marked in the assertion that they *are* the club. With chant 33, there is one criterion for its use: that the name or nickname used in it has only one syllable. The two names used in each of the variants collected have just one syllable: “Leeds” and “Wolves.”

In addition to integrative chants that are simple declarations of love and support for one’s team, some also contain divisive elements about others in a bid to highlight their own superiority. These can be seen as operating within Robson’s (2000) definition of “saying” songs, since they rely on some element of rivalry with another club in order for them to work, even if their overriding function is integrative. It is useful here to provide Robson’s description of “saying songs”:

These contain explicit discursive messages designed for communication with a juxtaposed imaginary. They are intended to insult, hurt, abuse and annoy that other on the one hand, and to confirm and exalt Millwallism on the other. (p.174)

The divisive element against a rival is an undercurrent in the chant types now to be discussed. Example 35 contains an implicit divisive undertone:

35. One team in Yorkshire, there's only one team in Yorkshire
(Sung to the tune of “Guantanamera”. 1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 43)

On the surface this chant type appears to be purely integrative. However, by stating that a club, in this case Sheffield United, is so great that it is the only one worthy of importance in a particular location, it is deriding all other teams by failing to even recognise their existence. The only example of this chant type collected was performed at a Sheffield derby match between Sheffield United and Sheffield Wednesday, which is unsurprising considering that it is often used at derby games where both teams are from the location stated in the chant, be that at the town, county or regional level. The existence of the rival is challenged and in doing so the fans singing the chant raise their own status. There are other chant types that state divisive elements more boldly. One chant

even appears to be entirely divisive until the final line, showing hatred for Nottingham Forest, Everton and Manchester United:

36. We hate Nottingham Forest,
We hate Everton too (they're shit),
We hate Man United,
But Liverpool we love you
(Sung to the tune of "Land of Hope and Glory". 1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 60)

Although the chant type has both integrative and divisive elements, it has been classified as primarily integrative as its main message is one of support for Liverpool and the stress is upon that support in the final line. It is through the expression of hatred for the other clubs juxtaposed against the love for Liverpool that enables a true measure of that love to be gleaned. Only one token of this chant type was collected. However, previous research has highlighted that it was popular during the 1970s and 80s (Green and Widdowson 2003). In the same research it is also apparent that an entirely divisive version is used by fans. By changing the final line to "But [name of club] we hate you", the whole meaning of the existing chant is altered and thus a different chant type emerges. The apparent fall in popularity of the chant can in no small part be attributed to the fact that a change in fortunes of Nottingham Forest has rendered the message in the chant meaningless. The chant works by professing a hatred for the top footballing sides of the country followed by a declaration of love for one's own club in the final line, implying that the final club is the best, regardless of its position in the league. From the 1970s to the early 1990s, Nottingham Forest was one of the top clubs, with success at both the domestic and European level of the game. Their decline down the league ladder in recent years now means that their inclusion in this chant alongside Manchester United and Everton appears random, although on close examination its continued use in the chant is probably due to the fact that the name "Nottingham Forest" is one that fits, rather than the club still being perceived as a significant rival worthy of inclusion.

Two further chants have divisive connotations but are primarily integrative.

37. Carefree wherever you may be,
 We are the famous CFC,
 And we don't give a fuck whoever you may be
 Cos we are the famous CFC
 (Sung to the tune of "Lord of the Dance". 3 tokens, 2 variants)
 (Appendix 2, integrative club chant 26)
38. I've never felt more like singing the blues,
 When Ipswich win and Norwich lose,
 Ooooh Ipswich you've got me singing the blues.
 (Sung to the tune of 'Singing the Blues'. 1 token)
 (Appendix 2, integrative club chant 37)

In example 37, both variants were used by fans of London clubs, namely Arsenal and Chelsea. In the variant sung by Chelsea, which is the one presented here, the concept of *being* Chelsea is so powerful that it makes no obstacle too great, evident in the third and fourth lines. Being Chelsea in a sense makes the fans, the players, the club, in fact everything and everyone connected with Chelsea Football Club, infallible, together with the assertion "we are the famous CFC" also marking it as an integrative club chant type. The Arsenal version of this chant type operates in a similar way with the statement "We are the famous AFC". However, in this variant Arsenal's infallibility, and an important part of being Arsenal, is connected to the quality of their player Thierry Henry, who makes it possible for them to defeat any rival, with the final line being "cos we have the famous Thierry Henry." As with the Chelsea variant, it is the language and sentiment that add a confrontational tone to the chant, occurring in both instances in the third line of the chant: "And we'll fuck you up when we play at Highbury" Or "and we don't give a fuck whoever you may be." However, again the main message of the chant is integrative with the divisive element necessary in order to show the strength of support felt for one's own club by comparing it to lesser rivals. In example 38, the tone is not confrontational but it still includes divisive elements against another club. In an adaptation of "Singing the Blues", in reference to their team colours, Ipswich fans show that their ideal scenario is for Ipswich to win and Norwich to lose. This illustrates the loathing of local rivals Norwich and contrastingly the importance of Ipswich's success. The juxtaposition of the two shows how important the success, or rather the lack of it, of their rivals is in shaping the Ipswich fan identity. A defeat for Norwich raises the esteem of the Ipswich fans and makes their own support superior.

5.3.3 Achievements

All of the chants in the integrative club category discussed so far can be applied to any club under most circumstances. However, the chants in this section are restricted in use to describing those clubs that are enjoying success, or in some cases lack of it. In these instances the chant types are very context specific and their use depends upon a team being in a particular position, be it in a cup final, gaining promotion or, contrastingly, avoiding relegation. All of these situations are cause for celebration and song from fans. The first group of chants with this theme are associated with gaining promotion to a higher division, whether it looks likely or if it is a certainty. The most popular chant type in such a situation celebrates not only the success of the whole team but also the manager who has guided this success:

39. E i e i e i o

Up the football league we go,
When we get promoted,
This is what we'll sing,
We are [name of club], we are [name of club]
[Name of manager] is our King
(Sung to the tune of "Knees Up Mother Brown". 10 tokens, 8 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 10)

All of the chants of this sort can be applied to any team. In some it is necessary to insert the name of the club or its nickname in the appropriate place. However, others are even more general and do not require this small modification to be made. Four of the following chant types are variations of the message "we are going up" applied to different tunes while another follows the popular chant formula "Stand up if you're _____", sung to the tune of "Go West:

40. The Blades are going up,

The Blades are going up,
And now you better believe us,
And now you better believe us,
And now you better believe us,
The Blades are going up

(Sung to the tune of "For He's a Jolly Good Fella". 4 tokens, 3 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 20)

41. We are going up, say we are going up
 (Sung to the tune of “Oops Upside Your Head”. 1 token)
 (Appendix Two, integrative club chant 54)
42. We’re going up, we’re going up,
 We’re going, City’s going up
 (Sung to the tune of “Football’s Coming Home”. 1 token)
 (Appendix 2, integrative club chant 55)
43. We’re going up, we’re going up,
 We’re going up, we’re going up
 (Sung to the tune of “Tom Hark”. 1 token)
 (Appendix 2, integrative club chant 56)
44. Stand up if you’re going up
 (Sung to the tune of “Go West”. 1 token)
 (Appendix 2, integrative club chant 46)

There are three chant types reserved for the occasion of celebration at the opposite end of the table, i.e. if a team has avoided relegation, or looks likely to. They bear remarkable similarity to the chants about being promoted, with two of the types sharing the same tunes and formulas that have already been seen:

45. We’re staying up, we’re staying up,
 We’re staying, Brentford’s staying up
 (Sung to the tune of “Football’s Coming Home”. 2 tokens, 2 variants)
 (Appendix 2, integrative club chant 28)
46. We are staying up, say we are staying up
 (Sung to the tune of “Oops Upside Your Head”. 1 token)
 (Appendix 2, integrative club chant 57)
47. Staying up, staying up, staying up
 (Sung to the tune of “Here We Go”. 1 token)
 (Appendix 2, integrative club chant 47)

Much the same pattern emerges for those chants that are in celebration of the team being crowned champions, either after winning the league or cup glory. All of these include verbal assertions of the club’s status as champions. If the term “champions” is not used, then some reference to being top of the league is made:

48. Champions
 (4 tokens, 1 variant)
 (Appendix 2, integrative club chant 22)
49. We are the champions
 (2 tokens, 1 variant)
 (Appendix 2, integrative club chant 30)
50. Champions, champions, champions
 (Sung to the tune of “Here We Go”. 1 token)
 (Appendix 2, integrative club chant 32)
51. Top of the league, we’re having a laugh
 (Sung to the tune of “Tom Hark”. 2 tokens, 1 variant)
 (Appendix 2, integrative club chant 29)
52. We are top of the league, say we are top of the league
 (Sung to the tune of “Oops Upside Your Head”. 1 token)
 (Appendix 2, integrative club chant 58)

A further chant is reserved for those situations when a trip to the national stadium beckons. It can be sung early on in cup competitions when it is not a given fact that a club will reach the final and so presents a show of optimism and confidence, or it can be used to reflect the fact that this achievement has been made.

53. Que sera, sera,
 Whatever will be will be,
 We’re going to Cardiff
 Que sera sera
 (Sung to the tune of “Que Sera”. 1 token)
 (Appendix 2, integrative club chant 45)

For many years the blank space in the third line of this chant type was occupied with “Wem-ber-ley”. However, the demolition and construction of the new Wembley made it temporarily redundant and it was modified to the Cardiff variant, to reflect that international and cup matches were held at the Millennium Stadium in Cardiff. Although the rhyme between “will be” and “wem-ber-ley” is lost, the chant has nevertheless persisted. Chant 54 is also normally used during cup competitions, again not necessarily when in the later

stages when success looks likely but also as a show of optimism in the early stages:

54. We're going all the way,
We're going all the way,
And now you're gonna believe us,
And now you're gonna believe us,
And now you're gonna believe us,
We're going all the way
(Sung to the tune of "For He's a Jolly Good Fella". 1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 52)

This was sung by Manchester United fans in their opening fourth round tie of the FA Cup against Northampton in January 2003. Such was their confidence when the team scored their first goal that they voiced their belief that they were going to win the competition.

5.3.4 On the pitch events

Some chants occur in response to specific events on the pitch during the course of a game when it is deemed necessary to praise or encourage the team rather than offer general support. The most obvious event that sparks this reaction is the scoring of a goal, particularly if that goal puts the team in the lead:

55. One nil to the Albion
(Sung to the tune of "Go West". 1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 42)

Any appropriate score-line can be used. In a similar vein, fans sometimes ask for more goals in order to encourage the players, as in:

56. We want four
(1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 59)

This chant type was sung by Sheffield United when they were playing at home to Sheffield Wednesday. United were in a comfortable 3-1 lead but the fans would clearly have liked another goal. The use of this chant type is often sung tongue-in-cheek, as the score-line is normally such that the fans would be

perfectly happy with it the way it is. Even if a team is losing, fans can remain ever-optimistic in their support. So, for instance, when Leeds were playing Portsmouth in a relegation battle in the Premier League during the 2003-04 season, after Portsmouth took a vital one-nil lead, Leeds fans could be heard singing:

57. 2-1, we're gonna win 2-1
(Sung to the tune of "Blue Moon". 1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 31)

Its words send out the message to the opponents that the team is not yet beaten. It is also a display of confidence in the club. As it was, it was actually Portsmouth who went on to win the match 2-1. Again, when used in the second context, when a team is losing, there is also a tongue-in-cheek element to the use of the chant. In such circumstances as this when extra motivation is required, the importance of encouraging the players cannot be overestimated. This emerged during the interviews:

It can be like a twelfth man can't it? Like as they say because like if you put yourselves in their shoes like, you're absolutely shattered at end of a game and you need a goal and there's, what, thirteen thousand fans screaming at top of their lungs to egg you on. I suppose it does give you a boost like to keep you going. (Mark)

The final chant type collected in response to on the pitch events is reserved for when a team has a player sent off but the team is seemingly playing better than their opponents despite this disadvantage:

58. Ten men, we've only got ten men,
We've only got ten men,
We've only got ten men
(Sung to the tune of "Blue Moon". 1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 48)

This chant was sung by Luton fans when their goalkeeper was sent off during a game against Barnsley. Luton were in the lead at this point and that lead was maintained despite losing a key player. The chant operates integratively by expressing that the team can continue to play well in adversity. However, it is

not without its divisive undertones. For example, the implication to rival fans is that their own team must be inferior by not being able to take advantage of having an extra player on the field.

5.3.5 Off the pitch events

Just as fans offer support in reaction to on the pitch events, they also make their voices heard in response to off the pitch events that affect their club. These normally include circumstances such as moving grounds or changes in the ownership of the club, both of which may bring out strong displays of group solidarity amongst fans as they unite against a common cause. Often in these circumstances, the fans' voice is only heard through chanting; it can be the only means of getting their opinions across. Because of the unique nature of chants in this section relating to the different factors affecting individual clubs, it is necessary to discuss each chant individually. The first chant of this sort was sung by Leeds United fans on the way to the Valley for an away fixture with Charlton Athletic. At the time, Leeds had recently announced that they were £80 million in debt and were on the brink of administration:

59. We ain't got no money, we ain't got no money,
Na na na na – hey! Na na na na
(Sung to the tune of "Let's All Have a Disco". 1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 51)
1 token

It was a blunt assessment of the club's financial situation. The chant works integratively in the fact that the fans are presenting an image of group solidarity to the world, as much as to suggest that the club may not have money but that it does not alter their support. The chant was not sung in isolation; it was accompanied by cries of "Leighton's got our money" and "Risdale's got our money." Both of these have the same formula as example 59, although they are classed as divisive as they are direct criticism of specific club staff. Alan Leighton was the deputy chairman of the club at the time and Peter Risdale was the former chairman, both of whom the fans held responsible for the situation their club was in.

In another chant type of this kind we again see an “us against them” mentality displayed between the fans and the board in a defiant message from the fans of York City:

60. You'll never kill York City
(1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 61)

The directors of the club had intended to sell Bootham Crescent, the home of York City, to developers for a housing development. However, when the deal fell through, fans held a victory march to the ground to celebrate the retention of their beloved ground and both before the match and during, they celebrated by singing this chant in the ultimate display of group solidarity.

The remaining chant in this subsection is a celebration of a club's impending return to their home, namely Fulham FC, following a longer than expected exile from it. Originally, Fulham were only supposed to reside at their temporary home at Luton Town's ground, Loftus Road, for one season, during which time a new stadium was to be built on the existing site of Craven Cottage. However, due to a number of unforeseen problems, including an abandonment of the project and then new plans to refurbish the existing ground, they finally returned in time for the start of the 2004-5 season. In anticipation of going home, at their last game played at Loftus Road at the end of the 2003-4 season, fans sang:

61. We're going home, we're going home,
We're going, Fulham's going home
(Sung to the tune of “Football's Coming Home”. 1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 53)

Although there are only three tokens in this section, we can establish from the very different situations facing each club that an integrative chant can be coined to celebrate, or provide support for, any occasion.

5.3.6 Significant events in the club's history

The remaining subsection in the integrative club sub-category is for chants that relate to an event in a club's history that continues to be sung about in way of support. There is only one chant type of this kind in the data.

62. Hark now hear the Wednesday sing,
United ran away,
And we will fight for ever more,
Because of Boxing day
(Sung to the tune of "Mary's Boy Child". 6 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 16)

Four of the tokens were the Sheffield Wednesday variant above. The chant type, when used by the Sheffield club at least, refers to what has gone down in footballing folklore as the "Boxing Day Massacre." On Boxing Day in 1979, Sheffield Wednesday beat Sheffield United four-nil in their local derby. So great was this victory that they have sung about it ever since. Interestingly, Sheffield United fans also sing their own variant of the chant, but obviously for different reasons. Such was their humiliation at being beaten by such a convincing score-line by their greatest rivals that the United version can be seen as a defiant assertion that a similar defeat at the hands of Sheffield Wednesday will never happen again. United's variant simply switches "United" and "Wednesday" in the appropriate places. The Manchester City variant is the same, obviously again with "City" replacing "Wednesday" in the relevant places and also "derby day" replacing "Boxing Day" in the final line. Clearly this chant type is used by fierce rivals and relates to derby clashes and specific grudge games, as in the Sheffield Wednesday variant. It is used by fans at clubs across the country and its use is not restricted to games between the mentioned rivals. Rather, it is used at *any* match where one of the teams is playing. It is one of the few chant types in this sub-category that has both explicit integrative *and* divisive elements. It is integrative in the sense that the club is fighting for its cause and to retain its superiority. However, the language of the chant is also divisive with reference to fighting and the implicit presumption that the appropriate rival is cowardly because they "ran away."

All the integrative club chants share one key characteristic: they all provide vital vocal support to the team in general. This is a crucial part of being a football fan, with the fans themselves being quick to point out its importance:

Well I think it can like it can hopefully it can make team play better or spur em on you know. If there's everybody just grumbling and atmosphere's very flat, it must be sometimes very hard to play you know like in a graveyard atmosphere so I think the chants can be very important. (Catherine)

Oh aye, if you can get like get some chants going that get your players you know if all ground's doing it They get them worked up to run that bit faster. (Richard)

Similarly, the fans are also aware of the adverse effects they may have if they do not provide positive support:

Now even if the club are playing badly I will never boo them because to me that is one way to send your team down. If you really want to you know create a negative feeling in the players then you boo them because you know if their own supporters are booing them, then well what, they must feel as if, you know, it must be great for the opposition to hear that because in a sense you're joining in with the opposition I just think any you know, any supporter who goes along and boos their own team is a kind of traitor because they're doing it for the opposition. They're not doing it for the team. (John)

Rather, at times when a team is playing badly it is considered even more important to offer verbal support and encouragement:

Or even if one goes in against you then you think, "oh, we've got to do something now to gee the lads up" so a lot of times this season more than I've known any other season as soon as we concede a goal and go one-nil down, all Ponty End gets up and starts singing. (Mark)

These excerpts from the interviews highlight just how important the football chants can be and how the fans really do believe that their singing can have a positive effect on the game.

5.4. The integrative player/manager chant

As well as providing a means of expressing group identity and giving vital encouragement and support to a club in general, fans place a significant amount of emphasis on providing praise and encouragement to individual players and managers. For example, one informant stated that:

To hear your name rung out like that you know must give the player a real sense of pride, you know. "These are my fans." It must give them a real buzz ... so I do think that the chants you know have a very significant effect and you can. Sometimes you know, the players will come up to the fans and they will encourage them to sing out because I think they need, they do need that support. (John)

It is unsurprising that fans consider it unacceptable to shout criticism at individual players. This will be explored further in the next chapter. All of the chants in this sub-category offer praise, support and encouragement for specific players and managers. They can be applied to any player or manager who is a fans' favourite, who has done something on the field deemed worthy of praise, or who simply plays in a particular position. Sometimes the chants arise as retorts to fans of the opposing team who may be targeting a specific player with abuse. Many are formulaic and applied to any player or manager, as we have already observed in the integrative club sub-category. Others are unique, sung to just one player and never applied to others. For example, if a player is particularly popular, he may have a mini-anthem in his praise bestowed on him. This appears to be a particular trend for Manchester United players, both past and present.

The easiest and most popular way to show support for a particular player or manager is to simply shout some part of his name or nickname, with or without a tune as accompaniment, or to fit his name into existing lyrics. For example:

63. Shearer
(17 tokens, 9 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 1)

64. Come on Shearer
 (1 token)
 (Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 16)
65. [Name of player], there's only one [name of player],
 There's only one [name of player],
 There's only one [name of player]
 (Sung to the tune of "Blue Moon". 3 tokens, 3 variants)
 (Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 9)
66. Oh Jimmy Jimmy,
 Jimmy, Jimmy, Jimmy Floyd Hasselbank
 (Sung to the tune of "Son of My Father". 3 tokens, 1 variant)
 (Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 11)
67. Mark Viduka
 (Sung to the tune of "Bob the Builder". 3 tokens, 1 variant)
 (Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 10)
68. Thierry, oh oh oh oh, Thierry, oh oh oh oh
 (Sung to the tune of "Volare". 1 token)
 (Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 22)
69. You are my Solskjaer,
 My Ole Solskjaer,
 You make me happy when skies are grey,
 You'll never know dear,
 How much I love you,
 Please don't take my Solskjaer away.
 (Sung to the tune of "You Are My Sunshine". 1 token)
 (Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 23)
70. One David Batty, there's only one David Batty,
 One David Batty, there's only one David Batty
 (Sung to the tune of "Guantanamera". 15 tokens, 12 variants)
 (Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 2)

In chant 70, the full name of the appropriate player or manager is normally used. However, two tokens and two variants use a player's nickname or surname only. All but one occurrences of the chant were used solely to praise a particular player or manager. However, when a variant was sung in apparent praise of former Barnsley and Sheffield Wednesday player and manager Danny Wilson by Sheffield Wednesday fans during a home fixture with Barnsley on 11th November 2003, there is a dual function that is only apparent if Wilson's history with the two clubs is known. Wilson played for Sheffield Wednesday before leaving to begin his management career at Barnsley in 1994, becoming the first

manager in the club's history to see the team gain promotion to the Premier League at the end of the 1996-7 season. Following the club's relegation after just one season in the top flight, Wilson pledged to stand by the club. However, weeks later he became a "Judas" figure when he left to return to his old club, Sheffield Wednesday, as manager. The use of the chant on this particular occasion has divisive undertones. While it is not inconceivable that the Sheffield Wednesday fans were singing the chant solely in praise of their former idol (Wilson was, after all, a long-standing player at the club before being a manager), this was not their only motive. They were also using the chant to incite Barnsley fans, many of who have still not forgiven Wilson for the manner in which he left their club. In such a context, its use is obviously divisive. It is an example of how any subject can be used to rile opposing fans.

All of the chant types presented so far offer general praise and encouragement for individual players and they can be aimed at anyone. However, some chant types are not as flexible, and while they may be aimed at anyone, they are more normally reserved for particular types of player or the manager. For example, the following chant type is normally aimed at managers. All of the tokens collected in the data excepting one were reserved for managers. The remaining token was sung in praise of the goalkeeper David Seaman.

71. There's only one Danny Wilson,
One Danny Wilson,
Walking along, singing a song,
Walking in a Wilson wonderland
(Sung to the tune of "Winter Wonderland". 6 tokens, 4 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 5)

Again, chant 72 is another that is normally aimed at a goalkeeper or manager:

72. Dyer, Dyer, give us a wave,
Dyer, give us a wave
(Sung to the tune of "Helule, Helule". 6 tokens, 6 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 4)

It is a request for the named player to wave at the fans. If the player adheres to the request, he is applauded. If he does not wave, he may be booed, although

this is rare if it is aimed at the personnel of one's own team. The chant type is normally reserved for a manager or substitute sitting on the team bench, or at the goalkeeper who stands immediately in front of his own fans for half of the game. It is most frequently aimed at a manager in this data, (four out of the six examples being used in this way) whilst in the remaining two tokens one is aimed at a goalkeeper and one at a substitute. Although this chant is integrative – by singling a player or manager out for a chant and applauding him if he responds in the appropriate manner – it can also be used divisively. For example, if it is sung by opposing fans to a particular player, it is normally to ridicule him. Used in a divisive manner, it is often the goalkeeper at whom it is aimed, whose position on the pitch for forty-five minutes leaves him wide open to abuse from supporters of the opposite team. This was the case for Mansfield goalkeeper Kevin Pilkington during an away game at York during the 2003-04 season. With his team in a comfortable two-goal lead, Pilkington gifted York a goal in the 66th minute by being out of his area. After this incident, being straight in front of the home supporters, he was an easy target for their abuse. Predictably, when he did not wave, he was booed.

Although any player can be singled out for praise and most chants are applicable to any player, specific chants are available in the fans' repertoire to celebrate goal-scorers.

73. Hey Alan Shearer,
I wanna kno-o-o-ow,
How you scored that goal
(To the tune of "Hey Baby". 2 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 13)

74. Andy Cole, Andy Cole, Andy Andy Cole,
He gets the ball, he scores a goal,
Andy Andy Cole
(Sung to the tune of "Hooray, Hooray, it's a Holi-Holiday". 3 tokens, 3 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 8)

Andy Cole has frequently had this chant bestowed upon him, with his surname effortlessly rhyming with "goal". However, it is not a prerequisite for this rhyme to take place. For example, one token was sung about Alan Smith while

the remaining token was in praise of Lee Bullock. Two tokens are sung in immediate response to the scoring of a goal by the said player. However, in the case of the variant sung about Alan Smith, it is used in response to the following jibe aimed at Smith by the Charlton fans:

75. You'll never play for England
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 37)

The response by the Leeds fans overrides this claim and goes a long way to suggest that Smith is more than capable of playing for England, in the opinions of Leeds fans at least. Similar circumstances surround the use of the next chant type.

76. Oh Kevin Gallen's magic,
He wears a magic hat,
He plays for Queens Park Rangers,
He's such a lovely chap.
He scores with his left foot,
He scores with his right,
And when we play the Chelsea,
He scores all fucking night
(Sung to the tune of "My Old Man's a Dustman". 1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 18)

Only one token of this chant type was collected, in praise of Queen's Park Rangers striker Kevin Gallen. Gallen did not score a goal in this game against his old club Barnsley. However, as a former player of Barnsley he was subjected to much abuse during the game, hence this response from the QPR faithful, rejecting claims that "Kevin Gallen is a wanker." The contexts in which the last two chant types were used highlights the dialogue that takes place between opposing supporters through football chants and how one football chant often leads to another contradictory one as the two sets of fans have a verbal war over which side is greater.

All of the remaining chants are sung in praise of Manchester United players. The first, about Gary Neville, functions both integratively and divisively. In it,

Neville is held in high esteem by his supporters as a result of his alleged hatred of “Scousers”, the despised rivals of Manchester United.

77. Gary Neville is a red, is a red, is a red,
Gary Neville is a red, he hates Scousers²⁹
(Sung to the tune of “London Bridge is Falling Down”. 1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 17)

It is primarily integrative because the main message in the chant is one of identification and shared understanding between Neville and the fans: they are united, apparently, in their hatred for Scousers and for this reason Neville is considered to be a true member of Manchester United. The divisive element is obviously the aforementioned hatred of Liverpudlians. The final three chant types in the integrative players/managers sub-category are of epic length when compared against other chant types we have seen in this sub-category. Example 78 gives Ryan Giggs the same legendary status received by Robin Hood by being set to the Robin Hood theme tune:

78. Ryan Giggs, Ryan Giggs, running down the wing,
Ryan Giggs, Ryan Giggs, crosses like a king,
Feared by the Blues, loved by the Reds,
Ryan Giggs, Ryan Giggs, Ryan Giggs
(Sung to the television theme tune of “Robin Hood”. 1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 20)

There are several different variants of this chant type and some have been especially coined for specific achievements of Giggs. For example, the last two lines have sometimes been changed to “beats one and two, beats three and four, he will score, he will score, he will score.” Another celebrates his goal-scoring prowess during a memorable FA Cup tie against Arsenal:

Ryan Giggs, Ryan Giggs, greatest ever goal,
Semi-final Villa Park, ran right through them all.
Beat half the team, straight in the net,
Won’t forget, won’t forget, won’t forget³⁰

²⁹ A “Red” is one of the nicknames given to Manchester United and its players, manager and fans, based on the team’s colours.

³⁰ For more these and other variants, see <http://www.footballchants.org>

Johnny O'Shea is also celebrated in his own song:

79. When Johnny goes marching down the wing, O'Shea, O'Shea,
When Johnny goes marching down the wing, O'Shea, O'Shea,
When Johnny goes marching down the wing,
The Stretford End will fucking sing,
We all know that Johnny's going to score
(Sung to the tune of "When Johnny Goes Marching Home". 5 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 6)

In example 80, "The Twelve Days of Cantona", we see the only instance of a player being glorified years after he has ceased to play for a club. Originally sung in his praise when he played for the club between 1992 and 1997, so iconic is Eric Cantona that songs in his honour continue to persist today.

80. On the first day of Christmas my true love sent to me an Eric Cantona,
On the second day of Christmas my true love sent to me,
Two Cantonas and an Eric Cantona
[continued through to twelve Cantonas]
(Sung to the tune of "The Twelve Days of Christmas". 3 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 2, integrative player/manager chant 12)

It seems to be a pattern at Old Trafford in particular, to keep legendary players alive in song even long after they have left the club, especially in the case of established favourites like Cantona. Some ten years after leaving Old Trafford, the former United player is still worshipped in song by the fans. It is rather fitting that the legendary status attached to past figures or established favourites is celebrated in longer chants than the highly formulaic and repetitive chant types assigned to players and managers who enjoy fleeting or changeable popularity at a club. The longer verses mark the legendary players as unique and illustrate why they stand out for the crowd.

5.5 The integrative fan chant

As football fans appear to use song for almost every occasion, whether good or bad, it is to be expected that they have a host of chants commenting on their experiences of being a fan. Chants in this sub-category are based around two

themes. Most refer directly to the collective experience of supporting a particular team, ultimately to their identification with that team, drawing on military imagery and displaying group camaraderie. The importance of the level of vocal support as an indicator of the alleged true support of a club is also evident. Considering that the fans place a high level of importance on the bonding effects of chanting it is unsurprising that some of their repertoire is concerned with celebrating their collective experiences as fans. For example, consider the following statement about the communal identity that football support brings:

If I couldn't be a supporter on a Saturday I would be, I'd feel as if I would really lose something you know because when you're there, while you might not know the other people personally but you've got an identity with them and you've got a sense of belonging, a sense of us and I think that that is you know very important and it comes more important when you go away because then the feeling really begins to get deeper and you might not know the guy who's sat next to you on the coach but you know by the end of the match you know he's there, he's one of you, you know you've got his full support, no matter what happens. (John)

It is this sense of belonging that is celebrated in the integrative fan subcategory, with the fans united as one in the same cause.

It is appropriate, considering that many chants in the integrative fan subcategory draw on military imagery, that the tune accompanying the most popular chant in this section should be that of an old marching song "Marching Through Georgia", sung during the American Civil War. It has subsequently been sung by troops in other countries. The version coined by football fans is:

81. Hello, hello, we are the [name/nickname of club] boys (x2)
And if you are a [name/nickname of rival club] fan
Surrender or you'll die,
We all follow the [name/nickname of club]
(Sung to the tune of "Marching Through Georgia". 36 tokens, 9 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative fan chant 1)

The opposing fans singled out in the third line of this chant type are normally those considered to be the biggest rivals of the fans singing. This chant type

accounted for over a quarter of all tokens in this sub-category. There are two functions employed in the chant. The first, and primary, function is obviously integrative, with the bold statement “we are the [name of club] boys” immediately displaying the supporters’ allegiances to their club. In fact, they actually *are* the club. Their unstinting loyalty is reiterated in the final line “we all follow the [name of club]”. However, this purely integrative function is interrupted with the confrontational and aggressive nature of the middle lines, giving it a divisive element. In order for the in-group to raise their esteem and superiority over their rivals, they portray them as cowardly and subject to defeat. The polar opposites of weak and strong are evident. To define the out-group as weak serves to strengthen the in-group’s position, who must, by contrast, be strong. The masculine elements evident in the chant will be discussed in chapter seven.

Two further chant types also draw on military imagery, this time simply through fans describing themselves as an army. In the first and most popular of the two, “army” is preceded by the club colour(s) or a nickname, although it is more common for the former to be applied. Alternatively, “barmy” is also frequently used:

82. Barmy Army³¹
(34 tokens, 8 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative fan chant 2)

The army are the fans, who can be seen to be metaphorically fighting for their cause, i.e. their team. Also popular is the following chant in which the manager’s name, in part or full, is stated, sometimes along with the club’s colours:

83. Tigana’s black and white army
(18 tokens, 15 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative fan chant 3)

³¹ ‘Barmy Army’ is frequently used to refer to the supporters of the England cricket team, or any other sports team, especially “those known for their raucous behaviour or vociferous support during matches.” (OED)

Both of the above chant types involving the word “army” are repeated indefinitely at speed, giving them the feel of military marching songs. Both are classed as integrative fan chants as it is the fans’ status as supporters that is being celebrated first and foremost, although this naturally reflects positively upon the club.

As already seen throughout this chapter, and also in chapter three, an important part of being a football fan is the opportunity it gives to assert one’s identity. In particular it gives a sense of a shared belonging to a specific cause, a specific club. All of the chant types in this sub-category achieve this to some degree. However, the next two to be discussed are the most blatant in displaying this sense of belonging. Example 84 can be applied to any club:

84. Wednesday till I die,
 I'm Wednesday till I die,
 I know I am, I'm sure I am,
 I'm Wednesday till I die
(Sung to the tune of “H-A-P-P-Y”. 14 tokens, 10 variants).
(Appendix 2, integrative fan chant 4)

In it, the fan is so consumed by his love of the club and his support for it that he actually *is* the club. The two are entwined and cannot be separated such is the fan’s emotional attachment to the team. The formula for this chant type is normally used as outlined above. However, its integrative function can be reversed when the same formula is applied for divisive purposes in a chant type to be discussed presently in the divisive-fans sub-category. In example 85, the fans’ attachment to Manchester United is so strong that the club’s home becomes the fans’ home, such is the comfort that they feel there:

85. Take me home, United Road,
 To the place I belong,
 To Old Trafford to see United,
 Take me home, United Road
(Sung to the tune of “Country Roads”. 8 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 2, integrative fan chant 5)

Another measure of how dedicated, fans are to their club is often judged by how frequently they follow their team away from home. Thus, the more away

matches one attends, the more loyal the support is considered to be. Similarly, the further one travels, the more committed a fan one is perceived to be:

Like them who go down to Southampton next week, you know they'll be like you know "we've followed our club all this way" and there'll be same old regular faces. (Richard)

Thus, it is understandable that some chants cover the theme of fans' away exploits in order to construct a positive, and ultimately superior, self-identity. The first chant type with this theme is a simple profession of the fact that a club is followed on its away outings, no matter where they may be:

86. We all follow the [name of club],
Over land and sea,
We all follow the [name of club],
On to victory
(Sung to the tune of "Land of Hope and Glory". 5 tokens, 5 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative fan chant 6)

War imagery is again evident with reference to "victory" while the fact that the fans allegedly follow the club "over land and sea" illustrates the depth of support. Bristol City also have a chant linked to away travel, which is concerned with defining key characteristics of the City fans' identity when following their team away from home:

87. Everywhere we go (everywhere we go)
People wanna know (people wanna know)
Who we are (who we are)
Where we come from (where we come from)
So we tell them (so we tell them)
We are Bristol (we are Bristol)
Bristol City (Bristol City)
We are the boys in red and white (we are the boys in red and white)
We love to drink and we love to fight (we love to drink and we love to fight)
We hate the Rovers (we hate the Rovers)
Graydon is a wanker (Graydon is a wanker)
(Sung to the tune of "Everywhere We Go". 2 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative fan chant 8)

Each line is shouted once by a small group and then repeated by the masses (this repetition is illustrated by the parenthesis). Immediately after the final line, the fans burst into a chorus of the integrative club chant type “We love you City we do.” This chant type is important in summoning several aspects of the City fans’ identity with reference to the team colours, a love of drinking and fighting and a hatred for City’s bitterest rivals, Bristol Rovers. The line about Bristol Rovers undoubtedly adds a divisive element to the chant. However, overall its main function is integrative and the hatred for Bristol Rovers is mentioned primarily as a means for Bristol City to affirm their own positive identity. We will discuss this chant further in chapter seven, with reference to masculinity.

The following integrative fan chant type is normally reserved for the event of a team having reached a European competition and is in celebration of the opportunities this will provide for more distant away travel:

88. We're all going on a European tour,
 A European tour, a European tour
 (Sung to the tune of “Yellow Submarine”. 1 token)
 (Appendix 2, integrative fan chant 9)

However, in the instance it was collected during the course of the present research, it was sung by the fans of Leeds United when the club was rooted firmly at the bottom of the Premiership: thus the chances of reaching European competition that season were slim, if not impossible. Whilst the use of the chant in such circumstances gives it a self-deprecating undertone, it nevertheless performs an integrative function for the Leeds fans. Despite the dire situation of their club, they were still able to laugh at their own expense and through doing so provide a united front as fans. The implicit message can be seen as “it does not matter what position the club is in, we will still be there.”

The last chant type in this section is in the form of a rallying cry for all fans of a particular club to sing for their team:

89. Sing your hearts out,
 Sing your hearts out,
 Sing your hearts out for the lads,
 Sing your hearts out for the lads
 (Sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer". 6 tokens, 1 variant)
 (Appendix 2, integrative fan chant 7)

In football support, the best support is perceived to be the noisiest support. As we shall see presently, many divisive-fan chant types focus on the lack of vocal support from opposing supporters who because of their quietness are judged to be poor fans. Thus, we can see why the above chant type is important in bringing fans together to provide vocal support for their team and achieve verbal supremacy against opposing supporters. Contrastingly, if the fans do not provide the correct level of vocal support they will be seen as inadequate by rival fans.

5.6 The integrative location chant

The chant types in the integrative location sub-category bear a remarkable resemblance to those in the integrative club sub-category, sharing the same formulas and tunes. All but one of the chant types in this section, like many categorised as integrative club, are examples of what Robson describes as "doing songs", offering no content apart from the repeated utterance of the place in question. There is an important reason why the chants in the two sub-categories may appear to overlap. In most integrative club chants, the location of the club as well as the club itself is by default subject of praise. For instance, in most cases the name of the club is exactly the same as the location and the two cannot be differentiated. Thus, there is often no need to use another chant type simply to praise the location of the club *unless* the praise is at a different level. For instance, as is evident in most of the tokens in this sub-category, if the identity of the club at the county level is to be displayed, an integrative – location chant type will be utilised. Alternatively, a chant from this sub-category will also be used if the city or town where there are two or more clubs is the subject of a chant and it is obviously not being used to refer to a club. For example, in the case of direct praise for Manchester or Sheffield as opposed to specific praise for City or United, or Wednesday or United respectively. This

can in part be used to explain the low number of tokens in this sub-category. Integrative location chant types accounted for the lowest proportion of tokens in the integrative sub-category. As has so far been the case throughout this discussion, we see the recurrence of familiar chant formulas.

The first chant type in this subsection involves no more than simply shouting the name of the county repeatedly. The second is the singing of the name of the location to the tune of “Here We Go”, while the third is again the name of the location sung to the tune of “Amazing Grace.”

90. Derbyshire, Derbyshire, Derbyshire
(16 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative location chant 1)
91. Manchester, Manchester, Manchester
(Sung to the tune of “Here We Go”. 4 tokens, 3 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative location chant 2)
92. Yorkshire, Yorkshire, Yorkshire, Yorkshire
(Sung to the tune of “Amazing Grace”. 1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative location chant 3)

The final chant of this sort is the most detailed, providing reasons behind the location’s greatness, in this case Manchester.

93. Oh Manchester is wonderful (x2)
It's full of tits, fanny and City,
Oh Manchester is wonderful.
(Sung to the tune of “When the Saints Go Marching In”. 1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative location chant 4)

It sums up all of Manchester’s supposedly best attractions, namely women and Manchester City, through the eyes of the presumably male football fan. I will discuss this chant type and others like it in chapter seven which focuses on the portrayal of masculinity through football chants.

5.7 Summary

This examination of integrative football chants has illustrated their importance in providing a crucial platform for the portrayal of a positive identity for the in-group, i.e. the fans, and their chosen team. Not only do these chants serve an important role in providing vocal demonstrations of loyalty and expressions of love directly for the club, they also enable fans to display their support for team personnel, for the location of the club and to provide a united front amongst the fans themselves, which has a positive reflection on the club itself. While a core repertoire of chant types is used over and over again, varying from club to club only by the use of a different name or nickname used in the appropriate place, there is infinite scope for variety, and an integrative chant can be coined for any occasion, or circumstance, demonstrating the quick-witted nature of the football fan. Ultimately, particularly as we have seen with a handful of integrative club chant types that express concern about issues surrounding a club, the chants give the fans a voice, and chanting is often the only way by which this voice will be heard.

6. The Divisive Football Chant

6.1 Introduction

If the main reason for attending a football match is to support one's team both physically and vocally, as chapter five has just illustrated, we may question whether there is a need for divisive football chants. It is necessary to consider the role of the out-group in the formation of in-group identities. The creation of a positive in-group identity in no small part relies upon the definition of an inferior out-group, against which the former is more favourably compared. As Jenkins (1996) states:

Defining 'us' involves defining a range of 'them's' also. When we say something about others we are often saying something about ourselves. In social terms, similarity and difference are always functions of a point of view: our similarity is their difference and vice versa. Similarity and difference reflect each other across a shared boundary. At that boundary, we discover what we are in what we are not. (p.80-1)

In his work on prejudice, Allport (1954) also emphasises the importance of the out-group in the creation of a positive identity for the in-group:

... although we could not perceive our own in-groups excepting as they contrast to out-groups, still the in-groups are psychologically primary. We live in them, by them, and, sometimes, for them. Hostility toward out-groups helps strengthen our sense of belonging but it is not required. (p.42)

It is when we take into account this process that the need for divisive football chants becomes apparent, and their existence takes on more significance than merely being meaningless ditties with which to annoy the opposition. They become crucial in affirming one's own identity at the same time as deriding another, highlighting the in-group's superior status, whether real or imagined. In his quotation, Allport suggests that hostility towards out-groups may affirm one's own status in the world but that it is not a pre-requisite. However, in the case of divisive football chants, and indeed any other divisive examples of *blason populaire*, animosity towards the out-group is essential for that divisive

status to be maintained. Writing about ethnic and local jokes, which are also a form of *blason populaire*, Davies (1998) says of their function:

When people define who they are in terms of their membership of a local community, then they will tell jokes about the stupidity of the people of *some other local community* defining *who they are not* in terms of a social unit similar to the one which gives them their basic identity. (p.13)

This statement can be equally applied to the function of divisive football chants and explains why they are such a crucial aspect of support. As will become apparent, the themes of the divisive football chant are not dissimilar to those used in older expressions of local and regional rivalries. For example, many of the older expressions were of a sexual nature, or alluded to laziness, illiteracy or dirtiness, or simply mocked the accent of a particular locality (Snell 2003). In suggesting that their rivals have these undesirable characteristics, the group using them are asserting that they do not share them, and as Davies states, they are defining who they are not.

In the following pages, a summary of the divisive data in the present study will be presented, together with a discussion of the chants. The chants in the divisive-fan sub-category present some of the most blatant displays of rivalry between people from opposing groups and most clearly reflect the aims of divisive *blason populaire*. More than those in any other group, they open up a discourse between two sets of fans, with each of the groups at whom they are directly aimed able to respond with an equally cutting response. Nowhere else is this more evident, with the targets of abuse in other sub-categories often not able to respond directly, despite their loyal fans being able to do so on their behalf. For example, when abuse is aimed at players, it is not acceptable for them to respond, and if they do they will inevitably be punished. In 1995, the then Manchester United player Eric Cantona was banned from the game for nine months following his Kung Fu style kicking of a Crystal Palace fan who had allegedly taunted him following his sending-off. Likewise in the case of a location of a club being criticised, it is again up to the fans to defend it. However, when abuse is aimed directly at fans they can fight their own verbal

battle. For this reason, it can be claimed that chants in the divisive-fan sub-category can be amongst the most malicious, with insults being traded back and forth.

The divisive category has been split into the following sub-categories: divisive-club; divisive-player-manager; divisive-fan; divisive-location; divisive-referee; divisive-police; and divisive-other. There are more divisive sub-categories than integrative. This can be attributed to there being more targets for abuse than for praise. For instance, it is almost unheard of for the referee or the police to have chants sung in their praise, hence they do not require a sub-category in the integrative category. Divisive chants accounted for a third of the data. However, there was a marked difference in the variety of chant types compared with the integrative category. This can no doubt be explained, in part at least, by the fact that more divisive chants are responses to events on the day as well as to the opposition. They are therefore context-specific, in contrast to many integrative chants which are used repeatedly week after week with little variation, not reliant on who the opposition might be. Below is the spread of the divisive chants across the sub-categories in which they occur.

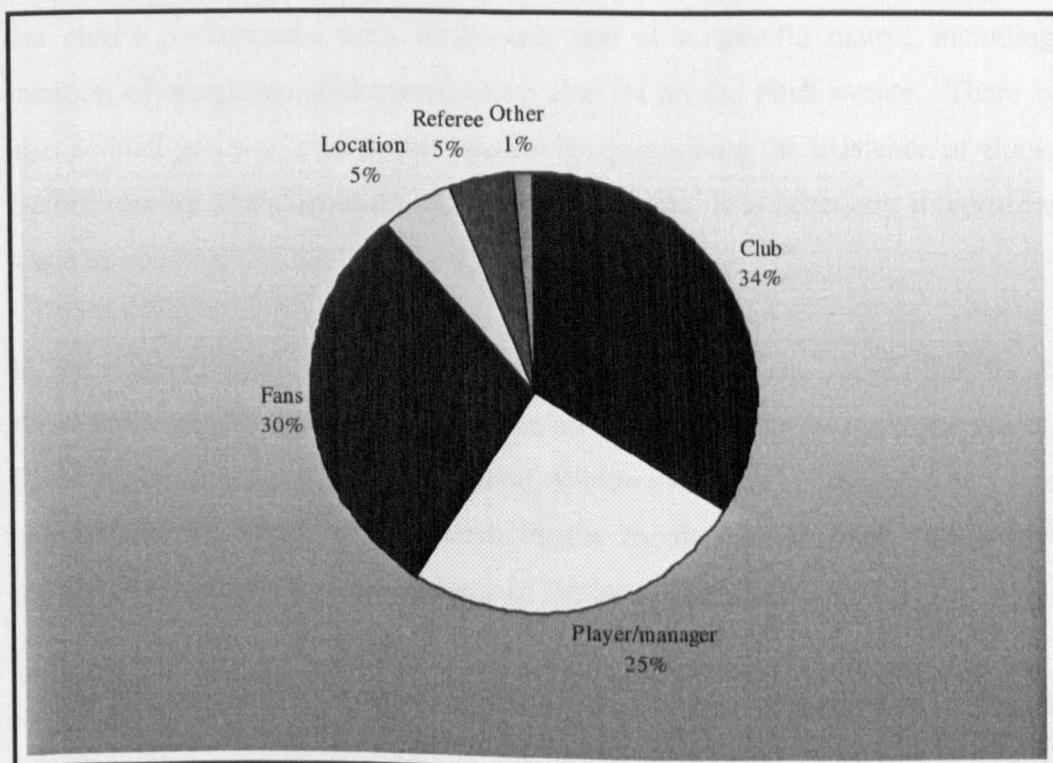


Fig. 6.1 Divisive sub-categories

Reflecting the same pattern seen in the integrative sub-categories, the highest number of tokens in this sub-category occurs for those at the club level, followed by those aimed at fans and players/managers respectively. Each of these sub-categories individually accounts for at least a quarter of all divisive chants, with the remaining ones (location, referee and other) having between just a 1% and 5% share.

6.2 The divisive club chant

The divisive-club sub-category in having the highest number of tokens mirrors the integrative category where integrative club chants accounted for the highest number of tokens. If the main way to offer verbal support is through praising one's own club, it necessarily follows that the main way to disparage a rival is through directly criticising the appropriate club. Whereas fans may occasionally reluctantly deride their own club, there are no limits when it comes to the opposition. Although the function of the chants is obviously the opposite of those that are integrative, i.e. inflicting abuse rather than giving praise, many of the same themes are shared, only reversed. So, for instance, we see the opposition's fans showing hatred for the rival club, commenting negatively on the club's performance both in general and at a specific match, including mention of relegation, and commenting also on on the pitch events. There is also a small group of chants that operate by questioning the existence of clubs. Before turning attention to the discussion of chants, it is necessary to consider some motivations for the rivalries that occur.

In the divisive-club chant it is commonly the biggest, and most often local, rivals of the perpetrators of the chant that are singled out for the strongest vitriol. Speaking of *blason populaire* in general, Widdowson (1981) has stated how it is common for people to reserve such insults for their local rivals rather than anyone else further afield as the force of the insult is greater:

The usages are employed mainly within a comparatively small radius of the community concerned. Their immediate relevance and the strong cutting edge of their derision obviously decrease with distance. Within

the circumscribed area, however, the sayings are used with maximal impact, the names and characteristics of each local community being familiar to both speakers and hearers who themselves owe allegiance, however slight, to the place in which they live. (p.37)

This certainly appears to be confirmed in the present findings and is highlighted in the interviews with Barnsley fans, emphasised by the fact that informants feel that Sheffield clubs, in particular Sheffield Wednesday, are their team's biggest rivals:

I think it's been a little more hostile between with Wednesday recently because we've played them and Shef United have been like, as we hadn't as it were come in contact with them quite so much but as soon as we are drawn in any competition, I think the animosity it will boil back absolutely. Certainly I think it's very to the fore at you know any Sheffield club whereas the others, yes ... there isn't quite the same yeah animosity or you know vociferousness. (John)

There's more passion when you play against Sheffield Wednesday because it's I suppose we've always like, everything's always been well Barnsley, well it's near Sheffield you know like we've always, people's always seem to see Barnsley in Sheffield's shadows I suppose and a lot more people dislike Wednesday because I suppose they've been a bit more successful as well in recent years. (Mark)

Sheffield Wednesday's [the] most hated club (Richard)

But if you put it to vote, like if you went in on a Saturday afternoon and said 'Right who do you hate most?' I think Wednesday would come out on top. (Mark)

Part of the resentment expressed in the second excerpt concerns the fact that Mark believes that Barnsley is not considered on its own merits but always in relation to Sheffield. This applies not only to the football club but also the town more generally. He also highlights the importance of the success of Sheffield Wednesday in causing further resentment and adding to the rivalry, although considering their fortunes in recent years, this issue is not as relevant as it once was. While fans picked out Sheffield United and Sheffield Wednesday as the big rivals, significant rivalries were attributed to other Yorkshire clubs such as Doncaster, Huddersfield and Leeds United, again highlighting the close proximity of the main rivals. Considering that the depth of feelings towards

one's footballing neighbours is normally stronger than to those further away, it is predictable that local derby fixtures are more highly charged than other games:

I think derbies do have a certain flavour of competitive to see who's gonna have bragging rights for next year And it's like you know when we play Shef Wednesday, I mean when we beat them it's fantastic you know because these are people you can perhaps be most vociferous with, perhaps also because you've got the most in common with them because they're Yorkshire clubs so there's this you know ... it becomes more of a tribal thingy. (John)

John highlights one of the crucial underpinnings of local rivalries through suggesting that it is the people closest to us geographically that we have the most in common with, hence making it more important to highlight the differences between us. Football fans also continue to deride their biggest rivals in song, even when they are not playing them. So great can the rivalries between two clubs be that any opportunity to vent one's feelings is taken, even if the targets cannot hear the abuse. So important can the rivals be in shaping the identity of the opposing group that they need to be mentioned even when not present in order to highlight the division and reaffirm the in-group's identity.

Turning to the discussion of the chant types collected, the most popular way to deride rivals is by chanting general abuse. For example,

94. We all hate Leeds scum
(Sung to the tune of "Tom Hark". 3 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 16)
95. Scum, scum, scum
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 28)
96. If I had the wings of a sparrow,
The dirty black arse of a crow,
I'd fly over [name of opposition's ground]
And shit on the bastards below;
Shit on, shit on, shit on the bastards below, below,
Shit on, shit on, shit on the bastards below, below
(Sung to the tune of "My Bonnie Lies Over the Ocean". 8 tokens, 4 variants)

(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 3)

97. Shit ground, no fans

(Sung to the tune of the “Big Ben Chimes”. 6 tokens, 1 variant)

(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 7)

Many of the chant formulas are the same as those used in the integrative category, with the words being easily altered to set the divisive tone. For example,

98. Stand up if you hate the Blades

(Sung to the tune of “Go West”. 7 tokens, 5 variants)

(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 5)

99. Sit down if you love Man U

(Sung to the tune of “Go West”. 1 token)

(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 30)

Example 98 is frequently used when the team stated are not the opposition. For example, “Stand up if you hate Man U” is a popular variant and is often used whether the club whose fans are singing it are playing or not. It works by uniting fans, even if they are normally fierce rivals, in a common cause, a hatred of Manchester United. Manchester United become the despised other and the rivalries between the two teams playing (if Manchester United is not the opposition) is momentarily displaced. Brick (2001) has investigated the Manchester United variant of this chant type, frequently used at England international games and at fixtures in the Premier League whether United are playing or not, and explains the result of the “othering” of Manchester United that takes place in it:

The irony is that the process of ‘inauthenticating’ United, of making them less significant, results in the opposite. Manchester United become increasingly more significant and central within the popular football imagination, as a shared experience through which a number of problematics within English football are expressed. (p.15)

Manchester United fans have begun to view the chant as a mark of their success, through the very fact that other clubs think so much about them as to sing about them. Example 99 illustrates how easily chant formulas can be adapted to suit

the situation of the fan. Example 98 is the most frequently used of the two and is sung by football fans across the country about their biggest rivals. However, when Leeds United fans found themselves having to stand up on a busy train from London Bridge station to a Charlton match in November 2004, the obvious change of the lyrics to “Sit down if you love Man U” was made, to reflect the fact that there were more people standing up than seated and that few, if any, Leeds United fans were lucky enough to have a seat.

One of the most cutting ways to insult a rival club is by mocking their performance, whether this mockery is deserved or not. Poor performances are ridiculed and unsporting behaviour is also criticised. The chants tend to be of a general nature and are often transferable to any club without any alteration to the lyrics being necessary, such as

100. Premier League, you're having a laugh
(Sung to the tune of “Tom Hark”. 11 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 2)
101. Same old Arsenal, always cheating
(Sung to the tune of the “Big Ben Chimes”. 7 tokens, 3 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 6)
102. You're shit and you know you are
(Sung to the tune of “Go West”. 5 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 8)
103. You're so shit it's unbelievable
(Sung to the tune of “I've Got a Brand New Combine Harvester”. 2 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 18)
104. Cheats
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 21)

Sometimes chants of this type can have two targets for the abuse with both the opposition on the day and the biggest rivals of the singing fans, as in the following example:

105. Are you City,
Are you City,
Are you City in disguise?
Are you City in disguise?
(Sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer". 3 tokens, 2 variants.)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 12)

This chant type operates by suggesting that the performance of the opposition is so poor that they resemble the perpetrator's hated rivals, who are often in a weaker position themselves. To clarify, in one variant of this chant type, Sheffield United fans sang "are you Wednesday in disguise?" to Leeds United, likening their performance to their own neighbours, Sheffield Wednesday who incidentally were locked in a relegation battle at the bottom of Division One. In addition to drawing on the rivalries between Sheffield United and Wednesday, the use of this variant in this particular context is also drawing on traditional Yorkshire rivalries between all three clubs.

Whilst all of the chant types above are used as comments on the performance of the opposition on the day, some are reserved to criticise the ongoing poor performances of another club, for instance when relegation looms or a club has been knocked out of a cup competition. I have called such chants "lack of success" and they are the opposite of the "achievement" chants in the integrative section. In fact, most of the chants concerned with lack of success follow the same formulas but simply alter the words to reverse the function.

106. Going down, going down, going down
(Sung to the tune of "Here We Go". 3 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 14)
107. They're going down, they're going down,
They're going, Wednesday's going down
(Sung to the tune of "Football's Coming Home". 3 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 15)
108. You're going down, you're going down,
You're going down, you're going down
(Sung to the tune of "Tom Hark". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 35)

While it would be an obvious assumption that the chants about relegation would be aimed at the opposition at a given match under the right circumstances, this is not necessarily the case. Two of the instances of the chant type 107 were collected from Barnsley fans when Sheffield Wednesday was not the opposition. In addition, the following chant was also sung by them in celebration of the fact that their rivals had been relegated:

109. We don't care cos Wednesday's down
(Sung to the tune of "Camptown Races". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 31)

All were sung when the Sheffield Wednesday result was announced at both of the matches in question. There is irony in the use of these chants considering that Barnsley themselves were also in a relegation battle at the bottom of Division Two at the time and their own safety was not guaranteed. However, the fans could momentarily forget their own troubles and their spirits could be lifted in the fact that their despised rivals had been relegated. Nothing else mattered, in words at least.

A small group of chant types in this sub-category (and in the divisive category overall, depending on whom a chant is aimed) operate by belittling a rival club to such an extent that their existence is actually questioned:

110. Who are you?
(8 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 4)
111. Who the fucking,
Who the fucking,
Who the fucking hell are you?
Who the fucking hell are you?
(Sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer". 4 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 11)
112. Who the fuck are Man United?
Who the fuck are Man United?
Who the fuck are Man United?
And the Blues go marching on, on, on

(Sung to the tune of “Glory, Glory Hallelujah”. 13 tokens, 7 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 1)

In final example 112, all thirteen tokens are aimed against Manchester United, with the appropriate nickname of the club whose fans are singing it inserted in the final line. Although the final line is integrative, for the most part the chant has a divisive tone, with it being necessary in the chant to criticise another club in order to assert the superiority of another. Seven of the tokens are used when Manchester United are the opposition, while the remaining six are sung regardless of who a team is playing. In all examples of this chant type, it was used by fans of clubs with strong rivalries with Manchester United, either in the Premier League or locally. However, it was only in the cases of the strongest rivalries (i.e. Manchester City, Leeds United and Arsenal) that it was sung when Manchester United were not the opposition. Again, as with “stand up if you hate Man U” the “othering” of Manchester United is evident. Just one chant arose in reaction to an on-the-pitch event that was not related to some aspect of a performance:

113. One ball, you've only got one ball,
You've only got one ball,
You've only got one ball
(Sung to the tune of “Blue Moon”. 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 27)

This was sung by Manchester United fans to Northampton during an FA Cup Fourth round tie when play was delayed following the ball being kicked into the crowd. The club is deemed inferior because it is seen to only own one football, the implication being that it cannot afford a spare. On another level, it can also be seen as a jibe at the opposition's masculinity.

6.3 The divisive player/manager chant

Chants in this sub-category are obviously those used to insult the players, managers and other club personnel such as chairmen or directors. The chants are centred round five themes: general abuse, performance, off the pitch events, returning players, and a questioning of existence. While fans generally frown

upon mocking their own team's personnel, there are no limits where the derision of the opposition's players is concerned:

Aye we get on to opposition, that's acceptable. But it's acceptable for them to get on to our players as well. (Richard)

The main purpose of chants of this kind is to put a player off his game, to affect his performance negatively:

To put them off. Well I think most of the players know that it, that that's around them ... and if they were taking a corner or you know "euurgghh" or making faces and making movements, anything to try and put them off yeah you know but that's part of the nature of the game isn't it? I mean you're doing your bit to help the club you know. (John)

But I suppose that's just like to put 'em off ... I suppose that that's like a tactic that we do against another player. Like if Wayne Rooney came down every man and his dog would be calling him a fat ugly Shrek so and so just to put him off for five minutes cos we know he can do some damage. (Mark)

As their use is ultimately to distract opposing players with the hope of weakening their performances, it is understandable that fans have strong opinions on chanting abuse at their own players:

I don't think there's owt acceptable to players if owt goes, you know, you're better off behind em for ninety minutes than getting on their backs. Because I think it tells down at Oakwell and I think that a lot of players they shy away, they don't express themselves on pitch cos they know that fans are gonna start booing and that. (Richard)

... I just think that it has an adverse effect ... I wouldn't want anybody stood behind me shouting and saying, "ooh you're doing, you're rubbish, you're terrible" and swearing and cursing because it wouldn't make me work any better. So I think it's same for players who play out on wings ... that are closer to [the] crowd because they do seem to get a lot more of barracking. (Catherine)

One fan admitted that it was sometimes difficult not to shout negative comments at his own team's players but was apologetic about this fact, describing it as a result of everyone reacting to the same thing at the same time rather than as a

conscious effort on the part of the fans to collectively mock a player for making a mistake:

Do you know like when something goes wrong, like it's a two-yard pass that he's got to make and he ends up giving it to somebody else. I suppose you don't do it intentionally for him to hear it but like you like go "ohhh", but thing is like when like there's thirteen others like another thousand people do it with you, you can't help but hear it and you don't do it intentionally but it's just everybody's doing it so it echoes doesn't it and that? So I don't think you do it intentionally. (Mark)

Only one fan, Eric, thought that it was acceptable to aim divisive chants at his own team's players saying that "I do believe that they're answerable to the crowd ... the crowd pays their wages, the crowd keeps the club going." However, he does qualify his statement by adding that the criticism should be constructive. Another fan highlights exceptional circumstances which may validate hurling abuse at players in his own team:

... when you get a player who's you know perhaps being paid a lot of money, comes with a big reputation who's got bags of skill but doesn't really use it then you know there is you know, not an anger but you feel a great sense of disappointment for that person and you want to do something to, it's like at home when you have an argument with somebody, you say something you know you're gonna provoke and I think that these comments are meant to provoke the player into perhaps having a change of conscience and suddenly putting in you know, putting in a bit more effort and I think it certainly does relate to performance. (John)

Like Mark, John justifies his comment. He suggests that such chanting is intended to have a positive effect on the player, in contrast to the divisive chants aimed at the opposition with the sole intention being to put them off. Despite the majority of informants being against divisive chants aimed at one's own players, the comments from Mark, Eric and John illustrate that it is not unheard of, and we will see examples of it in the present data.

Chant types deriding the performance of players are the most recorded of all in this sub-category, whether concerning a poor performance or poor conduct. As with other chant types, the same formulas used across sub-categories recur.

114. Same old Shearer, always cheating
 (Sung to the tune of the “Big Ben Chimes”. 1 token)
 (Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 28)
115. Thierry Henry, you’re having a laugh
 (Sung to the tune of “Tom Hark”. 1 token)
 (Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 35)
116. Deano, Deano, what’s the score?
 Deano, what’s the score?
 (Sung to the tune of “Helule, Helule”. 7 tokens, 7 variants)
 (Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 3)

Example 116 is frequently aimed at a former player when he returns with his new team to his old club, and the old club is winning. It suggests that the player made the wrong move.

Some chants of this sort are reserved for when a player has made a harsh challenge and opposing fans plead with the referee for a red card to be given:

117. Off, off, off
 (1 token)
 (Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 23)

Another is saved for if the player is actually sent off or is substituted:

118. Bye bye bye bye, bye bye bye bye
 (Sung to the tune of the “Big Ben Chimes”. 1 token)
 (Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 14)

More often than not chants in this sub-category are aimed at players and managers who are present on the day. However, so intense is the rivalry between Leeds United and Manchester United that the former are inclined to sing about one of the latter’s players, Phil Neville, even when he is not playing and Manchester United are not the opposition:

119. If Neville plays for England so can I,
 If Neville plays for England so can I,
 If Neville plays for England, Neville plays for England,
 Neville plays for England so can I

(Sung to the tune of "She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain". 3 tokens,
1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 8)

Of the three tokens of this chant type collected, one was used when Manchester United were not playing Leeds. The suggestion in the chant is that Neville is not good enough to be in the England team, only as talented as the average footballer. It is not uncommon for the resignation of the manager to be called for if a team is in a poor league position and playing badly:

120. Houli out! Houli out!
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 19)

This presents us with one of the few occasions when it is considered appropriate to mock one's own player or manager, with times of unrest presenting the fans with an opportunity to voice their concerns about the running of the club. In the instance the chant was used against then manager of Liverpool Gerard Houllier, with the fans illustrating that they were very unhappy with his performance as manager.

Many chants in this sub-category are no more than general cries of abuse, sometimes used in reaction to a specific occurrence but often for no apparent reason:

121. Hasselbank's a wanker
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 17)
122. Fuck off Shearer
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 16)

Others single out one characteristic for abuse, such as physical appearance:

123. You fat bastard
(10 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 2)

124. Face like a donkey,
He's got a face like a donkey,
Face like a donkey,
He's got a face like a donkey
(Sung to the tune of "Guantanamera". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 15)

125. Sit down Pinocchio
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 33)

Some are reserved for players in particular positions, such as the following which is normally aimed at a goalkeeper by opposing fans while he takes a goal-kick:

126. Ooooooh shit aaaaarrrgggggh
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 25)

Presumably the main purpose of this chant is to unnerve the goalkeeper, as is the case with most chants aimed at opposition players. There are two chants featured in this section which are normally classified as integrative but appear in the divisive section since they were used divisively by York fans against Mansfield goalkeeper Kevin Pilkington:

127. Kevin, Kevin, give us a wave,
Kevin, give us a wave
(Sung to the tune of "Helule, Helule". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 22)

128. Oh Kevin Kevin,
Kevin Kevin Kevin Kevin Pilkington
(Sung to the tune of "Son of My Father". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 24)

In brief, Pilkington was singled out for abuse after he left his area and gifted York a goal in their game against Mansfield. Following this mistake, and standing immediately in front of the York fans, he became an easy target for their mockery.

Off the pitch events can have just as much significance as on the pitch when it comes to the topics chosen by fans to ridicule players. Some deal with issues surrounding certain players within the game but not necessarily about their performance. For example, example 129 was chanted at former Barnsley player Mike Sheron who was released from the club at the end of the 2002-3 season. At the final game of the season, which was an away fixture at Wigan, Sheron sat amongst the away crowd watching the game with his young son. A small group of Barnsley fans made fun of his departure from the club:

129. Sheron is a jobseeker
(Sung to the tune of "Go West". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 31)

The use of this chant demonstrates not only how any situation can be turned into a football chant but also how fans can quickly reject their own players who were once the subjects of their praise.

Football players are under scrutiny whether they are on or off the field and incidents relating to their personal lives provide perfect ammunition for rival fans to use at the game. In the present data, reactions to two controversial incidents occurring in players' personal lives were observed. The first incident was the La Manga scandal surrounding Leicester City players in March 2004. During a training trip to the Spanish resort of La Manga, nine members of the squad were arrested and three charged with sexual assault following an incident in a hotel room. At the club's next game following the incident, an away fixture at Birmingham City, a ban was placed on fans displaying derogatory banners about the three players, Paul Dickov, Frank Sinclair and Keith Gillespie, who were still being held in a Spanish jail. This was in anticipation of the reception and chants the club were expecting they would receive. Five months on, Gillespie, and presumably the other players involved, was still greeted with abuse from opposing fans:

130. Jailer, jailer, jailer
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 20)

The other incident which produced derogatory chants from opposing supporters was the Rio Ferdinand drugs scandal in 2003 and resulted in the following from Leeds United fans aimed at the Manchester United player:

131. Rio is a smackhead, Rio is a smackhead,
Na na na na – hey, na na na na
(Sung to the tune of “Let’s All Have a Disco”. 2 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 12)
132. Same old Rio, always snorting
(Sung to the tune of the “Big Ben Chimes”. 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 29)
133. Rio for rehab
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 26)
134. Rio takes it up the nose
(Sung to the tune of “Go West”. 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 27)

The abuse which Ferdinand received was no doubt intensified by the fact that he was a former player returning to Elland Road and was still viewed by Leeds fans as a “Judas” figure after leaving in 2002 to join their most hated rivals Manchester United. The timing of the scandal did not help, with its close proximity to two highly charged fixtures between the two clubs. Unfortunately for Ferdinand, the two clubs played two matches against each other in the space of ten days, although Leeds fans no doubt saw it as fortuitous and took great pleasure in the ammunition it provided. Ferdinand served an eight month ban from football, imposed by the FA in January 2004, along with a £50,000 fine but even at his first game back, a fixture with Liverpool, memories of his misdemeanour had not been forgotten, and Liverpool fans chanted:

135. Smackhead, smackhead, smackhead
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 34)

Chants with off the pitch events as their subject matter can also be about issues affecting the club in general. For example when the running of the club is called

into question by the fans certain personnel may be named and shamed. This type includes:

136. We want Doyle out, say we want Doyle out
(Sung to the tune of "Oops Upside Your Head". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 36)
137. Leighton's/Risdale's got our money
Leighton/Risdale's got our money,
Na na na na – hey! Na na na na
(Sung to the tune of "Let's All Have a Disco". 2 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 11)

Example 136 was used in protest to the new owner of Barnsley FC in 2003, Peter Doyle, whose arrival caused much controversy as seen in chapter five. Example 137 is another chant concerning boardroom antics, this time those of Leeds United.³²

We have already seen two examples in this sub-category of players who were once subject to worship by their adoring fans being subjected to contempt, in the case of the Mike Sheron and Rio Ferdinand examples. In addition, there is a small repertoire of chants specifically aimed at former players when they return to play against their former clubs, such as:

138. Barnsley reject
(3 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 7)
139. Alan Smith's a judas, Alan Smith's a judas,
Na na na na – hey! Na na na na
(Sung to the tune of "Let's All Have a Disco". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 13)
140. Judas
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 21)

³² More information on the situation facing Leeds United at this time is discussed in chapter four, p.79.

While the fans remain loyal as long as he is with their club, as soon as he moves, their feelings can change.³³ This vilification of former players was apparent in the interviews, with Mark and Richard discussing why Barnsley fans turned against former player Stephen McPhail when he returned to the club with his new team:

Well there were that one that they got wi McPhail as well cos after he'd left us at end of last season, first game of season were club that he'd gone to just for more money. He were going to take a corner and he had to walk to Ponty End to collect ball and they really expressed their opinion on what they thought about it, calling him (Mark)

There's only one greedy bar steward. Ah there's them chants that's alright. (Richard)

It is often the case when such chants are sung that supporters of the current team of the player will respond by singing integrative chants in his praise. The final theme for this sub-category is the questioning of the whole existence of a player. In some ways chants of this kind could be regarded as more insulting than those that hurl abuse, because at least the former actually acknowledge the existence of a player. There was just one particular chant type of this sort:

141. Who are you?
(3 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 9)

As we will see throughout this chapter, this chant occurs across the divisive sub-categories and can occur as a response to a poor performance, in reaction to a mistake, or for no other reason than to abuse a player.

6.4 The divisive fan chant

One of the key motivations in the use of *blason populaire* is to pour scorn on a rival group. Nowhere is this more evident than in the chants that are in the divisive fan sub-category. This type of chant has the potential to be insulting on a far more personal level than those in other divisive sub-categories. The

³³ However, this is not always the case, with some players remaining favourites with the fans many years after they have left a club, as illustrated in chapter five.

divisive player/manager, divisive club and divisive location sub-categories can by default reflect badly on the fan whose club, player/manager of the club or location of the club is being criticised. However, chants in the divisive fan sub-category provide insults aimed directly at the rival fans, drawing on stereotypes and negative characteristics of inhabitants of a particular place, be they true or false. Furthermore, it is the only sub-category that legitimately opens up a verbal duel between the target of the chant and the perpetrator, with each set of fans trying to issue the strongest and most offensive insult to the other. The chants tend to be based around four areas: levels of support (both vocal and physical), local stereotypes and nicknames, general abuse and, as is evident in most of the divisive sub-categories, a questioning of the actual existence of the rival fans.

Those chants ridiculing the rival's level of support received the highest number of tokens. Some of these chants focus on the volume of vocal support, or rather lack of it, undermining the opposition's level of support, and thus their status as true fans, by suggesting that if they were indeed true fans they would be singing more and/or louder. After all, the sign of a true fan is a noisy fan, hence the strength of the insult issued in football chants based on quiet supporters. The level of the insult expressed in such a chant is greater if the quiet fans are watching their team play on home territory, the implication being that if they are playing at home they should have lots of support. One of the most popular ways to deride such a quiet set of fans is to remind them that they are playing at home but that their lack of vocal support belies this fact:

142. You're supposed to,
You're supposed to,
You're supposed to be at home,
You're supposed to be at home
(Sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer". 9 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 3)

It is deemed just as much of an offence if fans fail to sing when their team is in the lead or, contrastingly, if they stop singing if the opposition score or take the lead:

143. One nil and you still don't sing
 (Sung to the tune of "Go West". 1 token)
 (Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 29)
144. Sing when you're winning,
 You only sing when you're winning
 (Sung to the tune of "Guantanamera". 4 tokens, 1 variant)
 (Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 8)
145. You're not singing,
 You're not singing,
 You're not singing anymore,
 You're not singing anymore
 (Sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer". 9 tokens, 1 variant)
 (Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 2)

Lack of variety is mocked just as much as not singing at all, with an unimaginative crowd being derided with:

146. One song, you've only got one song,
 You've only got one song,
 You've only got one song
 (Sung to the tune of "Blue Moon". 1 token)
 (Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 30)

Sometimes fans try and motivate their counterparts to sing by requesting a song from them or by suggesting to sing on their behalf:

147. County, County, give us a song,
 County, give us a song
 (Sung to the tune of "Helule, Helule". 2 tokens, 2 variants)
 (Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 13)
148. Shall we sing a,
 Shall we sing a,
 Shall we sing a song for you?
 Shall we sing a song for you?
 (Sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer". 13 tokens, 1 variant)
 (Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 1)

In both of these examples, the chanting fans gain superiority over rivals by, in example 147, having to ask the opposing fans to sing rather than them

spontaneously offering support for their own team and, example 148, offering to sing for them because their vocal support is so weak. The implication is that they need someone else to do the singing for them, resulting in a lack of status as true supporters.

As well as the vocal support of the opposition being under scrutiny, physical aspects of support are also criticised. Sometimes fans are mocked with

149. What's it like to,
What's it like to,
What's it like to see a crowd?
What's it like to see a crowd?

(Sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer". 2 tokens, 1 variant)

(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 17)

This chant can be used at both home and away fixtures and implies that the group of fans at which it is aimed is not used to seeing a crowd, so weak is their support. In one instance it was used by Notts County fans as a retort to a cry of "you're supposed to be at home" from Chesterfield fans, opening a dialogue in which both sets of fans were trying to win superiority as fans through focussing on negative aspects of each other's support. In a similar vein it was also used by Queens Park Rangers fans at an away fixture with Barnsley, implying that Barnsley's crowd was significantly boosted by the QPR support. Opposing support is also judged to be inferior if fans are seen leaving the stadium before the final whistle:

150. We can see you,
We can see you,
We can see you sneaking out,
We can see you sneaking out

(Sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer". 1 token)

(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 35)

This was sung by Sheffield Wednesday fans to Barnsley fans who left the ground en-masse during a fixture at Hillsborough which they were losing. Not only the presence of support, both physically and vocally, can come under attack but also the type of support. For example, it is a widespread belief that the

Manchester United fan-base is largely comprised of people not from Manchester, and for this they are not seen as true fans. Thus, they are often derided with:

151. Live round the corner,
You only live round the corner
(Sung to tune of "Guantanamera". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 27)

This was sung by Northampton fans to Manchester United fans at an FA Cup fixture at Northampton, based on the popular perception that a large number of Manchester United fans are not actually from Manchester. As much emphasis is placed on local people supporting local clubs by football fans, a fitting way to deride rivals is to suggest that their support is not as solid in this way.

Using local stereotypes is another popular way to deride one's rivals. For example, in a discussion in one of the interviews with fans, the proliferation of nicknames and local stereotypes in football chants is apparent. The following dialogue took place between the informants:

Well it's like a stereotypical of anything int it? Like if you're playing say somebody down south and one of their players goes down easily it's "you soft southern bar stewards" and then you've got like your Wednesday Sheffield it's "dee das" and we're "dingles" and there's "toytown" for Rotherham. (Mark)

Leeds Scum (James)

Yeah Leeds Scum and (Mark)

Doncaster they're gypos (Richard)

Gypos (James)

Doncaster are gypos and chavs (Mark)

Now what's oth Pikies (Richard)

Pikies yeah (Mark)

They're better known as pikies, oh aye they'real pikies them and then there's Welsh and they're (Richard)

Sheep-shaggers (James)

Their fondness for sheep. What else is there? (Mark)

And if there's like crooked spire, you just sing to their fans "you can shove your crooked spire up your arse" and all that sort of stuff. (Richard)

Well there's Blackpool as well, they're "does your mother know your father" and cos all people who go out there on weekends. I suppose there's loads isn't there really on stereotyping, like "you're just a town full of scrubbers." We get that a few times. (Mark)

In the case of the use of nicknames such as the ones provided in this discussion, two forms of *blason populaire* are merged - the nickname and the football chant, with the football chant taking precedence. In chapter two, I discussed the popular themes of divisive expressions of *blason populaire*. It is in the divisive-fans' football chants that these themes emerge most clearly today. For instance, the local stereotypes, in keeping with the earlier tradition, are based on sexual behaviour; dirtiness; unemployment; strike-breaking; and linguistic mockery. Any perceived stereotype or negative characteristic is ridiculed by the opposition. Many chants of this sort are comprised of no more than the shout of a one-word insult, repeated over and over again, while others are longer verses based on a stereotype.

Sexual behaviour is a popular theme for divisive-fan chants. However, as these will be discussed in chapter seven, I will omit them from this part of the discussion. As well as sexual behaviour, personal hygiene, or rather a lack of it, is another way to portray one's rivals in a negative light. Two chant types concerning dirtiness were collected, each example of which was aimed at Barnsley fans. Example 152 could just as easily be seen as a comment on the promiscuity of a person, "scrubber" having the dual meaning in Barnsley of a loose woman and/or a dirty person:

152. Town full of scrubbers,
You're just a town full of scrubbers
(Sung to the tune of "Guantanamera". 8 tokens, 5 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 4)

153. Have you ever,
Have you ever,
Have you ever had a wash?
Have you ever had a wash?
(Sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 23)

A similar stigma is attached to communities where there is a high incidence of unemployment. For instance, examples 154 and 155 are frequently aimed at supporters of clubs in and around Liverpool, and other areas considered to be in economic decline:

154. Get to work,
Get to work,
Get to work you lazy twats,
Get to work you lazy twats
(Sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 22)

155. Sign on,
Sign on,
With pen in your hand,
Cos you'll never get a job,
You'll never get a job
(Sung to the tune of "You'll Never Walk Alone". 2 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 16)

Chant 154 was aimed at Everton fans by Manchester City fans, whilst the second was collected once sung by Manchester United fans to Liverpool fans and once by Brighton fans to Barnsley fans, Barnsley also being a town not known for its prosperity. Discussing the themes of *blason populaire*, Scott (1975) has suggested that:

The elements of character which receive scrutiny in *blason populaire* – intelligence, modesty, honesty and morality – are not as universal in their degrees as are the economic elements. It is interesting, for example, that most of the exchanges of insults are based on economic rather than moral evidence, or inherent stupidity. The jokes on the intelligence of a town, for example, tend to be less migratory. This is not to say that the same jokes are not made about different towns, but the motifs tend to cluster around specific towns for which there is evidence of buffoonery. The Wise men of Gotham and the several examples of Moonrakers are definitely connected with specific towns. (p.17)

The present evidence does not support this, with personal characteristics rather than economic factors being the most recorded. However, it can be argued that the two are interconnected, with elements of dirtiness being inevitably linked to poverty. Furthermore, those chants about stupidity *are* migratory. This is evident in the “dingle” chants that I will discuss presently, and those concerning inbreeding in chapter seven, which do tend to be used primarily to refer to one’s closest neighbours. However, they are popular insults and do not appear to be restricted to any one locality. Rather, chants solely about economic status appear to have a more restricted usage.

Looking now at the “dingle” chants, the term is a common phrase used to deride local rivals, both as a stand-alone phrase and incorporated into longer chants. So for example,

156. Dingles, dingles, dingles
(3 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 11)
157. Town full of dingles,
You’re just a town full of dingles
(Sung to the tune of “Guantanamera”. 8 tokens, 5 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 4)

On each occasion the term was heard, it was aimed at Barnsley fans by Sheffield Wednesday fans. However, its use is not restricted as an insult term for Barnsley inhabitants only. It is sung frequently by Lancashire teams Blackburn, Burnley, Preston, and Stockport about each other, as well as teams in the West Midlands, including Walsall, West Bromwich Albion and Wolverhampton Wanderers, again used in the same interchangeable way being both used as well as received by each other. As a nickname it is used derogatively to describe people who are simple, drawing comparisons to the yokel Dingle family in the Yorkshire TV soap opera *Emmerdale*. Like the chants about incest, its use tends to occur primarily between local rivals and neighbouring towns and cities.

Another chant type used by local neighbours, and which always seems to refer to fans of Sheffield clubs is

158. Dee das
(4 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 7)

It is used by fans from neighbouring towns, in the case of the present research by Barnsley and Chesterfield fans, to mock Sheffield Wednesday and Sheffield United fans, based on their traditional pronunciation of the dialectal terms “thee” and “tha”. The remaining chant types based on local stereotypes use the nickname “scab”, a term used to describe strike-breakers. Even over twenty years on, these chants still cause ructions between fans from former striking and non-striking communities. Scab chants collected at a match between Notts County and Barnsley in 2004 will be discussed in detail in chapter eight.

The level of support and chants based on local stereotypes are the most popular ways to denounce rival fans. However, it is also possible to deride them by simply shouting general abuse:

159. My old man said be a [name of club] fan,
I said fuck off bollocks you're a cunt
(Sung to the tune of “The Cock Linnet Song”. 3 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 10)
160. You're scum and you know you are
(Sung to the tune of “Go West”. 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 39)

Others are also of a general nature but in response to a given situation. For instance, the following was shouted by York fans to Mansfield fans in order to drown out the integrative chant they were singing in order to mock them:

161. Sit down shut up, sit down shut up
(Sung to the tune of the “Big Ben Chimes”. 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 33)

This chant type can also be used as a retort to the opposition's fans if they are believed to be protesting unnecessarily about an on-the-pitch event. Whenever it is used, it gains one-upmanship for the group singing the chant as it suggests that the voice of the opposition is not worth listening to and that their views are insignificant. Another chant type which has already been seen in other divisive sub-categories is one which questions the existence of a set of fans:

162. Who are you?
(4 tokens, 1 chant type)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 9)

Again, like the previous chant type it is often used in an attempt to silence the opposition's fans and to stress their own superior identity.

Despite the often serious sounding contents and harsh comments on the out-group that is evident in this sub-category, when discussing their use of the chants, informants repeatedly described them as merely banter:

It's like a bit of banter (Richard)

I suppose when you're in a rivalry, it's just about winding folk up really isn't it? Just a bit of banter. Like with Sheffield Wednesday "dee das", it drives 'em potty and they call us "dingles" and it like it's a bit of a bugbear but I suppose it's just winding each other up isn't it? Trying to fit names into tunes, we insult 'em a bit. (Mark)

It's just a bit of fun at end of day, summat to pass your time on a Saturday, just summat to make it a laugh and make it interesting. (Mark)

Barnsley and Sheffield will go off against each other. There's no disrespect between them though.... It's a friendly banter. (Eric)

These comments can also be applied to the use of the divisive football chant in general. They would lead us to believe that no matter how serious a charge is made through a football chant, no offence should be taken as there is no malicious intent. While this is not necessarily the case and some chants are capable of being extremely offensive and hurtful, it is something to bear in mind when considering their growing proscription.

6.5 The divisive location chant

The chants in this sub-category are those that operate by insulting the location of a club directly, rather than through the club, its players or its fans. The sub-category follows a similar pattern to the integrative location sub-category in that there are few chant types and tokens in comparison to the other sub-categories. For example, there are just fourteen chant types and seventeen tokens. All but one of the chant types operates on the town/city level, with just one operating on the county level.

163. Oh [name of place] is full of shit,
Oh [name of place] is full of shit,
It's full of shit, shit and more shit,
Oh [name of place] is full of shit
(Sung to the tune of "Oh When the Saints Go Marching In". 7 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive location chant 1)
164. Manchester wank wank wank
Manchester wank wank wank
(Sung to the "Banana Splits" theme tune. 4 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive location chant 3)
165. Oh wanky wanky,
Wanky wanky wanky wanky Lancashire
(Sung to the tune of "Son of My Father". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive location chant 4)
166. Small town in Sheffield,
You're just a small town in Sheffield
(Sung to the tune of "Guantanamera". 5 tokens, 3 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive location chant 2)

The first three examples are simple assertions of hate for the place stated. In the case of examples 163 and 164, the places derided are Manchester and Sheffield. All three of the Sheffield variants were sung by Barnsley fans when the opposition was Sheffield Wednesday. In the case of the Manchester variants, however, just two were sung when a Manchester club was the opposition while the remaining two were sung by clubs in lower leagues, Oldham and Blackpool, to deride their neighbours, such is their hate for their big city neighbours. Again, this shows how rivalries can be displayed when the appropriate club is not even playing. Example 166 is more complex than the simple assertions of

hate we have seen in the first three and functions on two levels. Firstly, it diminishes the status of the town or city at which it is aimed through declaring that it is not a place in its own right but rather a small town within another location. This automatically gives the in-group a sense of superiority while diminishing the status of the out-group. Secondly, it plays upon local rivalries between the place at which it is aimed and their local rivals by suggesting that they are a small town within another place they would normally consider themselves to be superior to. For instance, “You’re just a small town in Rotherham” was sung to Sheffield Wednesday on two occasions, once by Chesterfield fans and again by Barnsley fans. For it to be suggested that the city of Sheffield is subservient to the smaller town of Rotherham, or indeed to any other town in South Yorkshire is the ultimate insult when Sheffield is the largest urban centre in the county. So superior is Sheffield’s status considered to be that on two occasions Sheffield Wednesday fans describe Barnsley, and presumably other South Yorkshire clubs given the chance, as a small part of their city, as in “You’re just a small town in Sheffield”. Considering that one Barnsley fan cites Barnsley living in Sheffield’s shadow as being a cause of the rivalry between the two clubs, this variant has the potential to be particularly cutting. Interestingly, in the current research this chant type was used primarily at local derby fixtures.

It is clear to see why the divisive-location sub-category has few chant types and tokens when we take into consideration the same factors as in the integrative sub-category. All of the chants in the divisive club and fans sub-categories by default reflect badly on the location so there is not a large need for there to be a distinct group of chants specifically aimed at the location. Many divisive club chants incorporate the name of the club in the abuse. Similarly, negatively stereotyping inhabitants of a particular place does not reflect a positive image for the place they are from but automatically derides that at the same time. In addition, it is more fulfilling to direct abuse at a group of people as it gives them the chance to respond and ultimately opens a dialogue between them.

6.6 The divisive referee chant

Although football fans never miss an opportunity to insult their rivals and rarely share common ground with them, there is one thing that unites them, irrespective of existing rivalries and which club they support: their hatred of the referee. During any football match the referee is guaranteed to receive the wrath of at least one set of fans, be it for alleged bad decisions or supposed bias. He is undoubtedly the most consistently vilified person in the game and is always at the mercy of the fans, never receiving chants in his favour (although sometimes mock praise may be heaped on him if he unexpectedly gives a good decision). Unlike other divisive chants, there is no-one to defend the referee by cancelling out the abuse with chants in his favour. Chants about the referee appear to be restricted in terms of variety and tend to be centred upon his ineptitude and give general abuse of a sexual nature.

167. You don't know what you're doing
(6 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive referee chant 1)
168. Wanker, wanker, wanker
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive referee chant 4)
169. The referee's a wanker
(5 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive referee chant 2)
170. You're not fit to,
You're not fit to,
You're not fit to referee,
You're not fit to referee
(Sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer". 3 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive referee chant 3)
171. Who's the bastard,
Who's the bastard,
Who's the bastard in the black?
Who's the bastard in the black?
(Sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive referee chant 5)

The use of the first two chant types is not reserved exclusively for the referee but rather can be used in any of the other divisive categories if necessary. The remaining three are only used in reference to the referee.

6.7 The divisive police chant

No chants were collected for this sub-category during the period of participant observation. However, it is nevertheless an important one. In a similar vein to the referee, the police are never singled out for praise at a football match but are frequently on the receiving end of abuse. Again, a limited repertoire of chants is available to deride the police: these are repeated again and again at football matches across the country. A standard nickname is “pigs” and a popular chant heard is:

The Bill, it's just like watching the Bill,
It's just like watching the Bill,
It's just like watching the Bill
(Sung to the tune of “Blue Moon”)³⁴

This chant alludes to the popular ITV series “The Bill”. It was sung by Huddersfield fans at their play-off semi-final away leg at Barnsley in May 2006 when riot police stood round the perimeter of the pitch at the end of the game to prevent fans from invading it. However, it is also used by thousands of other football fans across the country. The fact that no divisive-police chants were collected in the main period of data collection suggests that they are not prevalent at football matches in England today. Informants also spoke of this apparent decline:

They used to sing a lot of songs about police and all, like that “Harry Roberts is our friend, he kills coppers”, that one yeah. It's because police presence are not a lot. It's stewards that's there you know. It's majority stewards but it's if summat kicks off they start don't they? (Richard)

If police are walking past or they're coming it's just “da da, da da, da da, da da, da da da da” [hums the “Laurel and Hardy” theme tune] and I don't know why it is cos it's not, there's no words in it, I think it's just

³⁴ This chant was collected after the main period of data collection.

summat that's been associated with police ... but as my dad says it's usually stewards now that start doing everything and getting under everybody's skin so they all get insulted like "get a proper job", "fifty pence an hour" and stuff like that. (Mark)

This discussion relates the lack of chants about the police to their less visible presence at football matches. In such situations, the fans project their ridicule onto some other target, in this case the stewards. However, when the police are noticeable, the usual chants will be heard.

6.8 The divisive other chant

The divisive other sub-category was devised to incorporate those chants that do not fit into any of the other divisive sub-categories yet do not warrant their own. Such chants are of a very individual nature and occur infrequently. They illustrate how any target at a football match is suitable prey for the football fan to ridicule in song. Potential targets include anyone who may have to go on to the pitch before or after the game, other fans in the crowd, anyone mentioned on loud-speaker announcements and people walking around the perimeter of the pitch such as St John's Ambulance workers. All chant types in this sub-category will be discussed individually due to the unique circumstances that surround their use, as well as to highlight how fans use any suitable subject matter for their taunts. However, although the context of their use may be unusual, the actual chants are not necessarily original. For example:

172. We shall not, we shall not be moved
(Verbatim performance of the chorus of "We Shall Not Be Moved". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive other chant 2)

This chant was sung in protest by Bristol City fans to attempts by police and stewards to move them from a section of seating that was out of use at an away fixture at Barnsley. Another chant is more commonly aimed at the referee:

173. You don't know what you're doing
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive other chant 5)

However, on one occasion it was sung by Brentford fans to the groundsmen at Barnsley when they were having problems with the nets in front of the away fans. The Brentford fans were mocking them for their supposed incompetence. Another chant that is frequently heard in other sub-categories and in particular often aimed at players who make an ill-judged pass is:

174. What the fucking,
What the fucking,
What the fucking hell is that?
What the fucking hell is that?
(Sung to the tune of “Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer”. 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive other chant 3)

This was again heard at a fixture at Barnsley by the away fans Queens Park Rangers whose target of ridicule was Barnsley mascot Toby Tyke. It was sung when he walked past the away stand prior to the start of the game. By mocking Barnsley's much-loved mascot, the Queen's Park Rangers fans were being highly provocative. The next chant is reserved for females attending football games, normally when they are the centre of attention for one reason or another:

175. Get your tits out,
Get your tits out,
Get your tits out for the lads,
Get your tits out for the lads
(Sung to the tune of “Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer”. 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive other chant 1)

On this occasion it was aimed at a woman who took part in a penalty shoot-out competition at halftime during a fixture between Leeds United and Manchester United at Elland Road. Its relation to masculinity will be discussed in the next chapter. The remaining chant in this sub-category is unique in that it was coined by York City fans specifically for the circumstances surrounding their club at the time. It was sung in celebration when it had been confirmed that their Bootham Crescent ground was not going to be sold to land developers. It was chanted both during a game between Mansfield and prior to the match on a victory march to the ground. The language of the chant is confrontational and is presumably aimed at the housing developers, Persimmon Homes Ltd.

176. You can stuff you fucking houses up your arse,
You can stuff your fucking houses up your arse,
You can stuff your fucking houses,
Stuff you fucking houses,
Stuff your fucking houses up your arse
(Sung to the tune of "She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive other chant 4)

Individual fans are not immune to having offensive chants sung about them. Although none were collected through the participation observation, an interview informant spoke of his own experience of being ridiculed en masse by fans, for the crime of wearing a ridiculous looking pair of shoes due to a large blister on his foot:

A night match so we ends up at Huddersfield wi this big blister with a pair of shoes on which were three sizes too big. (Richard)

Hold on a minute, paint a proper picture, oldest shoes, muckiest shoes ragged about ... just were like worst shoes ever. (Mark)

Following an incident in which his son trapped his fingers, Richard and his son Mark had to go to the medical room:

You had to walk round side of pitch which weren't bloody funny ... They were all "what's tha got on thi feet? Ey up yer Barnsley so and so what's tha got on thi feet?" They were singing "where did you get them shoes", they were singing allsorts weren't they? I've been subject of chants and it's not very nice ... I don't advise it ... It must be horrible and them poor referees when they sing to them. (Richard)

This demonstrates quite clearly how anything or anyone can provide ammunition for a divisive football chant, even an old pair of shoes.

6.9 Summary

While hatred for a club in general, its location and opposing fans are the most obvious targets of divisive football chants, in keeping with traditional targets of the *blason populaire* genre more generally, insults aimed at players and managers also portray a negative image of the rival club and are crucial in

marking the in-group as superior. Furthermore, those chants attacking the referee and the police are also important as items of *blason populaire*, identifying an out-group against which those singing the chants can compare themselves more favourably. While the content of some chants would suggest that no topic is taboo for football fans or that no insult is too low, the insults they contain are not necessarily to be taken at face value, with fans frequently describing them as nothing more than banter. Thus, any insult can be used but this does not mean that either set of fans believe there is any truth in it. Rather, it is just one way of gaining verbal one-upmanship on the day. Although this does not excuse the sick football chants and other highly offensive ones that do occur sporadically, it is something to think about when examining the increasing censorship of football chants, as I will do in chapter eight. Before that, in chapter seven I will discuss the construction of masculinity through football chants.

7. Football Chants and the Construction of Masculine Identity

7.1 Introduction

In chapters five and six, I have suggested that some football chants, both integrative and divisive, express strong notions of masculine identity. As many expressions of *blason populaire* are concerned with gender, it is worth exploring this theme in more detail. That football is a male domain is well-documented (for example, see Marsh *et al* 1978, Holt 1988, Williams and Woodhouse 1991, Coddington 1997, King 1997, Russell 1997 and Armstrong and Young 2000). While progress is being made to make the game more inclusive for females at all levels, from players and officials to fans, the football ground remains a playground for the performance of heterosexual masculinity. In this chapter, I will discuss how football chants construct and consolidate such masculine identities. I will begin providing an overview of the two strands running through it. Firstly I will demonstrate how all aspects of football reflect masculine values, before proceeding to show how, by commenting on gender, football chants adopt a theme that has proved constant throughout the years in expressions of *blason populaire*. I will then look at integrative football chants, showing how they can be a celebration of masculinity through their discourses on male bonding concerning drinking, fighting and women as well as the militaristic imagery that they employ. In contrast, many divisive chants rely on insults about women and homosexuality to define the out-group and in order for fans to assert their own supposedly superior masculinity.

7.2 Football: a male world

That football chants are so embedded with notions of masculinity is a reflection of the fact that in England the game in general is widely accepted as a male preserve, with women sitting on the periphery. It is important to address this issue in order to understand why the performance of heterosexual masculinity is so deeply ingrained in the football chant, and as such can be seen as a result of a male-orientated culture. Sport in general has been described as “one of the ‘last bastions’ of masculinity” (Messner, 1987 p54) but perhaps no sport is this more applicable than to football. Football scholars frequently draw our attention

to the game as a masculine pastime, with football fandom being a popular focus of investigation in this respect. For example, King (1997) has stated that:

For male fans, football is a central ritual arena in the constitution of their manhood. Through the support of a football team, the male fan affirms his status as man (in the eyes of his peers and himself) and also articulates the nature of that manhood. (p.585)

This andocentric bias is reinforced by the fact that women have not only been sidelined but largely ignored in accounts of the game, although this is beginning to change.³⁵ For example, Caudwell (2004) has stated that:

... in sports texts football has been marked as male. Male sports historians and sociologists have effectively positioned the game as an integral part of men's lives and of male working-class culture (Finn and Giulianotti 2000) This extensive documentation has largely ignored and/or omitted women's involvement in, and experiences of, playing football. Omitting women from the analysis arguably allows football, sport and culture alike to be defined as male. (p.126)

This can no doubt be seen as a reflection of the fact that at all levels of the game, women's involvement is frequently considered to be the exception rather than the norm. For example, consider the fraction of attention women's football receives, both on television and in the printed media, in comparison with the men's game. Furthermore, women who excel at typically male sports, and football in particular, are likely to have both their femininity and sexuality brought into question, with claims that they are too masculine and/or lesbians (Williams and Woodhouse, 1991, Caudwell 1999, Hargreaves 1994). At the same time as female footballers are stereotyped as lesbian, so is there actually a culture of football amongst lesbians, the sport providing a safe haven in which they can be open about their sexuality (Caudwell 2002).

Despite facing obstacles from many directions, on the surface the relationship between women and football appears to be improving. For example, women's

³⁵ Women's relationship with football, both as players and as fans, is becoming a topic worthy of serious academic investigation. This is exemplified by the increasing number of texts on the subject. For example, Coddington 1997; Caudwell 2004; Woodhouse and Williams 1999.

participation at all levels is apparently on the increase. This is evident when looking at the rise in the number of female football players. For example, between 1993 and 2005, the number of female footballers in England increased from 9,800 to over 130,000 (The Football Association 2006b). The FA is continually taking strides to make the game more inclusive to females, with the professionalisation of the women's game being their ultimate aim. When looking at women's roles in the men's game, the outlook again appears to be improving. For example, an ever-increasing number of women hold senior positions at English football clubs. Karren Brady became the first female managing director of an English football club when she was appointed by Birmingham City in 1993. In 1995 Wendy Toms became the first female referee's assistant in the Football League. In a similar vein, it is becoming more common to see high profile female football journalists and television presenters, including Gabby Logan and Helen Chamberlain, employed in what are still considered by many today to be male preserves.

Despite their increasing presence in the male professional game, that women are there at all is still sometimes frowned upon, indicating that the situation is far from progressive. For example, it is not unheard of for female directors to be barred from boardrooms and from attending the Professional Footballers' Association Annual Awards Ceremony (Williams 2002). More recently, two further examples have highlighted that while on the surface equal opportunities may appear to be growing, women in football continue to be regarded as interlopers in a male environment. Firstly, in November 2006, Mike Newell, the then manager of Luton Town, caused outrage with his comments about Amy Rayner, who was assistant referee during his team's defeat by Queen's Park Rangers, and who he blamed for the defeat. The comments he made after the match about women and football are worth quoting at length to illustrate the prejudice that women face:

'She shouldn't be here. I know that sounds sexist but I am sexist', said Newell. 'This is not park football, so what are women doing here? It's tokenism for politically correct idiots. We have a problem with political correctness in this country and bringing women into the game is not the way to improve refereeing and officeldom. It is absolutely beyond

belief. It is bad enough with the incapable referees and linesmen we have, but, if you start bringing in women, you have big problems.' (Kelly 2006)

The FA later fined Newell a total of £6,500 for his comments.

In April 2007, the country's attention was again turned to the subject of a woman occupying a traditionally male role in the world of football. This time it was sparked by the news that Jacqui Oatley was to become the first female commentator on BBC's "Match of the Day". It was a move that was greeted with much furore by the press and debates ensued as to whether it was appropriate to have a female commentator. Steve Curry, football reporter for the *Daily Mail*, suggested that the move was

an insult to the controlled commentaries of John Motson, Mike Ingham, and Alan Green that their domain is threatened by a new arrival whose excited voice sounds like a fire siren. (Barlow 2007)

While this comment may be controversial enough, it was Dave Bassett who opposed Oatley's appointment most vehemently:

I am totally against it and everybody I know in football is totally against it. The problem is that everybody is too scared to admit it. I knew this would happen eventually. The world of football is so politically correct these days. I'm completely relaxed about women presenting football shows. Women like Clare Tomlinson are very good. But commentating is different. You must have an understanding of the game and tactics and I think in order to do that you need to have played the game. Maybe the BBC are trying to be innovative and groundbreaking but I think it undermines the credibility of the programme and when she commentates at the weekend I will not be watching. I never really agreed that we should have women officials and I don't think we should have female commentators. And my wife agrees! (Barlow 2007)

Defending the BBC's decision to employ a female commentator, their Head of Sport, Roger Mosey, stated:

At BBC Sport we want to reflect the nation and it's daft that we've had so few women commentators. It is something we want to put right. Overall we want our team to be modern, diverse – and excellent at what

they do. Jacqui, like all other commentators, has been selected on merit. (Barlow 2007)

Following her debut on the show, evaluations of her performance appeared in the media. This, together with the fact that both prior to and after her initial commentary the BBC felt compelled to justify her appointment is marked and reinforces the marginal position held by women in football, together with the ongoing perception of it as a male pursuit.

Just as women are considered to be encroaching on traditionally male football-related careers, so as supporters they are often viewed as second-rate, new fans again infringing on male space. Again, this attitude can be related back to the argument that women have been written out of football, with little work addressing women as spectators until recently, as Coddington (1997) has pointed out:

Writing women football fans out of history enables men of today to treat us as Johnny-come-latelies, or more accurately Joanna-come-latelies, when in fact some of us have been there all along. (p.7)

It is often presumed that women are relative newcomers as fans of the game, with their interest being awakened by the improvement in fans' conditions post-Hillsborough, particularly the move from the open terraces to covered seats. However, this is not the case. One only has to look at writing during the early days of association football to see that women have always had a presence at football matches from the game's early days, albeit in smaller numbers than men (Fishwick 1989; Mason 1980).

As well as the lack of written evidence of female football fans of the past contributing to the perception that they are newcomers to the game, so does the focus on attempts to attract them to matches in the last decade or so. This is seen as an attempt to distance the game from the hooligan days of the 1980s and to ultimately attract a more "civilised" audience. For example, the Taylor Report in 1990 seemingly used the attractions of comfort to promote its

recommendation for all-seater stadia, particularly for women, in the wake of the Hillsborough disaster:

When a spectator is seated he has his own small piece of territory in which he can feel reasonably secure. He will not be in close physical contact with those around him. He will not be jostled or moved about by swaying or surging. Small or infirm or elderly men and women as well as young children are not buffeted, smothered or unsighted by larger and more robust people as on the terraces. (p.12)

Individual clubs have also taken their own measures to promote the game to female fans. For example, some have introduced match-day crèches while others hold ladies' days in order to attract more female supporters. In the present data collection, a ladies' day was held at a York City match I attended, and I was able to bypass the turnstile queue, as well as treated to complimentary bars of chocolate.

With such attempts to promote the game to a female audience, it is inevitable that they are going to be the fans held responsible for some of the changes that have simultaneously occurred in the fan experience, such as the changes from standing terraces to allocated seats. For some, there is the worry that female fans are responsible for making the game more middle-class, moving it away from its working-class origins:

... it is assumed that the presence of more women at football is *in itself* a sign that the sport is becoming more 'middle class'; that is, it is specifically female fans who are in the vanguard of the new commercialism and the alleged conversion of the sport into a plaything for the leisured classes, who will soon move on to something else once football's fashionable focus has moved elsewhere. (Woodhouse and Williams 1999 p.59)

Ultimately, women have been held responsible for softening the fan experience. For example, Finn and Giulianotti (2000) have suggested that as a result of the rise in female supporters, "more traditional male practices – such as chanting or swearing – have been legally circumscribed" (p.263). While the legislation surrounding the use of football chants has increased in recent years, as we shall see in the following chapter, it is naïve to attribute changes as to what is and is

not acceptable language in the context of a football chant to the presence of women. Furthermore, if offending women was of such concern, then there would surely be a high profile campaign specifically targeting the use of sexist language at football matches. While the use of sexist language is supposedly being targeted by officials, it is perhaps considered the least inflammatory and serious of discriminatory chants. That offensive language about women, or at least what would be considered offensive language in another context, is not taken seriously reflects the subordinate position of women in football. It is perhaps ironic that for many female fans, the appeal of the football match is the very atmosphere of the crowd that they are perceived to be threatening: its masculine nature. As Coddington (1997) has stated:

It gives those women a cachet, a way into the perplexing world of men. And it's a subtle form of rebellion, an opportunity for women to behave contrary to what is expected of them. Why on earth would they want to change the rules? (p.79)

Despite fears that the game will automatically become more middle class, many female fans are just as resistant to change and just as keen to maintain the core elements of traditional fandom, swearing, chanting and all. Furthermore, as the chants in this study indicate, both overall and in this chapter in particular, the presence of women has not inhibited the largely male crowd as much as it was originally thought.

Not only is there the issue of gender when considering masculinity in football but also that of sexuality. The football stadium is an arena for the performance of heterosexual identity and as such, homosexuals and lesbians are marginalised in a similar way to women. The extent of homophobia in the game is best highlighted by the fact that there is no openly gay male professional footballer in England today. Walther (2006) has stated that although homosexuality does have a place in the game, it is only through this culture of homophobia, which extends to the fans:

Many football supporters, male and female, still reject homosexuality or remain ignorant about it. This does not mean, however, that homosexuality does not have a place on the terraces, since "gay" has

become a synonym for everything fans dislike: poor players, players of the opposing team, referees, fans of the opposing team, and so forth. (p.18)

However, there is growing awareness that homophobia is a problem that needs to be addressed. For example, legislation has recently been introduced to weed out homophobic chanting in a similar campaign to that which has targeted racism. Both of these issues will be explored further in chapter eight, in relation to censorship.

7.3 *Blason populaire* and gender

Before proceeding with an examination of the data, it is necessary to place the football chants about masculinity into the wider context of *blason populaire*. The construction of gender, in particular masculinity, through football chants is undoubtedly a continuation of one of the key themes of *blason populaire*, and as such adds further confirmation to the hypothesis that they are a modern day form of the genre. It has always been used to offer comments on men and women on the basis of their gender, with their supposed characteristics often serving as reflections of an entire place or community. In the first instance, there are examples of general *blason populaire* about men and women as two separate groups, and in which gender actually defines the in or out-group, rather than place. So, for example, there are expressions that are generalisations about all men or that are universally applied to all women. Under this kind are proverbs about men such as “like father, like son” and “it takes three generations to make a gentleman”, as well as those about women such as “the female of the species is more deadly than the male”, “a whistling woman and a crowing hen are neither fit for God nor men”, and “hell hath no fury like a woman scorned.” All of these examples have been in existence for hundreds of years. Secondly, there are those expressions about men or women of a particular place who come to represent all that is good or bad about the community. Rather than simply being about men or women as general groups, they become first and foremost stereotypes of a particular place, with judgements on gender being a secondary issue, a by-product of this process. For example, “an Englishman’s home is his

castle” is a generic statement about English people in general rather than solely English men.

I will now examine the latter type in more detail, as they are the ones that most closely resemble the football chants of today. Many of the expressions that use gender to construct judgements on place are simple in form, comprised of no more than a one-line statement, a nickname such as “Lancashire fair women”, the similar “Suffolk fair maids”, or “Chester chief men”. Others are longer verse forms such as:

By Tre, Pol and Pen,
You shall know the Cornish men
(Green and Widdowson 2003 p.336)

and

Pakefield for poverty,
Lowestoft for poor.
Gorleston for pretty girls,
Yarmouth for whores.
Caister for water dogs,
California for pluck.
Damn and bugger old Winterton,
How black she do look
(Palmer 1995 p.74)

It is a common feature of the longer verse forms to consist of four lines. Each of the lines will either promote or belittle some apparent characteristic of a different place, thus comparing the four places mentioned. Many of these rhymes, typical of other expressions of *blason populaire*, are formulaic, and can be adapted to suit any number of places. This is the case with the example below, of which there are numerous variants:

Sutton for good mutton, Cheam for juicy beef,
Croydon for a pretty girl, And Mitcham for a thief
(Thiselton-Dyer 1905 p.126)

We can safely assume that these rhymes are integrative about the women from the places mentioned, and as such integrative about the place in general as a by-product of this. However, it is not unusual for expressions to be divisive

towards women and, as will become apparent, to a lesser extent men. In these instances, the women are normally judged on their perceived sexual behaviour or by their attractiveness, or rather lack of it. For example, there is a variant of the rhyme about Sutton that replaces “pretty girl” with “whore”:

Sutton for mutton, Carshalton for beeves,
Epsom for whores, And Ewel for thieves
(Thiselton-Dyer 1905 p.130)

This formula is repeated in rhymes about places other than Sutton and their respective neighbours:

The Cheviots for muttons,
And Chillingham for beeves,
Newcastle for its whores,
And Redesdale for its thieves
(Denham 1892 p.104)

There is also another popular formula that is similar in its function, operating by comparing four neighbouring places on the basis of what they are famed for, in this case the characters of residents in all four instances:

Beccles for a puritan, Bungay for the poor,
Halesworth for a drunkard, and Bilborough for a whore
(Thiselton-Dyer 1905 p.130)

Braintree for the pure, and Bocking for the poor;
Cogshall for the jeering town, and Kelvedon for the whore
(Thiselton-Dyer 1905 p.130)

Rudgwick for riches, Green for poors,
Billinghurst for pretty girls, Horsham for whores
(Simpson 1973 p.151)

As the three variants illustrate, the rhyme easily allows any other place to be commented on due to its simple formula that is so typical of *blason populaire*. The use of the word “whore” alerts us to the fact that many insults against women traditionally contain a sexual element. Schulz (1975) has noted that:

Men tend to think of women in sexual terms, whatever the context, and consequently any term denoting women carries sexual suggestiveness to the male speaker. (1975 p.71)

Certainly in the case of the language used in football chants, this statement contains some truth, with women consistently being referred to in a sexual manner or regarding the level of their attractiveness. Most of the rhymes so far have situated women as the defining characteristic of a place, whether good or bad, alongside the main characteristics of other, primarily neighbouring, places. However, sometimes we find rhymes that make direct comparisons between the females of two different places, as in the following:

Halifax is made of wax,
And Heptonstall of stone;
In Halifax there's many a pretty girl,
In Heptonstall there's none
(Thiselton-Dyer 1905 p.128)

The rhyme has an integrative function through describing the women of Halifax as pretty, while it is divisive towards neighbouring Heptonstall, where such pretty women are non-existent.³⁶

It is notable that the majority of expressions discussed here are focussed on women, with few about men. In expressions of *blason populaire* where gender is used as a defining characteristic to comment on a place, it is the attributes of women that are used more frequently. Thiselton-Dyer (1905) wrote of this focus in his study of the folklore of women:

Many of our old towns and villages throughout the country have long been famous for certain characteristics, and some of these which pay special honour to the fair sex are embodied in local rhymes, which, if not in all respects quite complimentary, are generally quaint and good-humoured. (p.125)

³⁶ All of the expressions so far have been older examples of *blason populaire*. However, football chants are not the only modern expressions of the genre that use gender to pass judgement on a place. For example, as we saw in chapter 2, the county nickname "Essex girls" emerged in the 1980s as a negative comment on females in Essex. The stereotype persists today, despite attempts to eradicate it.

It is certainly noteworthy that no comparable text exists about the traditional expressions pertaining to men, and the question has to be asked as to whether this is an oversight or simply because there are simply not as many expressions relating to men, or the ones that do exist are not as worthy of comment on the judgements that they make. This difference is not only evident in the *blason populaire* that is related to particular places but also when considering that which refers to both men and women as distinct groups in their own right.

The reliance on women to denote the negative characteristics of a place can be seen as an extension of the fact that there are reportedly more insult terms with which to describe women than men (Stanley 1977; Lakoff 1975) and that the general terms about women are more likely to acquire negative connotations over time (Schulz 1975). If there are more insult terms available about women it would suggest that there would similarly be more expressions of *blason populaire* based on them. Schulz (1975) has found that "... the largest category of words for designating humans in sexual terms are those for women – especially loose women" (p.72). This is something which is apparent in football chants, with the sexual behaviour of women serving as a reflection not only on the masculinity of the in-group and out-groups, but also as a statement on the entire community to which the expressions refer. Furthermore, even some insult terms that are generic and can be applied to males to insult their masculinity contain some reference to women's sexual behaviour or a euphemistic reference to their body parts. In this way they automatically insult women as well as the person at whom they are directly aimed.³⁷ All of the football chants in this collection that refer to women, either directly or indirectly, and also older expressions of *blason populaire*, concentrate on either their attractiveness or their sexual behaviour, conforming to Romaine's (1999) argument that many terms about women portray them as "sexual commodities" (p.99). This focus on female insults cannot wholly be blamed on a lack of comparable terms with which to describe men. Rather, it can be explained largely by a need to engage in typically male discourses of women and sex in order to display a superior masculinity.

³⁷ For example, see the discussions of "bastard" and "cunt" later in this chapter.

7.4 All boys together: male bonding

Having examined the ways in which football is a masculine preserve, as well as the relationship between *blason populaire* and gender, I will now consider the ways in which football chants promote a positive masculine identity. The most obvious way to present this is to overtly celebrate it. The chants that function in this way are centred upon two key themes: the direct assertion of being male and a preoccupation with traditionally male-dominated pastimes, namely drinking, women and fighting. For example, “Hello, hello we are the [name/nickname] boys” and its variants is centred on the task of defeating one’s enemy while at the same time boldly stating male solidarity:

177. Hello, hello, we are the Barnsley boys,
Hello, hello, we are the Barnsley boys,
And if you are a Wednesday fan,
Surrender or you’ll die,
We all follow the Barnsley
(Sung to the tune of “Marching Through Georgia”. 36 tokens, 9
variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative fan chant 1)

The masculinity is borne out through the direct assertion of being male in the first and second lines, i.e. “Hello, hello, we are the Barnsley *boys*”, while the use of the collective “we” unites them in the joint cause of supporting and representing their club. This solidarity is reinforced in the final line with “We all follow the Barnsley”. These elements of the chant provide support for the notion that football provides an opportunity for bonding between men. Armstrong and Young (2000) have suggested that:

‘Fandom activities’ are essentially a male domain, where male cohesion and an attributed masculinity to events are a much lauded state of affairs. (p.175)

This chant, and others like it that promote masculinity in a positive way, certainly display the cohesion that Armstrong and Young speak of. Although the chant is primarily integrative, it is not without its divisive elements, with the third and fourth lines setting a confrontational tone towards the rivals. This

serves the dual purpose of raising one's own esteem and superiority, thus effectively deriding one's rivals. The use of militaristic language, which is often used to describe football support, as in "surrender or you'll die" adds to the masculine nature of the chant while at the same time maintaining the use of the original version of the song as an army marching tune. The importance of defeating one's enemy, in this case rival fans, is also highlighted. Both sets of fans are engaged, metaphorically at least, in the predominantly male enterprise of war. Fighting is again used as a way of constructing a superior masculinity in example 178:

178. Fight, fight wherever you may be,
We are the boys from the West Country,
Fight you all wherever you may be,
We are the boys from the West Country
(Sung to the tune of "Lord of the Dance". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 21)

The implication in this chant, which has variants from all over the country, is that the fans singing it, in this case Bristol City fans, are not afraid of any rival fans that they may meet. This lack of fear is indicative of superior strength, or at least a belief that they are physically superior. The repeated claim that they will fight anyone is juxtaposed with a direct statement of the Bristol City fans' masculine persona: "we are the boys from the West Country." Again, as in example 177, the direct assertion of being male is made through use of the word "boys."

The presentation of a superior masculinity through fighting and ultimately victory is evident in another chant type, which has become the anthem of Bristol City: "Drink Up Thee Cider". As would be expected of an anthem, its main function is integrative:

179. Drink up thee cider,
Drink up thee cider,
For tonight we'll merry, merry be,
We went down the Rovers,
To do the bastards over,
So drink up thee cider in the jar.
(Sung to the tune of "Drink Up Thy Cider". 2 tokens, 1 variant)

(Appendix 2, anthem 4)

The target of aggression is Bristol City's biggest rivals, Bristol Rovers, and there is again the element of City fans being the superior men by defeating their rivals, as highlighted in the fourth and fifth lines "we went down the Rovers // to do the bastards over." In this example, not only are Bristol Rovers fans defined as inferior through losing a physical battle with their City counterparts but also through the label City fans apply to them: "bastards". This label will be discussed in detail presently but, in brief, if we consider the original meaning, it undermines the status of men as real men through the accusation that they are illegitimate. However, whether it still carries its original connotations is debatable. The masculine essence of the chant is further borne out through the focus on collective drinking and its results: "drink up thee cider, drink up thee cider, for tonight we'll merry merry be." This expresses a shared bond amongst the Bristol City fans, again linking us back to Armstrong and Young's (2000) idea that football support provides "male cohesion." Intertwined with the expression of masculinity is also the stereotype of West Country inhabitants being cider drinkers, which is further emphasised by the fact that the original song "Drink Up Thy Cider" is in fact a West Country anthem.

Drinking and fighting are evidently popular activities for Bristol City fans, or at least so their singing would lead us to believe, as the next chant type again draws on these themes.

180. Everywhere we go; People wanna know;
Who we are; Where we come from;
So we tell them; We are Bristol;
Bristol City; We are the boys in red and white;
We love to drink and we love to fight;
We hate the Rovers; Graydon is a wanker
(Sung to the tune of "Everywhere We Go". 2 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative fan chant 8)

It uses several means of displaying masculinity. Firstly, there is the "all boys together" mentality, a bold statement of being male, which presents a united front, first and foremost against the enemy. There are also the prerequisite activities of fighting and drinking in the fourth and fifth lines. All of these

themes illustrating the typical characteristics of Bristol City fans are juxtaposed with the required loathing of City's rivals, Bristol Rovers, and their manager in the final two lines of the chant: "we hate the Rovers; Graydon is a wanker." Through these final two lines it is implicitly suggested that Bristol Rovers are inferior. Presumably Bristol City fans, based on the words of the chant, are fearless of them, which serves to undermine their masculinity. Secondly, the term "wanker" applied to the manager, is an insult to his masculinity, and by default all things Bristol Rovers.

The final two chant types that are expressions of masculinity are based on women. In example 181, the virtues of the city of Manchester are extolled through the attractiveness of its women.

181. Oh Manchester is wonderful,
Oh Manchester is wonderful,
It's full of tits, fanny and City,
Oh Manchester is wonderful
(Sung to the tune of "Oh When the Saints Go Marching In". 1 token)
(Appendix 2, integrative location chant 4)

The chant sums up all of Manchester's supposedly best attractions, namely women and Manchester City, through the eyes of the presumably male football fan. It marks out football support, or at least support of Manchester City as a male domain, as Robson (2000) has noted this in his discussion of a Millwall variant of this chant type. Robson states that the "sexual - and sexist" references in it "... identify the interpretive fan community as definitively male (and therefore beyond feminization) in a celebration of virility" (p.99). Heterosexual masculinity is expressed through the sexualization of women, achieved through their reduction to no more than their body parts, with their sexual organs becoming metonyms for the whole person. The fact that euphemisms are used reinforces the "lad" element to this chant. Although its language may cause it to be interpreted divisively both by and towards women, its main function is integrative. Notwithstanding its sexist nature, it is supposed to be an apparently positive, if somewhat misguided, compliment about the women of Manchester. To be as high in priority as the male fans' love of Manchester City is some

compliment indeed. The pursuit of women and football, according to this chant, go hand in hand.

The following chant type, in contrast, is aimed directly at them, and in so doing is a blatant display of heterosexual masculinity.

182. Get your tits out,
Get your tits out,
Get your tits out for the lads,
Get your tits out for the lads
(Sung to the tune of “Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer”. 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive other chant 1)

It is integrative for the group of men singing the chant, as it unites those singing it in a celebration of heterosexual masculinity, highlighted by the use of “lads” in the final two lines and the concentration on sexual behaviour. However, it is divisive to those at whom it is aimed. As I will illustrate later, the women at whom it is aimed are reduced to sexual objects and described solely in terms of how they can entertain men. In this instance, it was sung by Leeds United fans to a young woman who took part in a penalty shoot-out competition during half-time during a match with Manchester United. It is the only chant type in the present collection that is aimed directly at women. When women are referred to in football chants it is normally to undermine the opposition, by calling them women or by insulting the alleged character of females from the place where they are from. However, in this example there is no opposition as such apart from the woman herself. By singling out an individual woman for humiliation through the chant it can be described as nothing other than divisive.

7.5 Emasculating the rival

All of the chant types discussed in this chapter thus far pivot around the celebration of what is considered to be “normal” masculinity. I will now consider those chant types in which a rival is derided through the undermining of their masculine identity. These can be primarily integrative, with their main function being to affirm the in-group’s superior identity; in these instances, the denigration of a rival can be so implicit that it involves the use of just one insult

term amongst an otherwise self-aggrandizing chant. Contrastingly, there are those chant types that are blatantly divisive and where the intended insult is the main purpose behind its use. Marsh *et al* (1978) have stated that:

Although football fans have a few ways of expressing their own potential heterosexuality, they are far fewer than the rituals for denigrating the masculinity of others. (p.133)

This is certainly the case in the present data, where there are more chant types, and thus necessarily more variation, that denounce rivals as having inferior masculinity to promote their own superiority in that area.

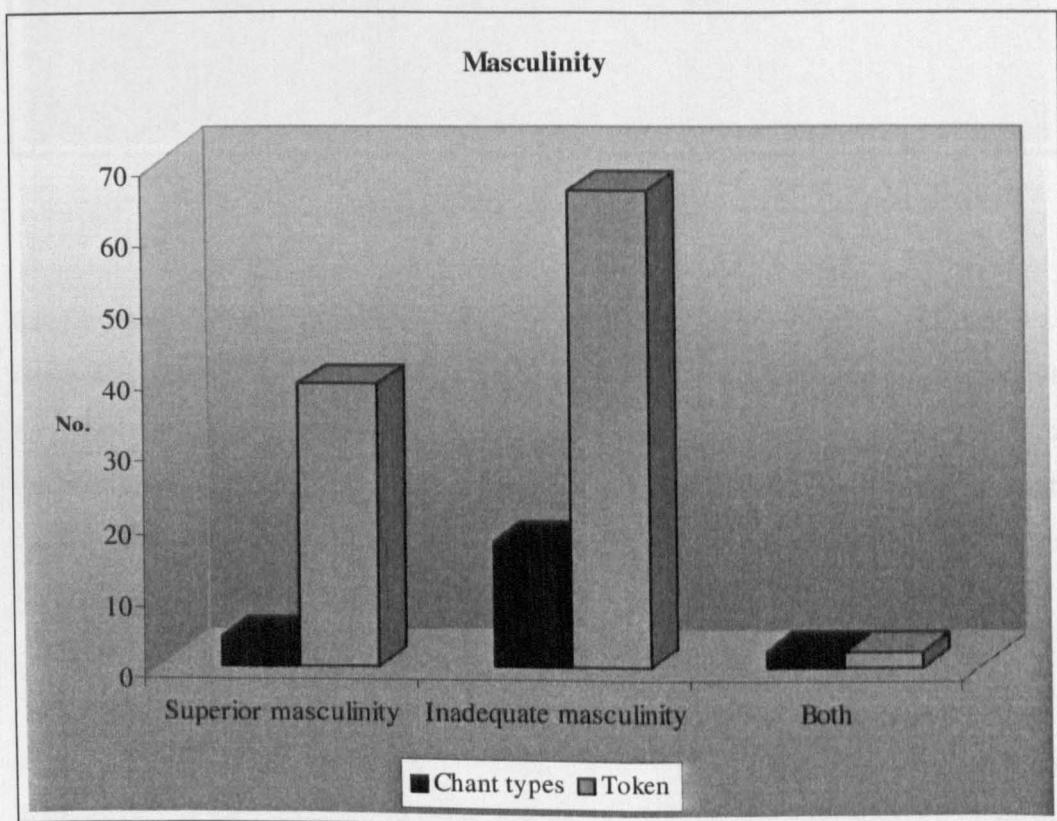


Figure 7.1: Integrative and Divisive Expressions of Masculinity

All of the chants that operate by casting aspersions on the rival's inadequate masculinity draw on themes of a sexual nature or use sexual language in order to highlight the supposed deficiency. This is immediately apparent from taking just a cursory glance at the insult terms concerning masculinity: all can be linked to sexual deviancy and/or insult:

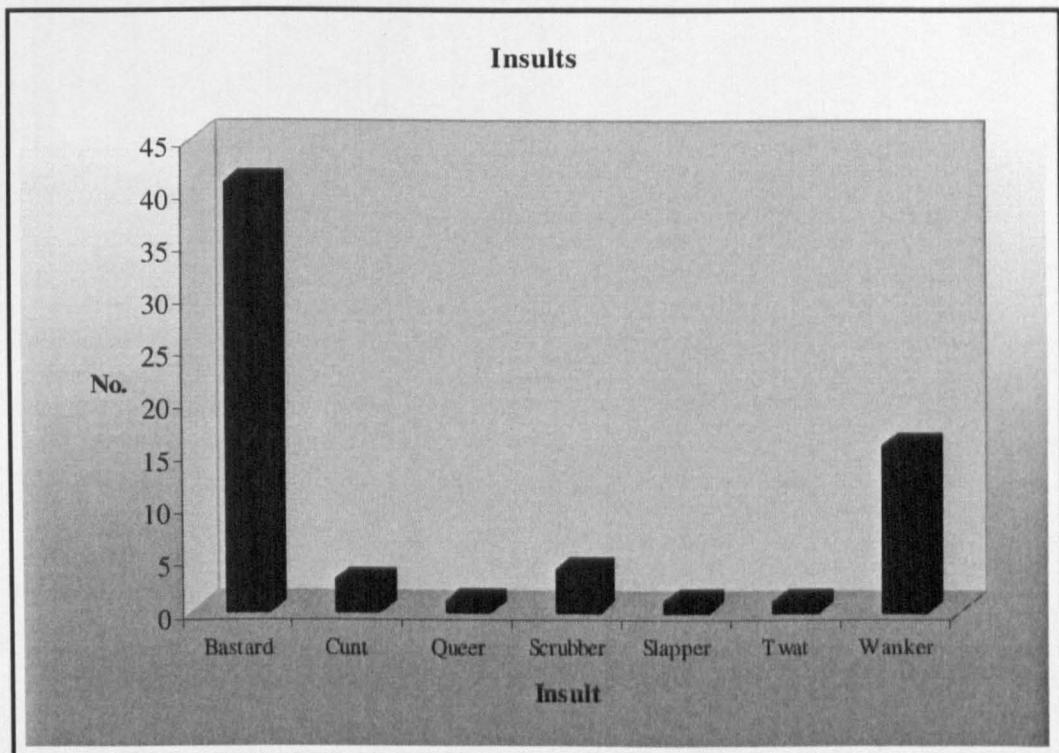


Figure 7.2: Insult Terms

Crolley and Long (2001) have suggested that the use of sexist language at football matches has declined, stating that “there are fewer reports of collective sexist chants or wolf-whistles around football grounds today than there were a decade ago” (p.208). However, as figure 7.2 illustrates, there is still a high degree of implicit sexism through the language used to deride one’s rivals. It is these terms that we will now examine.

“Bastard” was the most frequently collected term of abuse used in this way. It is often used in football chants to refer to the rival team, including players, managers and fans, and the referee. It can be aimed at individuals - for example the goalkeeper is frequently singled out for abuse when taking a goal kick with “you fat bastard” – or used collectively about a group, as in “shit on the bastards below”, which forms part of a longer chant. Chant types including the word range from simple one-line repetitions such as “you dirty northern bastard” and “you fat bastard” to longer verses such as “who’s the bastard in the black?” It is not unusual for an adjective to precede “bastard” in order to add further force to

the insult issued. So a player might be a “greedy bastard”, a “dirty northern bastard”, or a “shit Welsh bastard.” The chant types using this word include:

183. One greedy bastard, there's only one greedy bastard
(Sung to the tune of “Guantanamera”. 4 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 6)
184. You fat bastard
(10 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix three, divisive player/manager chant 2)
185. You dirty northern bastard
(10 tokens, 3 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manger chant 1)
186. You're just a shit welsh bastard
(Sung to the tune of “Guantanamera”. 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 32)
187. If I had the wings of a sparrow,
The dirty black arse of a crow,
I'd fly over Hillsborough tomorrow,
And shit on the bastards below below,
Shit on, shit on, shit on the bastards below
(Sung to the tune of “My Bonnie Lies Over the Ocean”. 8 tokens, 4 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive club chant 3)
188. Cheer up [name of player],
Oh what can it mean,
To a shite _____ bastard,
And a shite football team
(Sung to the tune of “Daydream Believer”. 2 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix three, divisive player/manager chant 10)

King (1997) has discussed the use of “bastard” in football chants, stating that:

The sexual deviance of the opposition has been imputed to the parents' of those fans by the frequent use of the terms 'bastard' in football songs, in which case the sexual promiscuity of the mother unmans the son.
(p.586)

Thus, the masculinity of the people at whom it is aimed is again attacked.

“Bastard” is also used in those chants which are primarily integrative but where an insult is also aimed at the opposition as an aside. For instance:

189. Forever and ever,
We'll follow our team,
We're Sheffield Wednesday,
We are supreme,
We'll never be mastered,
By no United bastard,
We'll keep the ____ flag flying high
(Sung to the tune of “Red Flag”. 3 tokens, 3 variants)
(Appendix 2, integrative club chant 25)

It is possible that the use of “bastard” today has lost much of its original meaning and is used without any intentional reference to illegitimacy so frequently is it used as a general insult. Like many other swear words, it may have become “‘demystified’ into mere forms of words” (Hughes 1992 p.5).

“Wanker” is another insult term used to insult the perceived masculinity of rival fans. It is a derogatory slang term for “one who masturbates” (OED). As an abuse term, it operates by suggesting sexual inadequacy. Thus, it is essentially an attack on masculinity, suggesting that the targets at who it is aimed are inadequate. It is a favourite one to apply to the referee, and is normally aimed at specific individuals in response to on the pitch events. In the case of the referee it is used if he is considered to have made a bad decision; while if it is aimed at a player or manager it can be because he has used foul play or if a player is returning to play against his former club. The chant types that use “wanker” as a form of abuse, in the case of the present data at least, are generally fixed with little variation. Like the majority of those containing the word “bastard”, all but one type featuring the term are simple one-line repetitions:

190. [Name]’s a wanker
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 17)
191. Ashley Cole is a wanker, is a wanker (repeated)
(Sung to the tune of the “Hallelujah Chorus”. 7 tokens, 5 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive player/manager chant 4)

192. Wanker
(1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive referee chant 4)

193. The referee's a wanker
(5 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive referee chant 2)

The remaining chant type uses the term in a longer verse form, with “wanker” playing a secondary role within it rather than being the main motivation for its use. It is used to describe the manager of the opposing team, juxtaposed against the positive, and thus necessarily superior, masculinity of the fans singing. “Everywhere we go”, used by Bristol City fans, is printed in full on pages 135 and 191.

In two further chant types, the denigration of masculinity is achieved through labelling members of the opposition as parts of the female anatomy, using sexual slang. For instance, “cunt” is used in the first example of this type:

194. My old man said be a Wednesday fan,
I said ‘fuck off, bollocks, you’re a cunt’
(Sung to the tune of “The Cock Linnet Song”. 3 tokens, 2 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 10)

The message is that the father is a “cunt” for supporting a rival team, who by such a suggestion are also “cunts.” This chant type is normally reserved to display the bitter rivalries between local teams, with the name of the club in the first line generally being that that has the greatest rivalry with the perpetrator’s club. So, for instance, in the three examples of this chant collected in the present data, two illustrate Barnsley’s hatred for Sheffield Wednesday and another illustrates Queens Park Rangers rivalry with Chelsea. Sutton (1995) has noted that “referring to women by synecdoche, reducing the being to the body part, is also among the worst of insults” (p.281). Hughes (1992) has also highlighted the word, together with “fuck”, as one of “the two most egregious taboo words in English” (p.12). This helps us to understand why it can be a particularly effective name to undermine masculine status with when it is applied to a male, as in example 194. Firstly, the target at whom it is aimed is

reduced to no more than a body part and secondly, a female body part at that. As a result of this there is the overall insult that the target is in fact a woman, and for a man to be signified as a woman is a sign of weakness. It must also be considered that the term is used because there is no comparable word carrying the same force that can be applied solely to males (Sutton 1995, McConville and Shearlaw 1984). Another euphemism for the vagina is used in a chant type aimed at Everton fans by their Manchester City rivals to ridicule their supposed inability to find employment:

195. Get to work you,
Get to work you,
Get to work you lazy twats,
Get to work you lazy twats
(Sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 22)

Its power to insult operates in the same way as "cunt" by suggesting that the people (mainly male) at whom it is aimed are the female sexual organs.

I have already highlighted how the apparent sexual behaviour of the mother can be used as a means of assault on the male fan's sexuality. King (1997) has noted the importance of the use of such insults based on sexual deviancy in football chants in emasculating the male:

The importance of these attributions of sexual deviance is that, although the fans merely draw uncritically on any term of abuse they can find with which to vilify their rivals, they almost invariably employ claims which are typical of the modern (bourgeois) order of knowledge. The opposition are sexual deviants because they are masturbators (and therefore both lacking in self-control and in normal sexual prowess) or their mothers were sexually uncontrolled women. Unlike the fans themselves, the opposition are not real men. (p.586)

This is evident in further chants collected in the present research. Two chant types blatantly state charges of incest in order to mark the opposition as sexually deviant. The first of these aims for ultimate potency by also aiming the insult at the mothers of the fans as well:

196. Home to shag your mother,
You're going home to shag your mother,
Home to shag your mother,
You're going home to shag your mother
(Sung to the tune of "Guantanamera". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 24)

By implicating the mother into the sexual deviancy this is adding extra force to the insult as this is often worse than throwing insults only about the targets. As Romaine (1999) has highlighted, insults about mothers do carry extra force:

Insults against mothers are highly shocking because they heap abuse on one of the roles for which women are otherwise revered in many cultures. (p.99)

The offensiveness of such an insult against one's mother is stronger in some cultures than in others. In some parts of Europe such as Italy and Spain, inappropriate slurs on mothers are insults of the highest order. For example, when playing for Spanish club Real Madrid, David Beckham was sent off during a game against Real Murcia for calling an official the Spanish equivalent of "son of a whore." Similarly, it was allegedly a comment about his mother and sister that led to French international footballer Zinedine Zidane head-butting Italian Marco Materazzi during the 2006 World Cup final, for which he was sent off. Contrastingly, in other cultures speaking about someone's mother in such derogative terms is a matter of course. Take, for example, the pastime of "playing the dozens", also known as "sounding" or "signifying", in African American culture in which ritual insults are exchanged between speakers. Here we see the opposite extreme of the European culture, with insults against the rival's mother being the main way to trade these insults, as Labov (1972) has highlighted in a detailed study of the practice:

A mother (grandmother, etc.) may be cited for her age, weight (fat or skinny), ugliness, blackness, smell, the food she eats, the clothes she wears, her poverty, and of course her sexual activity. As far as persons are concerned, sounding is always thought of as talking about someone's mother. (p.322)

In England, although the examples of similar insults in football chants are offensive, like the dozens in African American culture, they do not carry the same venomous weight that they do in some parts of Europe. This could explain the error of judgement by Beckham in his choice of insult aimed at the referee. After all, the near equivalent in English, “son of a bitch”, while highly offensive, is not the most provocative term used to offend.

A further chant type carries on the theme of incest but does not limit it to the relationship only between the fan and his/her mother but to other members of the family as well:

197. Na na na na – inbreds,
Na na na na – inbreds,
Na na na na, na na na na,
Na na na na – inbreds
Your sister is your mother,
Your uncle is your brother,
You only shag each other,
The Barnsley family
(Sung to the tune of “The Addams Family”. 2 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 14)

The charge of incestuous relationships and inbreeding also suggest that the group at which they are aimed are simple. Both of the examples of this chant type collected were aimed at Barnsley fans, once by Sheffield Wednesday fans and once by Bristol City fans. It is a common chant type and can be aimed at any group of fans. However, it is often used between fans of clubs with strong local rivalries. For example, this is evident in its use by Sheffield Wednesday fans aimed at Barnsley fans in the present data, and it is also used between Southampton and Portsmouth; Fulham and Chelsea; York and Scarborough; Queens Park Rangers and Chelsea; and Derby and Nottingham Forest, to name but a few.³⁸

It is not only the mothers of the fans whose (imagined) behaviour can reflect badly on them but also the behaviour of women in general from the town at which the abuse is aimed, providing clear parallels with older expressions of

³⁸ These examples can be found at <http://www.footballchants.org>

blason populaire. We have already seen earlier in this chapter how the conduct of women from a particular group or place can be a measure of the status of that group or place overall. In the same vein, so can the labelling of women in football chants, as the next two examples illustrate. Both are variants of the same chant type, which is generally used to deride supporters of a team on the basis of the local and regional stereotypes of the place. Only the different euphemism used for "prostitute" distinguishes the two:

198. Town full of scrubbers,
You're just a town full of scrubbers,
Town full of scrubbers,
You're just a town full of scrubbers
(Sung to the tune of "Guantanamera". 8 tokens, 5 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 4)
199. Town full of slappers,
You're just a town full of slappers,
Town full of slappers,
You're just a town full of slappers
(Sung to the tune of "Guantanamera". 8 tokens, 5 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 4)

Both of these variants were applied to Barnsley fans on the occasions when they were used. Both "scrubber" and "slapper" can be used to describe a promiscuous female or, taken to the extreme, a prostitute. In the case of "scrubber" McConville and Shearlaw (1984) highlight this when writing a definition of the word:

A term of abuse for a woman considered coarse or 'promiscuous'. ... In Liverpool it specifically means prostitute, and this sense underlies its use elsewhere in the UK. (p.170)

However, in Barnsley "scrubber" has a further meaning. It can be used to describe people of both sexes who are dirty or unkempt. Thus, it is possible that when this chant type was used to refer to Barnsley people the perpetrators thought they were expressing one sentiment while some of the rival fans at whom it was aimed may have interpreted it in an entirely different way. For the purposes of the present discussion of the term, we will adhere to the first meaning above, as a promiscuous woman and/or a prostitute, whilst also taking

into consideration that it can have a secondary meaning. The allusion that Barnsley women are at best promiscuous and at worse prostitutes serves as a slight on the whole town, exemplified through the use of “town full of”. Such ways of referring to women serve two purposes in the construction of a masculine identity. Firstly, we again see the sexualisation of women from the male perspective. Describing women in such sexual terms portrays them as objects and thus as inferior to men. The resulting opposition between male and female, with female being subservient, results in a superior notion of masculinity. Secondly, as the women who are described as “scrubbers” and “slappers” in the chants come to represent the whole town or place that is being insulted, the status of the males of that town is negatively affected, with their supposed inability to control the sexual behaviour of the women undermining their masculinity. It is ironic, and in no small way hypocritical, that the fans can chant about women as no more than sexual objects in order to celebrate their own virility yet women who are perceived to behave in a comparable way are stigmatised through chants which have the opposite function.

From the chants we have seen so far in this chapter, it is evident that the main ways to emasculate the male football fan are to call him names that would normally be used to describe women or their body parts, and through apparent association with promiscuous women, be it their mothers or others by which they are also deemed guilty by association. Another way to denigrate their masculinity is to bring the heterosexual norm of football into question by suggesting that they are homosexual. This can be done through the following chant type, variants of which we have already seen applied to women:

200. Town full of queers,
You're just a town full of queers,
Town full of queers,
You're just a town full of queers
(Sung to the tune of “Guantanamera”. 8 tokens, 5 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 4)

This variant was collected only once in the present data and was applied by Barnsley fans to Brighton fans during a match at Oakwell. In this particular instance, it draws on Brighton's reputation as the gay capital of England, and

uses this to make the generalisation that all Brighton residents are homosexual. By describing the opposition as “queers”, the Barnsley fans are implicitly stating that they themselves are superior in comparison by adhering to a heterosexual norm. In the present data, only this homophobic chant was collected. However, this does not reflect the frequency of homophobic chanting at English football grounds, where such abuse has become an increasing problem in recent years. As the example above illustrates, Brighton have regularly been subjected to such abuse, as a result of the stereotypical image of their town, and chants such as “you’re going down with your boyfriend”, “does your boyfriend know you’re here?” and “we can see you holding hands” are not uncommon (Bremner 2004 p.58). Similarly, individual players, managers and other personnel are singled out. The response of the authorities to such chants, together with sexist chanting, will be discussed in the next chapter, as they become subjected to increasing regulation.

7.6 Summary

In the case of the football chants discussed in this chapter, the language presents an image of the archetypal alpha-male. Through the language used, the fans create a tough male identity in order to achieve supremacy over their rivals, to verbally defeat them. By contrast, the rivals are defined as effeminate and/or homosexual which, in the context of the football crowd, signals weakness for those at which the chants are aimed, while at the same time serving to reinforce the superior masculinity of those singing. The idea that they are a performance of gender is reinforced by the fact that female fans sing the chants too. For these women, when they join in the singing of “Hello, hello, we are the Barnsley boys”, they are temporarily stepping into a different gender. For the ninety minutes of the match, and indeed whatever constitutes the match day experience for them, these women are honorary men. Indeed, some have pinpointed this as one of the attractions of female attendance at football (Coddington 1997; Crolley and Long 2001).³⁹ In the context of the football match, the masculinity that is being performed is more pronounced than would be found in other contexts. For instance, where else would it be possible to sing to a female “Get

³⁹ This again undermines the suggestion that women are responsible for changes in the game.

your tits out for the lads" without causing outrage? This example, together with others discussed in the present chapter and chapter six, illustrates how football chants cross the boundaries of acceptability by using language that would not be tolerated in everyday use, a theme that will recur in the following chapter. In chapter eight I will examine the increasing censorship of football chants in England, looking more closely at issues raised in this chapter such as sexist and homophobic chanting, as well as racist chants and those that are of a more general discriminatory nature.

8. The Future of the Divisive Football Chant: Issues of Censorship

8.1. Introduction

No study of the relationship between football chants and *blason populaire* would be complete without considering the notion of censorship. Alan Dundes (1987) has stated that

Folklore which is passed on by word of mouth, from person to person offers little opportunity for official censorship to be exercised. (p.160)

However, his statement is untrue when applied to football chants. In recent years, they have been subjected to increasing regulation, more so than any other form of *blason populaire* specifically and any other genre of traditional language more generally. Although some of these regulations have no doubt been successful in purging football chants of some of their nastier elements, for example racist chanting, the question has to be asked as to whether they are going too far and whether they are actually necessary? Football chants are, after all, the language, and the property, of the fans and the regulations are ultimately seeking to take a large part of that language away from them. I would like to argue that the fans themselves are in the best position to dictate what should and should not be said at the football match. In order to do this, regulations concerning the language of football chants will be discussed and the difficulties involved in enforcing them, together with examples of how they work in practice. An example of the self-censorship of football chants by fans will be presented. Finally, the implications of censorship on the future of the divisive football chant will be considered.

8.2 The censorship of traditional language

Taking into account Dundes' quote, one of the great advantages of traditional language is that it is, in theory at least, the property of the folk with no threat of proscription. However, in the twenty-first century this is not so. With the dawn of political correctness, it is to be expected that *blason populaire* should come

under scrutiny, not least because the genre relies to a large extent on the use of politically incorrect language and slights between rival groups. Football chants have been more prone to criticism and proscription than most other sub-genres. This is no doubt because they are more prominent than other forms of *blason populaire*, in that they are sung en masse in a public setting. Similarly, those forms that can be transmitted via the Internet might also be treated with caution. For example, for some years now it has been commonplace for employer harassment guidelines to include email messages that may contain offensive content in their descriptions of harassment. This obviously has implications for those forms of *blason populaire* that are transmitted via e-mail, such as the jokes discussed in chapter two. Considering that e-mail communication removes the tone and context of spoken speech, it is easy to see how material that is sent with a tongue in cheek attitude may cause offence. Companies and organisations recognise this and it remains the responsibility of the individual to ensure that offence is not caused. Thus, it is common for companies and organisations to place disclaimers at the end of emails distancing themselves from the content. Contrastingly, sub-genres such as sayings, rhymes and jokes are normally used within small private settings and not subject to the same censure. Taking these factors into consideration, this might briefly explain why football chants have become so heavily censored.

Although other forms of traditional language have not been subjected to widespread censorship on a national scale in the same way that football chants have, censorship has been repeatedly reported on a local scale, with isolated incidents being highlighted sporadically in the media. Those forms that are aimed at or used by children and those that potentially reach a wide audience, such as football chants, are most at risk of censorship, or at least talk of it. For example, nursery rhymes have allegedly been subjected to a high degree of censure although in contrast to football chants, any suggestion of censorship is usually met with outrage and protest. It is also important to note that the reported censorship is not normally an outright ban as is the case with football chants but rather the suggestion of replacement or removal of words that may be a potential source of offence to certain groups. The nursery rhyme "Baa Baa Black Sheep" is a rhyme that often finds itself at the centre of such allegations,

due to the supposed racist connotations of the word “black.” In one instance, a nursery school in Oxfordshire reportedly used “Baa Baa Rainbow Sheep” instead, in order to adhere to equal opportunities. Similarly, in 2005 a nursery school in Aberdeen allegedly altered the words to “Baa Baa Happy Sheep”, whilst Birmingham City Council apparently tried to ban the rhyme altogether, although the ban never occurred after black parents said it was an unnecessary move (Blair 2006). The lyrics to some nursery rhymes have controversially been added to rather than removed, in a bid to minimise the distress caused to children if the rhymes have an unhappy ending. For instance, a children’s nursery rhyme CD attached the following verse to “Humpty Dumpty”:

Humpty Dumpty opened his eyes,
Falling down was such a surprise,
Humpty Dumpty counted to ten,
Then Humpty Dumpty got up again.

This was added to give the rhyme closure, in fear that the original ending in which Humpty Dumpty is in pieces was too traumatic for young children (Clark 2003). Again, the alteration was met with derision.

Similar fates have reportedly befallen the titles of well-known fairy tales when they have been used for pantomimes. For example, one drama group in Kent allegedly found that the word “dwarf” had been censored from their script for a production of “Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs”, and it was to be simply entitled “Snow White”, with the traditional dwarfs being replaced with “gnomes” and “guardians of the forest.” Even the name of one of the dwarfs was altered from “Bashful” to “Basher” in order to avoid offending shy people (France and White 2005). In another instance, the title “Dick Whittington” was apparently inadvertently censored by e-mail filters at schools in Norfolk. This glitch was discovered when a company e-mailed schools promoting a pantomime production of the tale but received few replies (Jones 2004). Reports of censorship of the type mentioned here occur sporadically in the press. How accurate they are and how much truth they contain is debatable. However, it is certainly interesting in itself that the stories are reported at all. Their existence reflects the obsession with political correctness that lies at the heart of

the alleged instances, and which increasingly plays a large part in today's culture.

Although all of these examples highlight the censorship of traditional language, it can nevertheless be argued that football chants remain the most heavily censored. This is for two reasons. Firstly, in all of the examples reported here concerning other forms of traditional language, and when other similar instances occur, the censorship is generally regarded as a ridiculous over-reaction by the so-called "pc brigade". This is not the case with football chants, with the content of them frequently being denounced. Secondly, all of the examples given concerning other forms of traditional language have not been subject to censorship on a national, or indeed international, scale in the way that football chants have. It is to the legislation surrounding football chants that I shall now turn.

8.3 The censorship of football chants

The first official widespread instance of the censorship of football chants occurred in the 1990s, when the Football (Offences) Act of 1991, quite rightly, introduced new measures to combat racist chants at matches. The act made it an offence to "take part at a designated football match in chanting of an indecent or racialist nature" (1991 p.2). The exact wording of the act made it an offence only if two or more people took part in the chanting and not if someone had done so alone. As individual racist chanting is just as serious as that of chanting the same sentiments in a group, and ultimately the same offence, the updated Football (Offences and Disorder) Act 1999 altered the wording to make the legislation applicable to any individual guilty of the offence. In addition to the new legislation making racist chanting illegal, further initiatives were launched to rid the game of racism more generally. In 1993, the "Let's Kick Racism Out of Football" campaign was launched by the Commission for Racial Equality and the Professional Footballers' Association. A report by the Football Task Force in 1998 also set out guidelines on how to deal with the problem, issuing specific advice to football clubs on how to tackle the problem of racist language. Suggested strategies included highlighting racist language as distinct from other

abusive language, the promotion of special hotline numbers which supporters could ring to report racist abuse and the introduction of pre-match anti-racist announcements at home games prior to kick-off (The Football Task Force 1998). Individual clubs implemented these guidelines, as well as developing their own strategies to eliminate racism from their grounds.

It is undeniable that racist chants have declined in recent years. A case in point is the fact that only one racist chant was collected during the present research. "I'd rather be a Paki than a scab" was sung by Barnsley fans to Notts County fans at a match in January 2004. It was sung by a minority of the crowd and received widespread condemnation from other fans. Following the match it caused much discussion on a fans' forum on the Internet. Further evidence that improvements are being made and that racist language and behaviour is being taken seriously is provided by looking at the successful prosecutions brought against fans for using such language. For instance, a Sheffield Wednesday fan was banned from home matches after shouting racial abuse at a Cardiff City player in 2006 (*Sheffield Star* 2006). He was arrested for the incident after two fans texted a hotline number during the match to report the abuse. Similarly, a Liverpool fan was banned after chanting racist abuse at a Galatasaray player during a Champions League match in September 2006 (Traynor 2006). He was banned from attending regulated football matches for three years, as well as receiving a fine. He was arrested after fans complained to stewards about his behaviour. These instances show that racism is being tackled effectively and that fans are playing a vital role in this.

Although anti-racist campaigns have been successful in reducing the amount of racist language at football matches in England, there is one specific brand that remains problematic. Anti-Semitism is a kind of racism that has particularly plagued Tottenham Hotspur due to its traditionally large Jewish fan base. In recent months the problem has been brought to the fore by several high profile incidents reported by the media. In March 2007, for instance, West Ham fans were condemned and reported to police after footage of them singing racist and anti-Semitic abuse during half-time at a match with Tottenham was posted on the "YouTube" website (Scott 2007). In the same month the subject of anti-

Semitism and Tottenham was again in the headlines when a Jewish teacher reported some of his former pupils to police after they had allegedly chanted the popular Tottenham chant “Yid Army” at him during a school leaving party for him (Martin 2007). This matter was complicated by the fact that the pupils singing the chant were Tottenham supporters and “Yid Army” is a popular integrative chant used by Tottenham fans. It is an integrative chant used at White Hart Lane by the home fans, originally as a positive way to embrace the traditionally large Jewish community. In essence the term “Yid” has been “reclaimed” by the Tottenham fans, whether Jewish or not, and transformed from a derogative nickname used by outsiders into a positive esoteric term used by insiders, when it is used in this context at least. Its usage in this way allegedly began as “more of a defensive mechanism against racist rivals who initiate the abuse” (Simons 2007). Back *et al* (2001) have written of this use by Tottenham fans:

... Tottenham fans are seen to embrace and celebrate this ethnic minority label even if only in playful reaction to opposition taunts which have taken on some of the most sinister forms. (p.109)

Furthermore, some of these fans may not know what the term means but repeat it in order to be a part of the Tottenham collective identity. For example, Foer (2005) has stated:

To the uninitiated, the logic undergirding the connection between Tottenham and the Jews isn't obvious. For that matter, the logic probably doesn't seem any clearer to Tottenham's fans – it's just an inherited custom practiced without thought. (p.76)

Taking these factors into consideration, it is therefore debatable whether any racist intent was meant or if it was sung as a show of support for the teacher. Nevertheless the eight pupils were arrested as a result of the incident.

This incident raises concerns about the use of “Yid Army” even as an integrative slogan used by Tottenham fans to refer to themselves, and Tottenham are actually looking into the appropriateness of its use. The club is due to hold a consultation with their fans in the near future to discuss the use of the chant

through a meeting including members of the Kick It Out campaign, the club, the supporters' trust, the Football Association and a Jewish community group (Scott 2007). What is crucial here is that fans are being included in the decision-making process and it is being acknowledged that the term "Yid Army" forms an integral part of their identity:

The club appreciates that many supporters consider the phrase a call to arms and so will press for a consultation of its entire fan base to evaluate sensitivities and to determine whether an education campaign might be required. (Scott 2007)

The organisation of such a meeting correlates with the opinion expressed in this chapter that it is the fans that are the crucial barometer of what is and what is not acceptable at the football match and that as owners of the chants, they should be able to make decisions about their use.

Despite playing an important role in defining the identity of Tottenham fans, it has been suggested that the integrative use of "Yid Army" acts as a pre-cursor to anti-Semitic abuse from rivals, with the recent examples outlined in this chapter, together with Tottenham's proposed consultation with fans, providing evidence of this. Piara Power, director of the "Kick It Out" campaign, urged fans to stop for this very reason, suggesting "campaigners against anti-Semitism would be more comfortable if Tottenham fans drew a line under this term" (Simons 2007). This request is ironic, taking into consideration that Tottenham fans allegedly adopted the term originally as a defence mechanism against the anti-Semitic abuse from rivals. It has to be considered as to whether it is fair to expect Tottenham fans to discard it simply because it provides fuel for other fans. Would it not be fairer, for example, to firstly deal with the rivals who use anti-Semitic chants in a divisive manner? After all, to expect Tottenham to stop using their chant is effectively asking them to lose part of their identity in order to placate others.

Whilst anti-Semitic chanting remains a problem and it would be naïve to suggest that racist language has disappeared entirely from the football ground, it is undeniable that large strides forward have been taken. Whereas racist language

was once so commonplace at the football ground that it did not cause so much as a second glance, any example of it today produces outrage from other fans and condemnation from the press. While it still occurs, the majority of fans find it unacceptable. This is exemplified by the fact that all three prosecutions mentioned in this section were a result of self-policing from fans who found the racist language unacceptable and reported it. Had they not done so, it is certainly questionable as to whether the perpetrators would have been identified and subsequently punished. This must lead us to consider the role of the fans in the policing of football chants and how they will be more successful in determining what can and cannot be chanted in the ground than any legislation will ever be. Contrastingly, it also has to be considered as to what extent the legislation has raised awareness of the problem of racism and encouraged fans to self-police.

In recent months, homophobic chants have been identified as the latest breed of divisive chants to be deemed unacceptable. While such chants are not new, the legislation surrounding their use is. As already discussed in chapter seven, football is a masculine sport and anything outside of a masculine heterosexual norm is deemed worthy of ridicule by rival fans. In this context, homosexuality is indicative of inadequacy by falling outside of the norm. Homophobic chants are used in a variety of contexts and may be aimed at specific players or the team more generally, the referee, or a set of fans. In February 2006, Tottenham became the first club in England to explicitly deal with the chants by introducing a campaign to eradicate them at the club's games. The move followed offensive homophobic slurs from their fans about former captain Sol Campbell (Hathestone 2006). Following the incident, the club issued a statement in their match day programme stating:

We would like to remind supporters that offensive chanting is not an acceptable part of our match day at The Lane. The club are committed to tackling all forms of discrimination or harassment, whether it concerns race, religion or sexual orientation. We all want an enjoyable and tolerant atmosphere and one which reflects well on the club and supporters; to achieve that, everyone has a part to play. (Draper 2006)

A special hotline number was also given for fans to report any instances of abuse. The initiative received the full backing of the Football Association, whose equality manager Lucy Faulkner outlined plans for tackling homophobic chanting:

In the near future, our aim is to work with the Premier League and Football League to make the necessary changes to their ground regulations so that homophobic chanting is included on the list of ejectable offences from stadia. Once this happens, this will mean we are one step nearer our aim to make all football grounds an inclusive environment for all supporters irrespective of gender, race, religion or sexual orientation. (The Football Association 2006a)

A year on, in February 2007, the FA's plans reached fruition and it was announced that from the 2007-08 season, their regulations would be altered to specifically target homophobic abuse, making it an ejectable offence and in the process making the rules more transparent. The FA, the Football League and the Premier League have all signed up to the new rules. Other measures have included adopting similar strategies that have proved successful in the fight against racism in the game such as abuse hotlines for fans to report homophobic behaviour. Only time will tell if the new regulations are as effective as the drive to purge the game of racist abuse has been. On the one hand, it could be argued that they will help to eradicate homophobic language if the same successful formula is applied again. However, when such chants are so ingrained as rival fans compete to outdo each other in the masculinity stakes, it remains to be seen.

On an international scale, in a bid to make it, allegedly, easier for football chants to be policed and to rid the game of the nastier discriminatory ones, together with discriminating behaviour in general both by fans and team members, FIFA have introduced strict measures on offending clubs and their supporters in a bid to make individual clubs responsible for their fans' behaviour. In their circular 1026 of 28th March 2006, FIFA announced an amendment to article 55 of their Disciplinary Code, imposing sanctions for "anyone who publicly disparages, discriminates against or denigrates someone in a defamatory manner on account of race, colour, language, religion or ethnic origin, or perpetrates any other discriminatory and/or contemptuous act" (FIFA 2006). These sanctions include

deduction of points, disqualification from competitions, suspensions and bans. The amendment took place with immediate effect for associations who already had a similar clause in their existing regulations; for those without, a deadline of 1st July 2006 was set for them to implement it. While measures such as FIFA's are no doubt invaluable in ridding the game of discriminatory chanting and behaviour, it is impossible to imagine how they will work in practice. Who would decide which chants were acceptable and which were not and on what grounds? Who would police the matches to make sure they were not sung? Where would the line be drawn as to what is an offensive chant and what is not? This is an especially important point to consider in regard to the new regulations, which have a very broad definition of what may be classed as discriminatory behaviour. While the amendment specifies discrimination on grounds of "race, colour, language, religion or ethnic origin" it goes on to state that its sanctions will also be imposed for "any other discriminatory and/or contemptuous act." But what exactly does "any other discriminatory and/or contemptuous act" mean? Who would decide in this instance when the ruling had been breached? And how would the fans even know themselves if they had committed an offence if FIFA cannot be more specific as to what constitutes discriminatory behaviour? Furthermore, elements of the regulations are open to misinterpretation and cover a broad remit. For example, does the mockery of accents fall foul of the new rules? It would seem so if they are interpreted to the letter. This would mean that relatively innocent divisive chants such as "dee das" were not allowed. These are just some of the concerns to be borne in mind when considering a blanket ban on all discriminatory chants.

Taking into account the questions posed above, it is clear to see why any censorship of football chants is problematic. Football chants are on a continuum, with innocent and harmless ditties at the one end and grossly offensive slurs at the other. In some instances, there is a clear case for the unacceptable and identifying those chants that cross the mark of acceptability can be relatively easy. For instance, it is straight-forward to identify a racist or homophobic chant. Similarly, those based on disaster or other forms of human tragedy when they do arise periodically are clearly identified as a step too far and subject to penalisation. While no such chants were collected in the present

research, they nevertheless do exist and sporadically the public's attention will be drawn to the use of "sick" chants by football fans and the condemnation that they naturally bring. For example, almost fifty years after the Munich air disaster of 1958, Manchester United continues to be haunted by it from fans of rival clubs singing chants of "Munich 58" and "you're just a town full of Munichs." Likewise, it is not unheard of for fans of Liverpool to receive taunts of "murderers" and "if it wasn't for the Scousers we could stand" since the Hillsborough disaster. Such chants can immediately be denounced as unacceptable due to their sensitive nature and the offence they inevitably cause. A growing awareness of the unsuitability of these chants is also recognised by the fans themselves, with one interview informant stating that there is a line of respectability between football fans that helps to prevent their use:

Even if you go to Liverpool or even if you go to Bradford, you wouldn't chant any songs about disasters what with fire and all that. You wouldn't start singing you know "you're on fire" or whatever. You know there's always a line between football fans you know any tragedies like that, football fans when they get together they can be united you see. (Richard)

Although the line is sometimes crossed, as the chants about Munich and Hillsborough show, Richard's comment brings us back to the issue of self-policing amongst fans and the importance it could have in weeding out some of the most offensive chants. Unlike the obviously sick chants, in other instances, however, it is more uncertain as to whether a line has been crossed. For example, is it discriminatory to insult a player based on the colour of his hair or his height? Should chants that draw on the perceived or real socio-economic decline of a town be permitted? It is chants that occupy this uncertain area of what is and is not appropriate that I will now consider.

8.4 Problems of censorship – a case study

In order to illustrate some of the problems of trying to censor some of the less obvious examples of discriminatory football chants, but which nevertheless could fall foul of FIFA's regulation, a detailed examination of chants relating to the 1984-85 Miners' Strike sung at a match between Notts County and Barnsley

in January 2004 will now be presented, together with a discussion of the controversy they caused, and the self-policing of the chants after the game. These chants have been chosen out of all divisive chants in the present data because they are the ones that caused the most controversy and brought up issues of whether they should be sung or not between Barnsley fans after the game. On the 31 January 2004, Notts County played Barnsley in a Nationwide League Division Two fixture. Meadow Lane, the home of Notts County Football Club echoed to the chilling cries of "twenty years and you're still a scab" and other chants displaying similar sentiments, sung by Barnsley fans to their Nottinghamshire rivals. Just five weeks away from the twentieth anniversary of the beginning of the year long national Miners' Strike of 1984-85, it was painfully clear at this match that the wounds that had been reopened twenty years earlier, and that initially occurred during an earlier miners' strike in 1926, between striking and non-striking miners and their respective communities were far from healed.

At this point it is important to note the position of both the Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire miners during the Miners' Strike in order to understand why such bitterness still exists and the chants continue to circulate with such significant force over twenty years after the event and why their use causes such controversy. In brief, the catalyst for the Miners' Strike of 1984-5 was the announcement made on 1st March 1984 that Cortonwood colliery near Barnsley, South Yorkshire, was to close. On the 6th March the strike began with Yorkshire miners walking out over the Cortonwood issue and other areas following suit in the coming weeks (Goodman 1985). Nottinghamshire miners were amongst the strongest opponents of the strike and this was to remain the case for its duration. For example, in November 1984 just 20% of Nottinghamshire miners were on strike compared with 99.6% and 97.3% of miners in the more militant areas of South Wales and Yorkshire respectively. At this stage of the strike, only the areas of Leicestershire and South Derbyshire had fewer striking miners, although each of these had a significantly smaller workforce than Nottinghamshire (Richards 1996). Nottinghamshire miners had one main objection and that rested on the fact that a national ballot amongst miners had not been held on the issue of strike action so therefore they were not

required to join. An area ballot had been conducted in the region early in the strike but over three quarters of Nottinghamshire miners voted against strike action until the all-important national ballot had been held (Richards 1996 p.44). Although the absence of the national ballot justified the absence of Nottinghamshire miners from the strike, striking miners in other areas were sceptical of their motives. Firstly, that Nottinghamshire miners already had a reputation as strike-breakers as a result of their early return to work during the coal strike of 1926 goes some way to explain the animosity during the 1984-5 strike. Furthermore, miners from other areas believed that Nottinghamshire miners were unwilling to support their fellow workers because they thought that their own coalfield was not at immediate risk, together with the underlying feeling that they generally always had more privileges than other mining areas. As Richards (1996) comments:

... it is crucial to note that for the NUM's national leadership, and for many strikers, the Nottinghamshire miners' defiance was not just rooted in their immediate conditions of well-being in the 1980s, but in the fact that in terms of earnings, working conditions and job security, the Nottinghamshire coalfield had *always* been better off. (p.184)

The sentiment that Nottinghamshire miners had always been different from their colleagues in other areas was heightened further by their refusal to join the strike. It set them further apart in a division which, now over twenty years later, is for many people from mining communities a permanent one.

Most football matches between Nottinghamshire and South Yorkshire clubs still feature what will from here on be referred to as "scab chants". Many of these involve the word "scab", hence why they have been so called. "Scab" may seem a fairly harmless, if slightly unpleasant, insult on the surface. However, this could not be further from the truth. Most commonly, it is used as a noun to describe a healing wound. For several hundred years, however, it has also been used as a term of abuse. Its first use as an insult, in the sixteenth century, was of a general nature, applied to people, primarily men but also women, who were considered to be corrupt (OED). Almost two hundred years later, its application as an insult term had narrowed, with the main targets for its use being

strikebreakers (OED). It is this application of the term as a form of abuse that is the most common today. To people from mining backgrounds, and particularly to miners and ex-miners themselves, it is one of the strongest, if not *the* strongest term of abuse imaginable. For example, following the strike in Grimethorpe Colliery near Barnsley, utterance of the word was made a sackable offence (Cave 2006). This gives some insight into the force of hatred that can be expressed through use of the term.

“Scab” is so loaded with memories of the hatred and tensions between striking and non-striking miners experienced during the Miners’ Strike that its usage today has become almost taboo. Out of the chants collected in the present research, scab chants contain some of the most serious accusations that can be levelled at rival fans. Although other chants in the divisive – fans sub-category are likely to be highly personal slants on the character of inhabitants from a particular place, in many cases some humour, albeit often small, can be seen in them by their targets. For example, at matches between Barnsley and Sheffield Wednesday, Sheffield Wednesday fans might ask their rivals “Have you ever had a wash?” or state “you’re just a town full of scrubbers.” While these chants may raise questions about the cleanliness and/or virtue of Barnsley folk, the target group of fans can at least laugh them off and attempt to regain their damaged pride by aiming an equally if not more offensive chant at their rivals. However, for people of former mining communities, whose fathers, grandfathers or friends were miners and may have taken part in the strike if they themselves did not, to be labelled a “scab” is the ultimate put-down and received in the serious manner in which it is aimed. Further significance can be attached to the use of the chants and the effect that they have when we consider that many of them were actually used on the picket lines during the strike.

During the present research, “scab” chants were heard at four matches in total. Two of these matches were between Barnsley and Notts County, with Barnsley fans obviously aiming such chants at their Nottinghamshire rivals. Barnsley fans could also be heard chanting “Scabs until you die” at their rival fans at a match against Chesterfield. Interestingly, while Chesterfield fans were the targets of the chant during this game, in another match they played against Notts

County, they were the ones actually singing it to the Notts County fans. At this point, it is important to draw the reader's attention to the situation of the Derbyshire miners during the strike. Derbyshire was a moderate coalfield and miners in this area were split as to whether to join the strike or continue to work. When an area ballot was held over what action to take, miners voted only very narrowly against joining, with the split of votes being just 50.1% to 49.9% (Richards 1996 p.105). However, they did eventually join their striking colleagues. This goes some way to explain why Chesterfield fans have scab accusations thrown at them by Barnsley fans, from an area that strongly supported the strike, but are able to use them against Notts County, an area where strike action was opposed. Derbyshire's position in the middle of these two extremes enables this unlikely paradox to occur for Chesterfield fans.

In three of the four matches where scab chants were collected, only one such chant on each occasion was heard (albeit repeated intermittently throughout the games). The cry of "scab" was heard sung by Barnsley and Chesterfield at their respective matches with Notts County, while at Barnsley's match against Chesterfield they sang the longer "Scabs until you die" chant at their Derbyshire rivals. However, the chants heard at Meadow Lane on 31 January 2004 when Notts County played host to Barnsley were both quantitatively and qualitatively different from these. For instance, their subject matter was more varied than the simple repetition of "scabs" that was the case at two of the other three matches where scab chants were collected. There are two factors that could be responsible for this difference. Firstly, and most importantly, this match occurred in the build-up to the twentieth anniversary of the beginning of the Miners' Strike, so one would expect tensions between supporters and objectors to the strike to be higher than normal. Intense media coverage, including television documentaries and newspaper supplements of the events of twenty years earlier had placed the Miners' Strike and the issues surrounding it at the forefront of the minds of many people. A secondary issue to consider is that Barnsley were playing away from home on this occasion and had taken a large (and very vocal) following with them to Nottingham. It is typical of Barnsley fans to be more vocal at away matches than home games, and when following their team away it is not unusual for the chants they use to be more varied. For

example, consider the following comment from Barnsley fan Mark on the importance of singing at away fixtures:

Especially if you're away ... you do want people to know that you're there. You want everybody to know that you're from Barnsley. (Mark)

On each of the other two occasions when "scab" chants were sung by Barnsley fans, they had been on their home territory where they are generally tamer. These two reasons perhaps explain why there was such a marked difference in the volume and variety of scab chants used on this occasion.

Looking closely now at the "scab" chants used during the game between Notts County and Barnsley, one chant simply involved the repetition of the word "scabs" and was chanted intermittently throughout the game. This is a chant often used at matches involving former mining communities. Another chant that was found at another match and also used at this one is:

201. Scabs until you die,
You're scabs until you die,
We know you are, we're sure you are,
You're scabs until you die
(Sung to the tune of "H-A-P-P-Y". 2 tokens, 1 variant)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 15)

Another version of this chant is more commonly used at football matches throughout the country as a form of support amongst fans, with the name or nickname of the club replacing the derogatory term "scabs" and the first person rather than the second person being applied, as in "County til I die". In this, its most popular, form it is categorised as an integrative-fan chant; it is used as an expression of the fans' allegiance to their club, so much so that they come to epitomize the club through their assertion "County til I die." In the case of the "scabs until you die" chant, we can see how simple it is for the entire meaning of a chant to be reversed through the alteration of just one word and the moving of the subject of the chant from the first to the second person. From an integrative statement, it becomes a divisive one displaying an entirely different meaning and hence becoming a different chant. No longer is the chant a

measure of a fan's unfaltering support for their team. Rather, through its use and adaptation by rival fans, it becomes the expression of a negative stereotype, not only to the fans of the club but also by extension to all residents of the particular town and community. In fact, at the game in question Barnsley fans began the "Scabs until you die" chant in response to their Notts County rivals singing "County til I die." Barnsley fans responded with the far less complimentary version almost instantaneously. This response at once rejected Notts County fans' claims, overriding them with the declaration that their primary identity was of being "scabs" as opposed to being County. This statement indicates that in the minds of some Barnsley fans, their rivals from Nottinghamshire will always be regarded first and foremost as scabs, and that no amount of time will change this, illustrated by the proclamation "til you die." This "once a scab, always a scab" mentality is made once again in another chant used at the game:

202. Twenty years and you're still a scab
(Sung to the tune of "Go West". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 34)

The stereotype of Nottinghamshire residents as scabs is not just limited to miners who did not work during the strike. It comes to apply to all inhabitants in the region by default. Whilst this is apparent through all of the scab chants at the Notts County versus Barnsley game, nowhere is it more evident than in example 203 where it is blatantly expressed that the entire population of Nottingham are scabs:

203. Town full of scabs,
You're just a town full of scabs
(Sung to the tune of "Guantanamera". 8 tokens, 5 variants)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 4)

This is another example of a highly formulaic chant with any other insult term able to replace scab at the end of each line. It is only ever used divisively, in the examples collected here at least, stereotyping all residents of the location of a particular club with the same negative characteristics.

The remaining chant that makes use of the term scab produces insults on two levels, and the targets of the abuse are not just limited to Notts County fans (or the fans of any other team it may happen to be used against):

204. I'd rather be a Paki than a scab
(Sung to the tune of "She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive chant 25)

This chant was sung by a minority of Barnsley fans and received widespread condemnation from other fans in the vicinity due to its highly racist content. The insult expressed in the chant operates on two levels through the use of two insult terms "Paki" and "scab". To even use such an offensive term as "Paki" suggests that the speaker is racist, so for a racist fan to assert that they would rather be a "Paki" than a "scab" is an indication of the strong sense of revulsion for the strikebreakers who, by default, in the eyes of the Barnsley fans at least, come to be represented by all Notts County fans at the game in particular, and the whole of Nottinghamshire in general. Back *et al* (2001) discuss the significance of the juxtaposition of the two derogative strands of this chant in relation to one of its variants, "I'd rather be a Paki than a Scouse", heard sung by Millwall fans to their Everton counterparts:

To profess a desire 'to be' a despised minority over the alternative prospect of being an Everton fan – who is by implication white, or at best black and white, - takes on added malice. (p.59)

Whilst it is argued in this chapter that "scab" chants are undoubtedly the most serious and offensive because of the force of the insult term scab, the chant "I'd rather be a Paki than a scab" can certainly be described as the most offensive of all of these, through its additional use of the racist, and now entirely taboo, insult term Paki.

All of the above scab chants have one (obvious) thing in common: they all use the term "scab" as their main form of abuse. However, there are three further chants used at this game that can also be classed as scab chants, despite their lack of the word, as they are nevertheless still based on the theme of the Miners' Strike and serve as unpleasant reminders to Notts County fans that many miners

in their region did not support the strike. Two of these remaining chants would, on the surface and under normal circumstances, be classified as integrative:

205. One Arthur Scargill, there's only one Arthur Scargill,
One Arthur Scargill, there's only one Arthur Scargill
(Sung to the tune of "Guantanamera". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 28)
206. Arthur Scargill, Arthur Scargill,
Arthur Scargill is our friend,
Arthur Scargill is our friend
(Sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 18)

In its normal guise, example 205 is more commonly used to praise a particular player or manager or a specific team, through the replacement of "Arthur Scargill" with the name of a player or manager deemed worthy of praise and support during a game, or in the case of praise for a club, with the phrase "one team in (name of location)." In a similar vein, cries of "Arthur Scargill is our friend", (or any other relevant person for that matter), suggest that this chant is also integrative in nature. In the case of these chants, both seem to suggest that Arthur Scargill is the rather unlikely subject of praise, even more so at a football match. However, in the context of this game, it is clear that neither of the chants is merely a nicety praising the former president of the National Union of Miners. Rather, they are deliberate attempts to provoke the Notts County fans by again referring to the Miners' Strike, through the mention of Arthur Scargill, who many Nottinghamshire miners felt had not handled the strike action correctly. By heaping such praise onto Arthur Scargill in front of a group of people who most probably have a contrasting point of view, Barnsley fans are emphasising the extent of difference and bitterness between the two sets of fans. By stating in example 206 that they are in fact friends with Arthur Scargill, they are making clever use of the fact that Notts County fans do not have the same high opinion of him. The purpose of both of these chants is primarily as a means of provocation rather than as a true expression of the esteem in which Arthur Scargill may or may not be held. Thus, they have been categorised as divisive.

The remaining scab chant sung at this game is a simple yet powerful reminder of the fact that the majority of Nottinghamshire miners did not join the 1984-85 strike, and merely asks the Nottinghamshire fans:

207. Where were you in, where were you in,
Where were you in '84?
Where were you in '84?
(Sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer". 1 token)
(Appendix 3, divisive fan chant 37)

At the match, there was a great amount of irony in the fact that a large number of fans singing the chant did not look very old and it was certainly questionable as to whether they looked old enough to have been alive during the strike, let alone understood the issues surrounding it. Such irony was not lost on other Barnsley fans who witnessed the main group responsible for singing the chant. Nevertheless, whatever the ages of the fans singing the chant, the sentiment expressed remains the same. The Notts County fans are still reminded of the failure of some of their county's miners to join the strike.

Following the game, attempts were made to find out what Barnsley supporters felt about the use of the scab chants, especially as they had only been sung by a minority of supporters and had received condemnation from a high proportion of those Barnsley fans not singing them. On logging on to an unofficial Barnsley FC website, Barnsleyfc.net, it became apparent that the use of the scab chants at the match had sparked a heated debate amongst fans, with several different discussions dedicated to the subject over the next few days.⁴⁰ The underlying feeling gathered from comments on these threads was that it was time to move on and lay the ill-feeling caused by the Miners' Strike to rest, sentiments that were also echoed during interviews with Barnsley fans. Several fans showed concern that commemorating the event, as had been done by the media coverage and parades, only added further tension and did little to help the process of moving on:

⁴⁰ All of the messages quoted here were posted on the Barnsleyfc.net fans' forum, available from <http://www.barnsleyfc.net/forum>. The usernames of the fans are placed next to their messages, as well as the dates on which they were posted.

Don't get me wrong I was a lad during the strike and my family suffered just as much as everyone else's involved but why keep bringing it up. You may as well have a remembrance day for that dreaded day we got relegated from the Premier for all it's worth. Yorkshire telly and the BBC aren't exactly helping matters either showing programmes about riots and such like ... Time to move on me thinks. (Red Neck 31st January 2004)

Red Neck qualifies his statement by highlighting that his family suffered as a result of the strike and therefore one would expect his decision to move on not to have been taken lightly. Later in the discussion, he further states his case against commemoration of the strike by condemning the decision of officials to move the date of a planned Barnsley FC home fixture with Bristol City to allow for a peaceful parade through the town centre to mark the anniversary of the strike. Such a parade, in his opinion, did nothing but "drag up" the past, with the movement of the said fixture emphasising this:

I just can't see the point of keeping on dragging it up that's all. That was the point I was making about rearranging the Bristol game. Completely pointless. (Red Neck February 1st 2004)

To Red Neck, and this is a feeling expressed by many others, not just on the forum discussion but also at the match itself, the point is not that the Miners' Strike, and consequently the suffering experienced by miners and their families, are forgotten, but that the bitterness and hostilities associated with the year long battle of 1984-85 are put aside:

I'm not saying forget it ever happened. What I'm saying is why keep going on about it? It happened, it was shit and people suffered, move on. Life's too short to be bitter. (Red Neck February 1st 2004)

The essence of this statement is that "scab" chants are not necessary at football matches, it being pointless to base rivalries and hatred on an event so far in the past. This is echoed in similar comments made on the discussion of "scab" chants in the posts examined. The fact that the discussion of the Miners' Strike remains so highly charged, for both Barnsley and Notts County fans, makes any chants in relation to it more powerful weapons against rivals. This is just one reason why they may continue to be used.

Another of the main objections to the “scab” chants voiced by some Barnsley fans is that it is unfair to use “scab” as a blanket term for all Nottinghamshire inhabitants. Several fans express this concern, as shown in the examples below:

I'm sorry but I have lived in Nottingham for over 10 years, have lots of friends who are either County or Forest fans and they are all good people. They should not have to be treated to this vitriol. (Newarktyke Jamuary 31st 2004)

I did not nor would I ever chant scab at a crowd of supporters. A scab is the lowest form of life. I spent a lot of time in Nottinghamshire in 1984. I met some top men and their families, these people were on strike, just as we were. Unlike us who were in a majority and had a camaraderie with our colleagues. They were outcast. They were skint and isolated. We were just skint. A scab is a scab to the grave. Even in Nottinghamshire the scabs from 1926 were still remembered and despised [sic]. To call scab to opposing supporters is as bad as racial chanting. We are born with our race. No one is born a scab. Though a scab will die a scab. (cee lee farquhar January 31st 2004)

The idea emerges that fans object to all Notts County fans being called “scabs” in no small part because such an accusation is not true and the violent force of the term is such that it is offensive enough to use even if referring to a strikebreaker, let alone accusing someone who may not be guilty of the charge. This is particularly evident in the second example presented above. In it, the fan likens the malice displayed through scab chanting to racial chanting and believes it is unfair to subject anyone to such abuse. However, the potent force of the use of the word “scab” and its connotations is displayed in the fact that the fan believes that strikebreakers are “the lowest form of life” and uses statements emphasising the permanency of this status such as “a scab is a scab to the grave” and “no-one is born a scab. Though a scab will die a scab.” While it is clear that this fan believes miners who did not participate in the strike committed an unforgivable offence that will stay with them until they die, he is clearly against people being labelled “scabs” incorrectly, and for this reason believes such a label is inappropriate at a football match. This view is also expressed by another Barnsley fan who does not deny that, in his opinion, “scabs” still exist but nevertheless believes that the time has come to move forward:

Scab hurts because it was true, but twenty years is twenty years, there are no pits now so let it go. (e-red February 1st 2004)

One further concern about “scab” chants being used in a general manner to apply to all inhabitants of Nottinghamshire is voiced by another fan:

Do these people know that we have fans from Nottingham? Thank God those idiots only go to a couple of away games per season. (Wayne February 1st 2004)

He draws attention to the fact that generalising that all people from Nottinghamshire are “scabs” through the use of “scab” chants is by default insulting Barnsley fans who may come from Nottingham. They are accusing their fellow supporters of the same flaw as their rivals whom they are attempting to insult. The opinions expressed thus far are all from Barnsley fans. However, a Notts County fan also adds her views to the debate. Like many of the Barnsley fans, her main objection is to the level of hatred expressed through the word “scab”:

I heard the scab stuff, and as the daughter of a miner it still really hurts me whenever I hear that. Although we, and I’m sure Forest and Stags fans now find it all a bit tedious and boring. Most of those that were singing it today probably don’t even know what it means. (NCFC Kim January 31st 2004)

As the daughter of a miner involved in the strike she feels the full impact of the abuse.

Considering the posts that have been discussed so far, it would appear that the main objection to the “scab” chants is no doubt related to the seriousness of the charge expressed through the “scab” label. We have already seen an earlier comment where a fan suggests that scab chants are not dissimilar to racist chants in their serious tone. In a separate post, another fan goes as far as to suggest that they actually *are* racist chants:

Racism is not just Black and White ... for instance, is calling out SCAB to a Nottingham bloke racist ... I think it may be ... what do ya reckon? (Roundsman February 1st 2004)

Roundsman also has similar thoughts about the use of the nickname “dee da” for people from Sheffield:

... calling Sheffielders Dee dahs ... is technically a racist comment.
(Roundsman February 1st 2004)

The general consensus displayed in response to this suggestion is that “scab” chants are not in any way racist; the people of Nottingham to whom the chants are applied to in this case are not of a different race, hence the use of “scab” chants cannot be classed as racist. Such are some of the objections on these grounds:

If calling someone a scab is racist, why isn’t calling Sheffielders Dee das, calling Brightoners a town full of puffs etc. etc? (Tony Tyke February 1st 2004)

But within one race is this simply local rivalry whether football is involved or not? (Alityke February 1st 2004)

Surely the term Racism comes from RACE, last I checked Scab, Dee Dah, Faggot, Puff etc etc was not on the list of different races. (Mr Mook February 1st 2004)

It’s not racist you silly billy. Coming from Nottingham does not put you in a separate race. Nottingham encompasses a multitude of different races. I suppose it could be called regionalist. (Jay February 1st 2004)

I would say you were confusing racism with prejudice and bigotry, and maybe xenophobia. (YorkRed February 1st 2004)

While it remains that “scab” chants are serious and offensive insults, as the majority of these comments illustrate, it is wrong to classify them as racist. However, the fact that the chants raise such emotive discussion and are viewed by many fans, from Nottingham and Barnsley alike, as wrong and unnecessary, perhaps explains why one or two fans will confuse them with racist chants. It also emphasises the point made earlier that aside from racially motivated chants, “scab” chants contain some of the most serious accusations that can be levelled at rival fans during the course of a football match, between rival fans from mining communities at least.

The discussion of scab chants has highlighted some of the pitfalls of applying censorship to discriminatory football chants. Under FIFA's ruling, "scab" chants could be classed as discriminatory behaviour on the part of Barnsley fans against Notts County fans, resulting in severe penalties for their club. The chants discriminate against Notts County fans, extending to all Nottinghamshire inhabitants by default. It can be argued that their use causes such controversy because the Miners' Strike remains raw for Barnsley and Nottinghamshire fans alike. Football chants have the power to keep memories of past events alive and this is very much the case with "scab" chants. Whilst it may be true that the Barnsley fans using "scab" chants at the Notts County game were in the minority, and that many Barnsley fans condemned their use for the reasons listed above, it would be both wrong and naïve to suggest that they could not be sung. It is true that their content remains sensitive for people from both areas. However, it is important to remember that football fans are always going to use historical events and negative stereotypes to rile the fans of opposing teams. They are, after all, two of the most effective ways for them to express their rivalries and to insult their rivals. Likewise, some fans at whom they are aimed are always going to take offence at such remarks and this will remain the case unless we only use integrative chants. The discussions on the forum illustrate the importance of self-policing by fans and that if fans do not like certain chants they will speak out. The fact that the suitability of football chants is open to such debate from the fans themselves suggests that they have the power to have an effect and to decide, to a large degree, what is and what is not acceptable.

8.5. Implications of censorship on the divisive football chant

The new, and increasing amount of, regulations concerning language that football fans can use in their chants could potentially have an enormous impact on the future of the divisive football chant. Furthermore, the censorship could also have serious implications on the future of the genre of *blason populaire* as a whole, with football chants serving as a driving force in its continuity in England today. To dictate that no discriminatory chants can be used is to ultimately outlaw all divisive ones if the rules are applied stringently. All

divisive football chants by their very nature can be regarded as discriminatory towards someone or something. After all, the purpose of their existence is to pour scorn on a rival group in order to enhance one's own self-esteem and as such an essential ingredient is that they insult or offend members of that group. Although the majority of chants in the present data are integrative, the divisive chant serves an equally important function in not only deriding rivals but in doing so raising one's own group's superiority. They are crucial in providing the fans with a voice, a means of showing their disquiet about issues both on and off the pitch, when they normally do not have the power to do so. Thus, to deny the use of any divisive chanting at football matches would kill the atmosphere, as well as the expression of the identities and rivalries that are so integral to football support.

The rules and regulations neglect the fact that football chants do not necessarily express the true beliefs of the fans singing them. For the purpose of winning the verbal duel that takes place at the match, any supposed negative characteristic is singled out for derision, whether it is true or not. In chapter six we saw fans emphasise that many divisive chants are merely "banter" and no real offence is meant by them. This is also a crucial component of *blason populaire* more generally. When considering the use of divisive football chants, it is also necessary to take into account that normal behaviour is suspended for the duration of the football match. What one would not dream of saying under normal circumstances suddenly becomes appropriate, within one's own group at least. The unity of the crowd takes over as one's individual identity is subsumed by it:

Whoever be the individuals that compose it, however like or unlike be their mode of life, their occupations, their character, or their intelligence, the fact that they have been transformed into a crowd puts them in possession of a sort of collective mind which makes them feel, think, and act in a manner quite different from that in which each individual of them would feel, think, and act were he in a state of isolation. There are certain ideas and feelings which do not come into being, or do not transform themselves into acts except in the case of individuals forming a crowd. (Le Bon 1896 p.29-30)

These two factors are not presented to condone all divisive chants as some undoubtedly cross the line of decency. However, they do go some way to explain why boundaries are crossed and insults given that would not be used during normal conversation. As such, we may question whether it is necessary to place a blanket ban on all discriminatory, and thus all divisive, football chants.

8.6. Summary

To return to the opening quote of this chapter, Alan Dundes (1987) asserted that oral folklore transmitted via word of mouth “offers little opportunity for official censorship to be exercised” (p.160). Football chants deviate from this rule, with the combination of their content and their position in the limelight, heavily subjected to the media and public glare, making them ideal targets for official censorship. However, to censor football chants is missing the point of their existence and can be seen as an attempt to take away the language of the fans. Football fans have very little control over their club’s fate, despite being a crucial ingredient in the success of the game. Nevertheless they remain unswervingly loyal to the cause. Football chants go some way to empowering fans, if only by giving them the belief that their vocal support can make a difference. To censor them further is effectively taking away what little power they do have and at the same time taking away one of the key functions of the football chant: the divisive element that is a major part of the *blason populaire* genre.

9. Conclusion

9.1 General conclusions

Over the last twenty years, football chants have faced many real challenges to their continuity. As I highlighted in chapter three, the first threat arose as a by-product of the Taylor Report of 1990, which introduced all-seater stadia. The removal of the terraces that this change necessitated brought concern that the tradition of chanting at football games would decline, as fans would be spread throughout the football ground in designated seats without the opportunity to form the groups in which they may chant, as well as the fact that many fans would be excluded from attending due to expected rises in ticket prices. The move to all-seater stadia also went hand in hand with the fear that the footballing authorities were attempting to crush traditional patterns of working-class support and attract a more middle-class audience, including more females and families, in order to smooth the rough edges of the football crowd and remove the remnants of the game's hooligan days. Both of these factors were considered to be very real threats to the existence of football chants by producing a generally tamer atmosphere. In addition, the ever-increasing censorship of the language of the football chant, (namely the legislation introduced in the Football (Offences) Act of 1991 and the updated Football (Offences and Disorder) Act of 1999 combating racist language, FIFA's 2006 legislation against discriminatory language, as well as the FA's recent assault on homophobic language), has again raised questions about its future, in particular the divisive chant which relies on the insults made towards a rival, the majority of which can be considered discriminatory in one way or another. It is against this backdrop of concern over the future of the divisive football chant that the present exploratory study of the continuity of the *blason populaire* tradition has taken place. However, rather than confirming the pessimism about the future of the football chant which the apparent need for censorship and the growing concern about its future from fans would seem to suggest, it has provided a rare reason for the celebration of the football chant in today's society.

The main aim of the study has been to explore football chants as *blason populaire* in England today by studying them in their natural context, in a way that has not previously been done in English studies of the genre. This has been done by examining the functions of the chants as well as their content, and by providing comparisons with older forms of the genre. Looking firstly at the functions of the chants, by using Widdowson's (1981) integrative/divisive framework I have found how the chants operate in much the same way as older forms of the genre, as well as other forms that persist today. The integrative chants function by providing a positive identity for the in-group through offering blatant expressions of superiority or by expressing more general feelings of pride. In contrast, the main purpose of the divisive chant is to deride the opposition or any other significant rival. I have provided an important expansion of Widdowson's framework by identifying additional sub-categories to the wider integrative/divisive distinction. As discussed in detail in chapter four, this expansion recognises that football chants are more complex as *blason populaire* than simple classifications of "integrative" or "divisive" would seem to imply. Rather, the additional sub-categories have allowed for a more thorough investigation of their function and use. Although this expansion is specific to the analysis of football chants, it is capable of being modified for any other form of *blason populaire* to aid much needed future discussions of the genre.

I have illustrated how football chants rely heavily on the key themes of the past, ensuring that modern day *blason populaire* remains true to its roots. While English culture is constantly changing and improvements to our way of life are made, some older expressions become redundant. However, new ones emerge to maintain the underlying themes that are important in the creation of identities and rivalries. For example, while the condition of a church may no longer serve as a reflection of the economic status of a place and the resulting rhymes may be obsolescent, the football chants of today ensure that insults based on perceived poverty persist as an important way to deride the out-group. Other popular themes evident in older forms of the genre are also reworked into the football chants of today. This is evident in chapter seven, where I discussed the use of gender in both football chants and *blason populaire* more generally, with

particular reference to the construction of masculinity. Other themes include personal hygiene and sexual behaviour, as well as comments based on dialect, all of which were discussed in chapters five and six, and offer comments on a particular group or set of fans. However, as the sheer variety of chants included in the study has illustrated, while some themes are more popular than others, *any* topic or stereotype continues to be used in order for a feeling of superiority to be achieved or for an insult to be issued.

As well as the data from the collection of chants supporting the theory that football chants are a modern form of *blason populaire*, the fans corroborated this fact during the interviews. Informants were keen to point out the relationship between football chants and identity, as well as the importance of divisive chants in disparaging rivals, and it was a recurring theme. For example, consider the following comments from Richard and Mark when discussing the use of football chants:

You show that you've got a badge of allegiance to like following [the] club you know. (Richard)

You want everybody to know that you're from Barnsley. Like you wear your shirt with pride but another way of doing it is like belting out a tune where people can hear you. (Mark)

While neither Richard or Mark know what *blason populaire* is, they both manage to summarise its use perfectly in their discussions of football chants, comparing the verbal performance of chants and the allegiances they display to the material forms of *blason populaire*, such as shirts and badges, that operate in the same way. Here there is the common paradox that they use the genre despite not knowing what it is. This supports my earlier claim made in chapter two that people may have no prior knowledge of *blason populaire* but will immediately recognise, and transmit, the phenomenon it describes. Furthermore, it demonstrates that despite the lack of knowledge about the genre, which undoubtedly explains why people are not aware of it, its use is widespread in England today and in need of further research.

9.2 Opportunities for further research

It is hoped that the richness and variety of data in this study have highlighted just how fruitful the study of *blason populaire* can be. By focussing on a form of the genre such as the football chant, that is always newsworthy and currently enjoying celebration in the popular press, despite the ever-increasing threat of censorship, it is also hoped that the genre itself can be popularised and given the attention it deserves. Having provided an exploratory study on the relationship between football chants and *blason populaire* and identified a useful way to evaluate their function, it would now be beneficial to explore it further, by providing detailed studies of the repertoires of individual clubs. Not only would it be useful to analyse the content of the chants in relation to their value as a modern form of *blason populaire*, it would also be valuable to consider the demographics of the crowd in relation to the chanting. For example, what are the ages and gender of those chanting? Is a special status required in order to lead or start the chanting and to popularise new chants? This would certainly appear to be the case at many football matches where lone cries fade into the crowd when a person tries, but fails, to initiate a chant. The same chant may go on to be successfully started by another fan. Related to this matter is the question of whether chanting is more prevalent in one part of the ground than another. For example, the ends behind each goal are traditionally associated with the noisiest supporters. Why is this so? Furthermore, it is important to research the acceptability of chanting, and indeed particular types of chants, in specific parts of the ground to establish if and what is the difference. A detailed ethnography, comprising in-depth participant observation and detailed discussion with fans, would provide the answers to these questions, which are crucial to our understanding of both the origin and transmission of football chants.

Another area worthy of further research leading naturally from the present investigation is the study of chants away from the football match. I have briefly considered the use of football chants outside of the stadium when discussing those sung by Leeds United fans on a train journey to the Valley, home of Charlton Athletic (see p.79). However, further information in all of the contexts

in which they are used would be fruitful, for example by studying their use in pubs, on the street and on transport to and from games. Furthermore, some attention should be given to chants outside of a footballing, and indeed sporting, context altogether. For example, chants can be heard at political rallies and demonstrations, in the crowds of reality television programmes such as Big Brother, and between students from different local universities. The content and style of these chants can bear a remarkable resemblance to, or even be identical to football chants. As such, comparisons would be useful.

Although I have concentrated on football chants, it would be naïve to think that they are the only living form of *blason populaire* in England today. Further research is vital to establish what other forms exist and how popular they are. For example, in chapter two I noted the increasing frequency of jokes based on the stereotypes so typical of *blason populaire* transmitted via the Internet. It would certainly be useful to examine these in further detail, not only in terms of their content but also their means of transmission. For example, the Internet is increasingly becoming an alternative way to transmit expressions of the genre and the relationship between the two is certainly worthy of further exploration. Similarly, in chapter two I mentioned the growth in nicknames based at the town and city level as opposed to the county level. As Wales (2006) has noted, the origins of these would undoubtedly benefit from further research, as would their contemporary use. In fact, due to the lack of information surrounding the genre as a whole, perhaps the ultimate, if rather ambitious, aim should be a survey of all of its live forms at all levels of operation in England today in order to provide up-to-date knowledge of its use. This would yield much information for our understanding of identities and rivalries. The expanded integrative/divisive framework would prove useful in any such studies, as would the investigation of context that is so severely lacking in earlier discussions of the genre.

9.3 Summary

In chapter two we saw how Simpson (1973) has suggested that expressions of *blason populaire* are “presumably much rarer nowadays; needless to say, they are quite unjustified, and probably always were!” (p.151). Despite their

celebration in this study as a major form keeping the genre alive today, considering the current climate that surrounds the chants and the increasing censorship that they are subject to, one could be forgiven for believing that Simpson's comment contains some truth. However, this is not so, and the present research points to the contrary, with football chants and *blason populaire* serving an important function. Although certain kinds of abuse expressed in the chants may have declined, such as racist and homophobic chanting, this can be explained not only by the increase in legislation against it but also through the growing awareness of these issues amongst fans and their own attempts to take control of what they can and cannot chant through attempts at the self-policing of what is considered unacceptable. Rather than a decline in chanting on the basis of these changes, it is more accurate to suggest that the chants evolve to reflect the changing sensibilities of the fans. These last two factors reflect that the fans, and the chants, are resilient to the challenges they face and that nothing will stop them chanting, as John points out:

That's just rivalry and again that's the tribal bit. You're never going to, you're never gonna get rid of it. (John)

Despite the threats to their existence, fans continue to use the chants. They offer an outlet to express their allegiances, their rivalries, their grievances and sometimes just their frustrations with everyday life. They essentially offer a chance for fans to define themselves, both in terms of what they are and what they are not, in a way that would be unacceptable in most other realms of everyday life. They are a crucial aspect of fan behaviour and as such they will continue to be a driving force in the *blason populaire* of the twenty-first century.

Bibliography

- Alexander, D. (2005). "Sick face of football." *News of the World*. August 7 2005.
- Allport, G. (1954) *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.
- Anon. (2006) "Owls supporter banned after racist outburst." *Sheffield Star*. December 5 2006.
- Armstrong, G. and Giulianotti, R. (eds) (1999) *Football Cultures and Identities*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Armstrong, G. and Giulianotti, R. (eds) (2001) *Fear and Loathing in World Football*. Oxford; New York: Berg.
- Armstrong, G. and Young, M. (2000) "Fanatical football chants: creating and controlling the carnival." In: Finn, G. and Giulianotti, R. (eds) *Football Culture: local contests, global visions*. London: Cass, 173-211.
- Ayto, J. and Crofton, I. (eds) (2006) *Brewer's Dictionary of Modern Phrase and Fable*. 2nd edition. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Back, L., Crabbe, T. and Solomos, J. (2001) *The Changing Face of Football: racism, identity and multiculture in the English game*. Oxford; New York: Berg.
- Barlow, M. (2007) "The first lady." *Daily Mail*. April 18 2007.
- Bennett, G. (1987) *Traditions of Belief: women and the supernatural*. London: Penguin.
- Bennett W. (1990) "The blason populaire tradition in English culture: a dynamic model of social structure." *Lore and Language*, 9 (1), 19-35.
- Blair, A. (2006) "Why black sheep are barred and Humpty can't be cracked." *The Times*. March 7 2006
- Bohn, H. G. (1855) *A Hand-Book of Proverbs : comprising an entire republication of Ray's collection of English proverbs, with his additions from foreign languages. And a complete alphabetical index in which are introduced large additions, as well of proverbs as of sayings, sentences, maxims, and phrases*. London: H. G. Bohn.
- Brailsford, D. (1992) *British Sport: a social history*. Cambridge: Lutterworth.
- Bremner, J. (2004) *Shit Ground, No Fans: it's by far the greatest football songbook the world has ever seen...* London: Bantam.

- Brewer, J. (2000) *Ethnography*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Brick, C. (2001) "Can't live with them. Can't live without them: reflections on Manchester United." In: G. Armstrong and R. Giulianotti (eds) *Fear and Loathing in World Football*. Oxford; New York: Berg, 9-21.
- Briggs, K. (1970) *A Dictionary of British Folk-Tales in the English Language. Part A, Folk Narratives. Volume 2*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Brown, A. (ed) (1998) *Fanatics: power, identity and fandom in football*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Brown, A. (2002) 'Do You Come From Manchester?': a postcode analysis of the location of Manchester United and Manchester City season ticket holders, 2001. Manchester: Manchester Metropolitan University.
- Brunvand, J.H. (1978) *The Study of American Folklore*. 2nd edition. New York: Norton.
- Burke, P. and Porter, R. (1991) *Language, Self and Society: a social history of language*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Butt, B. and Small, L. (eds) (1993) *Folk Literature: voices through time*. St. John's, Newfoundland: Breakwater.
- Cameron, D. (ed) (1990) *The Feminist Critique of Language: a reader*. London: Routledge.
- Cameron, D. (1995) *Verbal Hygiene*. London: Routledge.
- Campbell, D. (2006) "And another thing - foul football chants." *Observer*. January 8 2006.
- Canel, Alfred (1859) *Blason Populaire de la Normandie comprenant les proverbs, sobriquets, et dictons relatifs à ses habitants*. Rouen.
- Caudwell, J. (1999) "Women's football in the United Kingdom: theorizing gender and unpacking the butch lesbian image." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 23 (4), 390-402.
- Caudwell, J. (2002) "Women's experiences of sexuality within football contexts: a particular and located footballing epistemology." *Football Studies*, 5 (1), 24-45.
- Caudwell, J. (2004) "Out on the field: women's experiences of gender and sexuality in football." In: S. Wagg (ed) *British Football and Social Exclusion*. London: Routledge, 127-146.
- Cave, A. (2006) *Learning to Breathe*. Arrow: London.

Clark, L. (2003) "NEWS FLASH Humpty Not hurt in wall plunge!" *Daily Mail*. October 18 2003.

Clark, T. (2006) "'I'm Scunthorpe til I die': constructing and (re)negotiating identity through the terrace chant." *Soccer and Society*, 7 (4), 494-507.

Coddington, A. (1997) *One of the Lads: women who follow football*. London: Harper Collins.

Cottell, C. (2003) "It aint what you do, it's the way that you say it." *Guardian*. December 20 2003.

Crolley, L. & Long, C. (2001) "Sitting pretty? Women and football in Liverpool." In: J. Williams, S. Hopkins and C. Long (eds) *Passing Rhythms: Liverpool FC and the transformation of Football*. Oxford: Berg, 195-214.

Cuddon, J. A. (1980) *The Macmillan Dictionary of Sport and Games*. London: Macmillan.

Davies, C. (1990) *Ethnic Humour Around the World: a comparative analysis*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Davies, C. (1998) *Jokes and Their Relation to Society*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Davies, C. A. (1999) *Reflexive Ethnography: A Guide to Researching Selves and Others*. London: Routledge.

Delamont, S. (2004) "Ethnography and participant observation." In: C. Seale, G. Gobo, J. Gubrium and D. Silverman (eds) *Qualitative Research Practice*. London: Sage, 217-29

Denham, M. A. (1892) *Denham Tracts: a collection of folklore*. London: D. Nutt.

Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds) (2005) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 3rd edition. California: Sage.

Dorson, R. (1976) *Folklore and Fakelore: essays toward a discipline of folk studies*. Massachusetts; London: Harvard.

Doyle, M. (1990) "Introduction to the A-Z of none-sexist language." In: D. Cameron (ed) *The Feminist Critique of Language: a reader*. London: Routledge, 149-54.

Draper, R. (2006) "Spurs crack down on antigay chants." *Mail on Sunday*. February 19 2006.

Dundes, A. (ed) (1965) *The Study of Folklore*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Dundes, A. (1978) *Essays in Folkloristics*. Meerut, New Delhi: Folklore Institute.

Dundes, A. (1987) *Cracking Jokes: studies of sick humor cycles and stereotypes*. Berkeley, California: Ten Speed Press.

Dundes, A. and Pagter, C. (1975) *Urban Folklore from the Paperwork Empire*. Austin, Texas: American Folklore Society.

Dundes, A. and Pagter, C. (1978) *Work Hard and You Shall Be Rewarded: urban folklore from the paperwork empire*. Bloomington; London: Indiana University Press.

Dundes, A. and Pagter, C. (1987) *When You're Up To Your Ass in Alligators: more urban folklore from the paperwork empire*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Dundes A. and Pagter, C. (1996) *Sometimes the Dragon Wins: yet more urban folklore from the paperwork empire*. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press.

Dunning, E. (ed) (1971) *The Sociology of Sport: a selection of readings*. London: Cass.

Elias, N. and Dunning, E. (1970) "Folk football in medieval and early modern Britain. In: E. Dunning (ed) *The Sociology of Sport: a collection of readings*. London: Cass. p.116-132

Fetterman, D. (1998) *Ethnography: step by step*. Newbury Park, California, London: Sage.

FIFA (2006) "Revision of article 55." Circular no. 1026. [Online]. Available from <http://www.fifa.com/en/media/index/0,1369,116245,00.html> [Accessed 20th April 2006]

FIFA (2006) *FIFA Disciplinary Code*. [Online]. Available from <http://www.fifa.com/mm/document/affederation/administration/fifa%5fdisciplinary%5fcode%5fen%5f41.pdf> [Accessed 20th April 2006]

Finn, G. and Giulianotti, R. (eds) (2000) *Football Culture: local contests, global visions*. London: Cass.

Fishwick, N. (1989) *English Football and Society, 1910-1950*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Flick U, von Kardoff, E. and Steinke, I. (eds) (2004) *A Companion to Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

Flick U, von Kardoff, E. and Steinke, I. (2004) "What is qualitative research?" In: U. Flick *et al.* (eds) *A Companion to Qualitative Research*. London: Sage, 3-11.

Foer, F. (2005) *How Football Explains the World: an unlikely theory of globalization*. London: Arrow.

Football Association (2006a) "FA backing for Spurs." [Online]. Available from <http://www.thefa.com/TheFA/Equality/NewsAndFeatures/Postings/2006/02/Tottenham initiative anti homophobia.htm> [accessed April 24 2006].

Football Association (2006b) *FA Student Research Resource, 2005-06*. [Online] Available from <http://www.thefa.com/TheFA/ContactUs/Postings/2006/09/ResearchResource.htm> [Accessed December 5 2006]

Football Task Force (1998) *Eliminating Racism from Football: a report by the Football Task Force*. Available from <http://furd.org/resources/ftfracism.pdf> [Accessed June 17 2004].

France, A. and White, R. (2005) "Snow White and the severed dwarfs – what a pantomime: PC brigade hit show." *Sun*. October 17 2005.

Fraser, A. (2004) "A Premier poet, but should he be bard?" *Daily Mail*. May 12 2004.

Gaidoz, H. & Sebillot, P. (1884) *Blason Populaire de la France*. Paris, Versailles.

Garland, J., Malcolm, D. and Rowe, M. (eds) (2000) *The Future of Football: challenges for the twenty-first century*. London: Frank Cass.

Gold, R. (1958) "Roles in Sociological Field Observations." *Social Forces*, 36 (3), 217-223.

Goodman, G. (1985) *The Miners' Strike*. Pluto: London.

Great Britain (1991) *Football (Offences) Act 1991. Chapter 19*. London: HMSO.

Great Britain (1999) *Football (Offences and Disorder) Act 1999. Chapter 21*. London: HMSO.

Green, A.E. and Widdowson, J.D.A. (eds) (1981) *Language, Culture and Tradition: papers on language and folklore presented at the Annual Conference of the British Sociological Association*. Leeds & Sheffield: CECTAL Conference Papers Series, No. 2.

Green (now Luhrs), J. and Widdowson, J.D.A. (2003) *Traditional English Language Genres: continuity and change, 1950-2000*. Sheffield: University of Sheffield, National Centre for English Cultural Tradition.

Hall, K. and Bucholtz, M. (eds) (1995) *Gender Articulated: language and the socially constructed self*. London; New York: Routledge.

Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1995) *Ethnography: principles in practice*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge.

Hargreaves, J. (1994) *Sporting Females: critical issues in the history and sociology of women's sports*. London; New York: Routledge.

Hattenstone, S. (2006) "Sound of silence leaves shame at the Lane." *Guardian*. February 8 2006.

Hey, S. (2006) "The chants of a lifetime." *Independent*. April 22 2006.

Holt, R.(1988) "Football and the urban way of life in nineteenth century Britain." In: J. A. Mangan (ed) *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British culture and sport at home and abroad 1700-1914*. London: Cass, 67-85

Holt, R. (1989) *Sport and the British*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hughes, G. (1991) *Swearing: a social history of foul language, oaths and profanity in English*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Irwin, C. (2006) *Sing When You're Winning: football fans, terrace songs and a search for the soul of soccer*. London: André Deutsch.

Ives, E. (1995) *The Tape-Recorded Interview: a manual for fieldworkers in folklore and oral history*. 2nd edition. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Jacobson, S. (1975) "Chelsea Rule – Okay" In: *New Society*, 27 March 1975, 780-83.

Jackson, B. (1987) *Fieldwork*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Jansen H. (1965) "The esoteric and exoteric factor in folklore." In: A. Dundes (ed) *The Study of Folklore*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 43-51.

Jenkins, R. (1996) *Social Identity*. London: Routledge.

Jones, S. (2004) "Panto email falls foul of filth filter." *Guardian*. October 14 2004.

Jorgensen, D. (1989) *Participant Observation: a methodology for human studies*. Newbury Park, California; London: Sage.

Joyce, P. (1991) "The people's English: language and class in England c. 1840-1920." In: Burke *et al.* (eds) *Language, self and society: a social history of language*. Cambridge: Polity, 154-190.

Kay, O. (2006) "Supporters' sick chants reveal new depths of antagonism between two great clubs." *The Times*. February 20 2006.

Kellett, A. (1994) *Dictionary of Yorkshire Dialect, Tradition and Folklore*. Otley: Smith Settle.

Kelly, D. (2006) "He is lucky ANYONE wants to run the line." *Daily Mail*. November 14 2006.

Kimmel, M. (ed) (1987) *Changing Men: new directions in research on men and masculinity*. London: Sage.

King, A. (1997) "The postmodernity of football hooliganism." *The British Journal of Sociology*, 48 (4), 576-593.

Labov, W. (1972) *Language in the Inner City: studies in the black vernacular*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W. (1978) *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lakoff, R. (1975) *Language and Woman's Place*. New York: Harper and Row.

Le Bon, G. (1896) *The Crowd: a study of the popular mind*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

Luhrs, J. (2007) "Football chants: a living legacy of the 1984-85 Miners' Strike." *The International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*. Series 2. 3 (1), 94-120.

Malcolm, D., Jones, I. and Waddington, I. (2000) "The people's game? Football spectatorship and demographic change." In: Malcolm, D. *et al.* (eds) *The Future Of Football: challenges for the twenty-first century*. London, Frank Cass, 129-143.

Mangan, J. A. (ed) (1988) *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British culture and sport at home and abroad 1700-1914*. London: Cass.

Marples, M. (1954) *A History of Football*. London: Secker & Warburg.

Marsh, P., Rosser, E. and Harre, R. (1978) *The Rules of Disorder*. London; New York: Routledge.

Martin, N. (2007) "Pupils arrested for 'racist' football chant." *Daily Telegraph*. March 10 2007.

- Mason, T. (1980) *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915*. Brighton: Harvester.
- McConville, B. and Shearlaw, J. (1984) *The Slanguage of Sex*. London: Macdonald.
- Meinefeld, W. (2004) "Hypotheses and prior knowledge in qualitative research." In: U. Flick *et al.* (eds) *A Companion to Qualitative Research*. London: Sage, 153-8.
- Merrills, R. (1997) *Dicks Out 2: you're not singing anymore?* London: Red Card.
- Messner, M. (1987) "The life of a man's seasons: male identity in the life course of the jock." In: M. Kimmel (ed) *Changing Men: new directions in research on men and masculinity*. London: Sage, 53-67
- Morris, D. (1981) *The Soccer Tribe*. London: Cape.
- Motion, A. (2003) "Come on you poets, give us a couplet." *Times*. November 30 2003.
- O'Connell, C. (2006) "Fans' genius is turning puerile into pure gold." *Guardian*. February 11 2006.
- Opie, I. and P. (1959) *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd edition. [Online] Available from <http://www.oed.com>
- Page, M. (ed) (1975) *Kiss Me Goodnight, Sergeant Major: the songs and ballads of World War II*. St. Albans: Granada.
- Palmer, R. (1995) *Britain's Living Folklore*. Felinfach: Llanerch.
- Phillips, M. (2007) "The pop chants – at least there's one sport we're good at." *Sun*. January 29 2007.
- Redhead, S. (1987) *Sing When You're Winning: the last football book*. London: Pluto.
- Redhead, S. (1997) *Post-Fandom and the Millennial Blues: the transformation of soccer culture*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Richards, A. J. (1996) *Miners on Strike: class solidarity and division in Britain*. Berg: Oxford.
- Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. (eds) (2003) *Qualitative Research Practice: a guide for social science students and researchers*. London: Sage.

Ritchie, J. (2003) "The applications of qualitative methods to social research." In: J. Ritchie and J. Lewis (eds) *Qualitative Research Practice: a guide for social science students and researchers*. London: Sage, 24-46.

Robson, G. (2000) *No-one Likes Us We Don't Care: the myth and reality of Millwall fandom*. Oxford: Berg.

Romaine, S. (1999) *Communicating Gender*. Mahwah, New Jersey; London: L. Erlbaum Associates.

Russell, D. (1997) *Football and the English: a social history of association football in England, 1863-1995*. Preston: Carnegie.

Russell, D. (1999) "Associating with football: social identity in England 1863-1998" in G. Armstrong and R. Giulianotti (eds) *Football Cultures and Identities*. Basingstoke, Macmillan, 15-28.

Schulz, M. R. (1975) "The semantic derogation of women." In: B. Thorne and N. Henley (eds) *Language and Sex: difference and dominance*. Newbury House, 64-75.

Scott J. R. (1975) "A description and preliminary discussion of the rhymed blason populaire tradition in England." *Lore and Language* 12 (2), 9-22.

Scott, M. (2007) "Racist chants at West Ham investigated by police." *Guardian*. March 6 2007.

Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J. and Silverman, D. (eds) (2004) *Qualitative Research Practice*. London: Sage.

Silverman, D. (2005) *Doing Qualitative Research*. 2nd edition. London: Sage.

Silverman, D. (2006) *Interpreting Qualitative Data*. 3rd edition. London: Sage.

Simons, R. (2007) "Tottenham start debate on controversial chanting." *Evening Standard*. February 8 2007.

Simpson, J. (1973) *The Folklore of Sussex*. London: Batsford.

Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research (1997) *FA Premier League Fan Surveys 1996/97: general sample report*. Leicester: University of Leicester.

Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research (1999) *FA Premier League Fan Survey 1999*. Leicester: University of Leicester.

Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research (2001) *FA Premier League Fan Survey 2000*. Leicester: University of Leicester.

- Smith, G. (2003) "Football beckons terrace wits to 'come and have a go if you think you're bard enough.'" *The Times*. November 29 2003.
- Snape, D. and Spencer, L. (2003) "The foundations of qualitative research." In: Ritchie et al. (eds) *Qualitative Research Practice: a guide for social science students and researchers*. London: Sage, 1-23
- Snell, K.D.M. (2003) "The culture of local xenophobia." *Social History*, 28 (1), 1-30.
- Stanley, J. (1977) "Paradigmatic woman: the prostitute." In: D. Shores and C. Hines (eds) *Papers in Language Variation*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 303-321.
- Sutton, L.A. (1995) "Bitches and skankly hobags: the place of women in contemporary slang." In: K. Hall and M. Bucholtz (eds) *Gender Articulated: language and the socially constructed self*. London; New York: Routledge, 279-296.
- Taylor, Archer (1931) *The Proverb*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Taylor, Peter, Sir (1990) *The Hillsborough Stadium Disaster : 15 April 1989: inquiry by the Rt Hon Lord Justice Taylor : final report : presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for the Home Department by command of Her Majesty January 1990*. London: HMSO.
- Thiselton-Dyer, T.F. (1905) *Folk-lore of Women: as illustrated by legendary and traditionary tales, folk rhymes, proverbial sayings, superstitions etc.* London: Elliot Stock.
- Thorne, B. and Henley, N. (eds) (1975) *Language and Sex: difference and dominance*. Newbury House.
- Thrills, A. (1998) *You're Not Singing Anymore: A riotous celebration of football chants and the culture that spawned them*. London: Ebury.
- Toelken, B. (1996) *The Dynamics of Folklore*. Utah: Utah University Press.
- Topping, A. (2007) "Family say they were forced out of three homes over ginger hair." *Guardian*. June 2 2007.
- Traynor, L. (2006) "Soccer yob banned for racial abuse." *Liverpool Echo*. December 11 2006.
- Utton, D. (2003) "Here we go, here we go, in our search for football chants." *Express*. November 26 2003.
- Vartier, Jean (1992) *Le Blason Populaire de France: sobriquets, dictions, facéties*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose)

Wales, K. (2006) *Northern English: a social and cultural history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Walther, T. (2006) *Kick it Out – Homophobia in Football*. Amsterdam; Berlin: European Gay and Lesbian Sport Federation.

Walvin, J. (1986) *Football and the Decline of Britain*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Walvin, J. (2000) *The People's Game: the history of football revisited*. 2nd edition. Edinburgh and London: Mainstream.

Widdowson J.D.A. (1981) Language, tradition and regional identity: blason populaire and social control. In: A. E. Green *et al.* (eds) *Language, Culture and Tradition: papers on language and folklore presented at the Annual Conference of the British Sociological Association*. Leeds & Sheffield: CECTAL Conference Papers Series, No. 2, 33-46

Williams, J. and Woodhouse, J. (1991) ‘Can Play, Will Play?’ *women and football in Britain*. Leicester: Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research.

Williams, J., Hopkins, S. and Long, C. (eds) (2001) *Passing Rhythms: Liverpool F.C. and the transformation of football*. Oxford: Berg.

Williams, J. (2002) *Women and Football*. Fact sheet number 5. Leicester: Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research.

Wood, L. (1991) *The Essex Girl Jokebook*. London: Corgi.

Woodhouse, D. and Williams, J. (1999) *Offside? The Position of Women in Football*. Reading: South Street Press.

Wynne-Jones, R. (2002) “Essex think again.” *Daily Mirror*. August 30 2002.

Young, J. (2002) “Essex fights back.” *Daily Express*. August 30 2002.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Observed Matches

	Date	Fixture	Competition	Source	No. of chant types
1	17/01/03	Shef Utd v Shef Wed	Nationwide Division 1	TV	14
2	18/01/03	Barnsley v Luton	Nationwide Division 2	Live	5
3	19/01/03	Fulham v Middlesborough	Premier League	TV	7
4	21/01/03	Liverpool v Shef Utd	League Cup	TV	10
5	22/01/03	Blackburn v Man Utd	League Cup	TV	7
6	01/02/03	Barnsley v Swindon	Nationwide Division 2	Live	3
7	22/02/03	Barnsley v Huddersfield	Nationwide Division 2	Live	4
8	08/03/03	Barnsley v Stockport	Nationwide Division 2	Live	9
9	09/03/03	Shef Utd v Leeds Utd	FA Cup	TV	9
10	18/03/03	Barnsley v Tranmere	Nationwide Division 2	Live	5
11	12/04/03	Barnsley v Peterborough	Nationwide Division 2	Live	7
12	19/04/03	Mansfield v Barnsley	Nationwide Division 2	Live	1
13	03/05/03	Wigan V Barnsley	Nationwide Division 2	Live	12
14	15/05/03	Shef Utd v Notts Forest	Nationwide Division 1	TV	15
15	17/08/03	Leeds Utd v Newcastle	Premier League	TV	20
16	17/08/03	Liverpool v Chelsea	Premier League	TV	9
17	23/08/03	Newcastle v Man Utd	Premier League	TV	11
18	23/08/03	Barnsley v Brighton	Nationwide Division 2	Live	10
19	27/08/03	Man Utd v Wolves	Premier League	TV	13
20	30/08/03	Everton v Liverpool	Premier League	TV	5
21	30/08/03	Barnsley v Notts County	Nationwide Division 2	Live	11
22	15/09/03	Leicester v Leeds Utd	Premier League	TV	12
23	16/09/03	Barnsley v Oldham	Nationwide Division 2	Live	9
24	21/09/03	Man Utd v Arsenal	Premier League	TV	16
25	27/09/03	Rotherham v Gillingham	Nationwide Division 1	Live	12
26	04/10/03	Aston Villa v Bolton	Premier League	Live	4
27	18/10/03	Leeds Utd v Man Utd	Premier League	Live	23
28	28/10/03	Barnsley v Wrexham	Nationwide Division 2	Live	8
29	28/10/03	Blackburn v Liverpool	League Cup	TV	13
30	28/10/03	Leeds Utd v Man Utd	League Cup	TV	26
31	09/11/03	Liverpool v Man Utd	Premier League	TV	15
32	11/11/03	Shef Wed v Barnsley	Other	Live	23
33	29/11/03	Charlton v Leeds Utd	Premier League	Live	20
34	06/12/03	Newcastle v Liverpool	Premier League	TV	8
35	07/12/03	Everton v Man City	Premier League	Live	17
36	13/12/03	Barnsley v Shef Wed	Nationwide Division 2	Live	17
37	13/12/03	Man Utd v Man City	Premier League	TV	25
38	16/12/03	Barnsley v Bristol City	FA Cup	Live	11
39	20/12/03	Shef Wed v Chesterfield	Nationwide Division 2	Live	21
40	22/12/03	Man City v Leeds Utd	Premier League	TV	14
41	28/12/03	Barnsley v Chesterfield	Nationwide Division 2	Live	16
42	03/01/04	Barnsley v Scunthorpe	FA Cup	Live	16
43	04/01/04	Leeds v Arsenal	FA Cup	TV	16
44	09/01/04	WBA v Walsall	Nationwide Division 1	TV	13

	Date	Fixture	Competition	Source	No. of chant types
45	11/01/04	Leicester v Chelsea	Premier League	TV	17
47	24/01/04	Scarborough v Chelsea	FA Cup	TV	13
48	24/01/04	Liverpool v Newcastle	FA Cup	TV	15
49	25/01/04	Northampton v Man Utd	FA Cup	TV	16
50	27/01/04	Barnsley v Blackpool	Nationwide Division 2	Live	12
51	31/01/04	Notts County v Barnsley	Nationwide Division 2	Live	30
52	07/02/04	Aston Villa v Leeds	Premier League	Live	10
53	14/02/04	York v Mansfield	Nationwide Division 3	Live	17
54	21/02/04	Rochdale v Cheltenham	Nationwide Division 3	Live	7
55	28/02/04	Shef Wed v Bristol City	Nationwide Division 2	Live	12
56	29/02/04	Leeds Utd v Liverpool	Premier League	TV	11
57	06/03/04	Barnsley v Luton	Nationwide Division 2	Live	6
58	13/03/04	Shef Wed v Barnsley	Nationwide Division 2	Live	29
59	14/03/04	Man City v Man Utd	Premier League	TV	12
60	20/03/04	Notts County v Chesterfield	Nationwide Division 2	Live	15
61	28/03/04	Arsenal v Man Utd	Premier League	TV	15
62	03/04/04	Barnsley v Plymouth	Nationwide Division 2	Live	16
63	12/04/04	Barnsley v QPR	Nationwide Division 2	Live	21
64	17/04/04	Barnsley v Brentford	Nationwide Division 2	Live	12
65	18/04/04	Aston Villa v Newcastle	Premier League	TV	14
66	25/04/04	Leeds v Portsmouth	Premier League	TV	21
67	02/05/04	Barnsley v Bristol City	Nationwide Division 2	Live	20
68	09/05/04	Ipswich v Cardiff	Nationwide Division 1	TV	11
69	09/05/04	Fulham v Arsenal	Premier League	TV	13
70	07/08/04	Leeds v Derby	Nationwide Division 1	Live	17
71	10/08/04	Barnsley v Bristol City	Nationwide Division 2	TV	11
72	22/08/04	WBA v Aston Villa	Premier League	TV	12
73	30/08/04	Leicester v Brighton	Nationwide Division 1	TV	8
74	20/09/04	Man Utd v Liverpool	Premier League	TV	20
					Total 1000

Appendix 2

Integrative Chants

Anthems

- 1.** **Marching on together,**
We're gonna see you win, la la la la la la,
We are so proud, we shout it out loud,
We love you Leeds, Leeds, Leeds
10 tokens, 1 variants
Leeds United v Newcastle United 17/8/2003 (103); v Leicester 15/9/2003 (189); v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (237); v Charlton Athletic 29/11/2003 (374); v Manchester City 22/12/2003 (393); v Arsenal 4/1/2004 (456); v Aston Villa 7/2/2004 (616); v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (680); v Portsmouth 25/4/2004; v Derby County 7/8/2004 (926)

- 2.** **Blue moon,**
You saw me standing alone,
Without a dream in my heart,
Without a love of my own (Verbatim performance of “Blue Moon”)
4 tokens, 1 variant
Manchester City v Everton 7/12/2003 (324); v Leeds United 22/12/2003 (394); v Manchester United 13/12/2003 (483); v Manchester United 14/3/2004 (759)

- 3.** **Walk on, walk on,**
With hope in your hearts,
'Cos you'll never walk alone,
You'll never walk alone (verbatim performance of “You'll Never Walk Alone”)
4 tokens, 1 variant
Liverpool v Sheffield United 21/1/2003 (36); v Chelsea 17/8/2003 (123); v Blackburn Rovers 28/10/2003 (277); v Newcastle United 24/1/2004 (720)

- 4.** **Drink up thee cider, drink up thee cider,**
For tonight we'll merry, merry be,
We went down the Rovers, to do the bastards over,
So drink up thee cider in the jar (sung to the tune of “Drink Up Thee Cider”)
2 tokens, 1 variant
Bristol City v Barnsley 2/5/2004 (887); v Barnsley 10/8/2004 (950)

- 5.** **I had a wheelbarrow, the wheel fell off (sung to the tune of “On Top of Old Smokey”)**
1 token
Notts County v Chesterfield 20/3/2004 (773)

- 6.** **Valley Floyd Road,**
The mist rolling in from the Thames,
My desire is always to be found at
Valley Floyd Road (sung to the tune of “Mull of Kintyre”)
1 token
Charlton Athletic v Leeds United 29/11/2003 (370)

Integrative club chants

1. We love you [name of club], we do,
We love you [name of club, we do,
We love you [name of club] we do,
Oh [name of club we love you
73 tokens, 31 variants

We love you Albion we do

West Bromwich Albion v Walsall, 9/1/2004 (489)

We love you Arsenal we do

Arsenal v Manchester United 21/9/2003 (213); v Manchester United 28/3/2004 (795); v Fulham 9/5/2004 (914)

We love you Barnsley we do

Barnsley v Swindon 1/2/2003 (45); v Stockport 8/3/2003 (55); v Tranmere 18/3/2003 (71); v Wigan 3/5/2003 (84); v Brighton 23/8/2003 (151); v Notts County 30/8/2003 (175); v Oldham 16/9/2003 (194); v Wrexham 28/10/2003 (258); v Sheffield Wednesday 11/11/2003 (294); v Sheffield Wednesday 13/12/2003 (350); v Chesterfield 28/12/2003 (426); v Blackpool 27/1/2004 (574); v Notts County 31/1/2004 (585); v Luton 6/3/2004 (724); v Sheffield Wednesday 13/3/2004 (729); v Plymouth 3/4/2004 (798); v Bristol City 2/5/2004 (900); v Bristol City 10/8/2004 (944); v Peterborough 12/4/2003 (997)

We love you Blackpool we do

Blackpool v Barnsley 27/1/2004 (582)

We love you Boro we do

Middlesbrough v Fulham 19/1/2003 (26)

We love you Brentford we do

Brentford v Barnsley 17/4/2004 (844)

We love you Chelsea we do

Chelsea v Liverpool 17/8/2003 (124)

We love you City we do

Bristol City v Barnsley 16/12/2003 (362); v Barnsley 10/8/2004 (949)

Manchester City v Leeds United 22/12/2003 (392); v Manchester United 13/12/2003 (676)

We love you County we do

Notts County v Barnsley 30/8/2003 (174)

We love you Everton we do

Everton v Liverpool 30/8/2003 (167)

We love you Fulham we do

Fulham v Middlesbrough 19/1/2003 (20)

We love you Leicester we do

Leicester v Leeds United 15/9/2003 (184); v Chelsea 11/1/2004 (523)

We love you Liverpool we do,

Liverpool v Sheffield United 21/1/2003 (33); v Chelsea 17/8/2003 (129); v Blackburn 28/10/2003 (267); v Newcastle 6/12/2003 (313); v Newcastle 24/1/2004 (711); v Manchester United 20/9/2004 (985)

We love you Luton we do

Luton v Barnsley 18/3/2003 (17); v Barnsley 6/3/2004 (726)

We love the Minsters we do

York v Mansfield 14/2/2004 (626)

We love you Newcastle we do

Newcastle v Leeds United 17/8/2003 (119); v Manchester United 11/1/2004 (551); v Liverpool 24/1/2004 (707)

We love Northampton we do

Northampton v Manchester United 25/1/2004 (572)

Oldham sing (x2) We love you Oldham we do

Oldham v Barnsley 16/9/2003 (202)

We love you Portsmouth we do,

Portsmouth v Leeds United 25/4/2004 (880)

We love you Rangers we do

Queen's Park Rangers v Barnsley 12/4/2004 (830)

We love you Rotherham we do

Rotherham v Gillingham 27/9/2003 (222)

We love you Scarborough we do

Scarborough v Chelsea 24/1/2004 (556)

We love you Scunthorpe we do

Scunthorpe v Barnsley 3/1/2004 (441)

We love you Spireites we do

Chesterfield v Sheffield Wednesday 20/12/2003 (405); v Barnsley 28/12/2003 (434)

We love United we do

Manchester United v Wolverhampton Wanderers 27/8/2003 (159); v Arsenal 21/9/2003 (215); v Manchester City 13/12/2003 (488); v Newcastle United 11/1/2004 (546); v Manchester City 14/3/2004 (764); v Liverpool 20/9/2004 (980)

Sheffield United v Sheffield Wednesday 17/1/2003 (10); v Liverpool 21/3/2003 (31); v Leeds United 9/3/2003 (65); v Nottingham Forest 15/5/2003 (89)

We love you Villa we do

Aston Villa v Newcastle 18/4/2004 (855)

We love you Walsall we do

Walsall v West Bromwich Albion 9/1/2004 (343)

We love you Wanderers we do

Wolverhampton Wanderers v Manchester United 27/8/2003 (158)

We love you Wednesday we do

Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 13/12/2003 (343)

We love you Wigan we do

Wigan v Barnsley 3/5/2003 (79)

We love you Wrexham we do

Wrexham v Barnsley 28/10/2003 (263)

2. [Name/Nickname] of club
40 tokens, 15 variants

Arsenal, Arsenal, Arsenal
Arsenal v Manchester United 21/9/2003 (203)

Chelsea, Chelsea, Chelsea
Chelsea v Liverpool 17/8/2003 (127); v Leicester 11/1/2004 (518)

City, City, City
Manchester City v Everton 7/12/2003 (325); v Leeds United 22/12/2003 (401); v Manchester United 13/12/2003 (674)

County, County, County
Notts County v Barnsley 30/8/2003 (173)

Dale, Dale, Dale
Rochdale v Cheltenham 21/2/2004 (645)

Irons, Irons, Irons
Scunthorpe v Barnsley 3/1/2004 (440)

Leeds, Leeds, Leeds
Leeds United v Newcastle United 17/8/2003 (113); v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (694); v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (994)

Liverpool, Liverpool, Liverpool
Liverpool v Blackburn Rovers 28/10/2003 (276)

The Minsters, the Minsters, the Minsters
York v Mansfield 14/2/2004 (629)

The Spireites, the Spireites, the Spireites
Chesterfield v Barnsley 28/12/2003 (432)

Toon, Toon, Toon
Newcastle United v Manchester United 11/1/2004 (545)

United, United, United –
Manchester United v Blackburn Rovers 22/1/2003 (38); v Newcastle United 32/8/2003 (132); v Wolverhampton Wanderers 27/8/2003 (157); v Arsenal 21/9/2003 (211); v Leeds United 18/10/2003 (236); v Liverpool 9/11/2003 (280); v Manchester City 13/12/2003 (478); v Newcastle 11/1/2004 (544); v Leeds United 28/10/2003 (693); v Manchester City 14/3/2004 (760); v Liverpool 20/9/2004 (982)
Newcastle United) v Leeds United 17/8/2003 (114); v Liverpool 6/12/2003 (317); v Manchester United 11/1/2004 (533); v Liverpool 24/1/2004 (715); v Aston Villa 18/4/2004 (857)
Sheffield United v Sheffield Wednesday 17/1/2003 (7); v Liverpool 21/1/2003 (30); v Leeds United 9/3/2003 (64); v Sheffield United 15/5/2003 (90)

Villa, Villa, Villa
Aston Villa v Bolton Wanderers 4/10/2003 (254); v Newcastle United 18/4/2004 (847)

Wrexham, Wrexham, Wrexham
Wrexham v Barnsley 28/10/2003 (262)

Yellows, yellows, yellows
Cheltenham v Rochdale 21/2/2004 (646)

3. **Come on [name of club]**
28 tokens, 17 variants

Come on Arsenal
Arsenal v Manchester United 21/9/2003 (208)

Come on Barnsley
Barnsley v Bristol City 16/12/2003 (360); v Chesterfield 28/12/2003 (424); v Scunthorpe 3/1/2004 (448)

Come on Blackpool
Blackpool v Barnsley 27/1/2004 (581)

Come on Boro
Scarborough v Chelsea 24/1/2004 (502)
Middlesbrough v Fulham 19/1/2003 (21)

Come on Charlton –
Charlton v Leeds United 29/11/2003 (371)

Come on Cheltenham
Cheltenham v Rochdale 21/2/2004 (647)

Come on City
Manchester City v Everton 7/12/2003 (326); v Leeds United 22/12/2003 (390); v Manchester United 13/12/2003 (673); v Manchester United 14/3/2004 (758)

Come on Cobblers
Northampton v Manchester United 25/1/2004 (564)

Come on County –
Notts County v Barnsley 30/8/2003 (178); v Barnsley 30/1/2004 (612); v Chesterfield 20/3/2004 (772)

Come on Dale
Rochdale v Cheltenham 21/2/2004 (644)

Come on Fulham
Fulham v Arsenal 9/5/2004 (915)

Come on Ipswich
Ipswich v Cardiff 9/5/2004 (911)

Come on Leicester
Leicester v Leeds United 15/9/2003 (183); v Chelsea 11/1/2004 (517); v Brighton 30/8/2004 (972)

Come on Luton
Luton v Barnsley 6/3/2004 (725)

Come on Pool
Blackpool v Barnsley 27/1/2004 (580)

Come on Spireites
Chesterfield v Sheffield Wednesday 20/12/2003 (404); v Barnsley 28/12/2003 (436)

Come on Tranmere
Tranmere v Barnsley 18/3/2003 (70)

4. **Come on you [name/nickname of club]**
27 tokens, 6 variants

Come on you Albion
West Bromwich Albion v Walsall 9/1/2004 (492)

Come on you Bees
Brentford v Barnsley 17/4/04 (836)

Come on you Blues
Peterborough v Barnsley 12/4/2003 (999)
Everton v Manchester City 7/12/2003 (335)

Come on you Greens
Plymouth v Barnsley 3/4/2004 (802)

Come on you Rs –
Queen's Park Rangers v Barnsley 12/04/2004 (825)

Come on you Reds
Barnsley v Luton 18/1/2003 (15); v Swindon 1/2/2003 (44); v Tranmere 18/3/2003 (72); v Wigan 3/5/2003 (83); v Brighton 23/8/2003 (146); v Notts County 30/8/2003 (177); Oldham 16/9/2003 (195); v Rotherham 27/9/2003 (224); v Wrexham 28/10/2003 (259); v Sheffield Wednesday 11/11/2003 (306); v Bristol City 16/12/2003 (358);); v Chesterfield 28/12/2003 (425); v Scunthorpe 3/1/2004 (444); v Blackpool 27/1/2004 (573); v Notts County 31/1/2004 (590); v Luton 6/3/2004 (723); v Sheffield Wednesday 13/3/2004 (728); v Plymouth 3/4/2004 (799); v Queen's Park Rangers 12/4/2004 (817); v Bristol City 10/8/2004 (943); v Peterborough 12/4/2003 (996)

5. **Liverpool, Liverpool, Liverpool – to the tune of “Here We Go”**
26 tokens, 10 variants

Albion, Albion, Albion
Brighton v Leicester 30/8/2004 (969)
West Bromwich Albion v Walsall 9/1/2004 (501); v Aston Villa 22/8/2004 (962)

Arsenal, Arsenal, Arsenal
Arsenal v Leeds United 4/1/2004 (463); v Manchester United 28/3/2004 (783); v Fulham 9/5/2004 (913)

Barnsley, Barnsley, Barnsley
Barnsley v Notts County 30/8/2003 (179)

Cheltenham, Cheltenham, Cheltenham
Cheltenham v Rochdale 12/2/2004 (648)

Everton, Everton, Everton
Everton v Liverpool 30/8/2003 (169); v Manchester City 7/12/2003 (334)

Gillingham, Gillingham, Gillingham
Gillingham v Rotherham 27/9/2003 (228)

Liverpool, Liverpool, Liverpool
Liverpool v Sheffield United 21/1/2003 (29); v Chelsea 17/8/2003 (126); v Everton 30/8/2003 (170); v Newcastle United 6/12/2003 (315); v Leeds United 29/2/2004 (654); v Newcastle United 24/1/2004 (710); v Manchester United 20/9/2004 (992)

Newcastle, Newcastle, Newcastle

Newcastle v Leeds United 17/8/2003 (122); v Manchester United 23/8/2003 (133); v Liverpool 6/12/2003 (316); v Manchester United 11/1/2004 (531); v Liverpool 24/1/2004 (712); v Aston Villa 18/4/2004 (848)

Rochdale, Rochdale, Rochdale

Rochdale v Cheltenham 21/2/2004 (643)

Rotherham, Rotherham, Rotherham

Rotherham v Gillingham 27/9/2003 (223)

6. And it's [name of club], [name of club] FC

We're by far the greatest team/we're the greatest team in football

The world has ever seen (sung to the tune of "Wild Rover")

25 tokens, 16 variants

And it's Albion, Albion FC

West Bromwich Albion v Aston Villa 22/8/2004 (965)

And it's Arsenal, Arsenal FC

Arsenal v Manchester United 21/9/2003 (218); v Leeds United 4/1/2004 (469); v Manchester United 28/3/2004 (784)

And it's Aston Villa, Aston Villa FC

Aston Villa v Leeds United 7/2/2004 (624); v Newcastle United 18/4/2004 (856)

And it's Blackburn Rovers, Blackburn Rovers FC

Blackburn v Manchester United 22/1/2003 (39)

And it's Bristol City, Bristol City FC

Bristol City v Sheffield Wednesday 28/2/2003 (661)

And it's Cardiff City, Cardiff City FC

Cardiff City v Ipswich 9/5/2004 (907)

And it's Chesterfield, Chesterfield FC

Chesterfield v Sheffield Wednesday 20/12/2003 (403); v Barnsley 28/12/2003 (437); v Notts County 20/3/2004 (780)

And it's Derby County, Derby County FC

Derby County v Leeds United 7/8/2004 (935)

And it's Fulham, Fulham FC

Fulham v Middlesbrough 19/1/2003 (25)

And it's Leeds United, Leeds United FC

Leeds United v Newcastle United 17/8/2003 (107); v Arsenal 4/1/2004 (470)

And it's Leicester City, Leicester City FC

Leicester v Chelsea 11/1/2004 (513)

And it's Liverpool, Liverpool FC

Liverpool v Chelsea 17/8/2003 (131); v Blackburn Rovers 28/10/2003 (272); v Newcastle United 6/12/2003 (312); v Newcastle United 24/1/2004 (706)

And it's Man Utd, Man Utd FC

Manchester United v Leeds United 28/10/2003 (698)

And it's Mansfield, Mansfield FC

Mansfield v York 14/2/2004 (635)

And it's Portsmouth, Portsmouth FC
Portsmouth v Leeds United 25/4/2004 (879)

And it's Sheffield United, Sheffield United FC
Sheffield United v Leeds United 9/3/2003 (68)

7. **Oh when the [name/nickname of club] go marching in (x2)**
I wanna be in that number,
Oh when the [name/nickname of club] go marching in (Sung to the tune of "Oh When the Saints Go Marching In")
17 tokens, 7 variants

Oh when the Blades go marching in
Sheffield United v Nottingham Forest 15/5/2003 (93)

Oh when the Brom go marching in
West Bromwich Albion v Aston Villa 22/8/2004 (964)

Oh when the Rs go marching in
Queen's Park Rangers v Barnsley 12/4/2004 (829)

Oh when the Reds go marching in
Barnsley v Plymouth 3/4/2004 (812); v Bristol City 2/5/2004 (896)
Liverpool v Sheffield United 21/1/2003 (28); v Everton 30/8/2003 (166); v Blackburn Rovers 28/10/2003 (270); v Manchester United 9/11/2003 (281); v Leeds United 29/2/2004 (653); v Newcastle United 21/4/2004 (713)
Manchester United v Newcastle United 23/8/2003 (135); v Northampton 25/1/2004 (571); v Arsenal 28/3/2004 (786)

Oh when the Town go marching in
Huddersfield v Barnsley 22/2/2003 (47)

Oh when the Whites go marching in
Leeds United v Portsmouth 25/4/2004 (865)

Oh when the Wolves go marching in
Wolverhampton Wanderers v Manchester United 27/8/2003 (161)

8. **[Name of club] clap clap clap, [name of club] (clap clap clap)**
14 tokens, 7 variants

Arsenal (clap clap clap)
Arsenal v Fulham 9/5/2004 (916)

Baggies (clap clap clap)
West Bromwich Albion v Walsall 9/1/2004 (490)

We're Barnsley (clap clap clap)
Barnsley v Brighton 23/8/2003 (150); v Chesterfield 28/12/2003 (429); v Scunthorpe 3/1/2004 (443); v Notts County 31/1/2004 (589); v Sheffield Wednesday 13/3/2004 (727)
v Plymouth 3/4/2004 (801)

B.R.I.S.T.O.L City (clap clap clap)
Bristol City v Barnsley 2/5/2004 (893)

County (clap clap clap)
Notts County v Chesterfield 20/3/2004 (770)

United (clap clap clap)

Sheffield United v Nottingham Forest 15/5/2003 (95)

The Wednesday (clap clap clap)

Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 11/11/2003 (321); v Barnsley 13/12/2003 (354); v Chesterfield 20/12/2003 (421)

9. **Na na na, na na na, na na na na na na,**
Na na na na, na na na na, na na na na na na – [name of club]
11 tokens, 7 variants

Boro!

Scarborough v Chelsea 24/1/2004 (503)

Ipswich!

Ipswich v Cardiff 9/5/2004 (909)

Leicester!

Leicester v Leeds 15/9/2003 (187)

Portsmouth!

Portsmouth v Leeds United 25/4/2004 (862)

Scunthorpe!

Scunthorpe v Barnsley 3/1/2004 (442)

Villa!

Aston Villa v West Bromwich Albion 22/8/2004 (958)

Wednesday!

Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 11/11/2003 (296); v Barnsley 13/12/2003 (348); v Chesterfield 20/12/2003 (410); v Bristol City 28/2/2004 (666); v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (754)

10. **E i e i e i o,**
Up the football league we go,
When we get promoted,
This is what we'll sing,
We are [name of club], we are [name of club]
[Name of manager] is our king (sung to the tune of "Knees Up Mother Brown")
10 tokens, 8 variants

We are Barnsley, we are Barnsley,

Gudjon is our king

Barnsley v Sheffield Wednesday 11/11/2003 (304); v Notts County 31/1/2004 (592)

We are City, we are City,

Wilson is our king

Bristol City v Barnsley 2/5/2004 (882)

We are Chesterfield, we are Chesterfield,

McFarland is our king

Chesterfield v Barnsley 28/12/2003 (435)

We are Mansfield, we are Mansfield,

Curle is our king

Mansfield v York 14/2/2004 (633)

We are Forest, we are Forest,

Hart is our king
Notts Forest v Sheffield United 15/5/2003 (88)

**We are Plymouth, we are Plymouth,
Williamson is our king**
Plymouth v Barnsley 3/4/2004 (807)

**We are Rangers, we are Rangers,
Holly is our king**
Queen's Park Rangers v Barnsley 12/4/2004 (832)

**We are Wednesday, we are Wednesday,
Turner is our king**
Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 11/11/2003 (303); v Barnsley 13/12/2003 (352)

11. **We are [name of club], we are [name of club], we are [name of club] (sung to the tune of "Here We Go")**
10 tokens, 2 variants

We are Leeds, we are Leeds, we are Leeds
Leeds United v Sheffield United 9/3/2003 (62); v Newcastle United 17/8/2003 (104); v Leicester 15/9/2003 (190); v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (240); v Arsenal 4/1/2004 (457); v Liverpool 29/2/2004 (652); v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (681); v Portsmouth 25/4/2004 (870); v Derby County 7/8/2004 (934)

We are Wolves, we are Wolves, we are Wolves
Wolverhampton Wanderers v Manchester United 27/8/2003 (162)

12. **Glory, glory [name of club] (x3)**
And the [nickname of club] go marching on, on, on (sung to the tune of "Glory, Glory Hallelujah")
9 tokens, 3 variants

Glory, glory Leeds United (x3)
And the Whites go marching on, on, on
Leeds United v Sheffield United 9/3/2003 (63); v Manchester City 22/12/2003 (400); v Arsenal 4/1/2004 (461); v Liverpool 29/2/2004 (657); v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (696)

Glory, glory Man United (x3)
And the Reds go marching on, on, on
Manchester United v Wolverhampton Wanderers 27/8/2003 (155)

Glory, glory Shef United (x3)
And the Blades go marching on, on, on
Sheffield United v Sheffield Wednesday 17/1/2003 (2); v Leeds United 9/3/2003 (67); v Nottingham Forest 15/5/2003 (96)

13. **We all love [name of club] (x4) (sung to the tune of "Tom Hark")**
8 tokens, 1 variant

We all love Leeds
Leeds United v Newcastle United 17/8/2003 (108); v Manchester City 22/12/2003 (397); v Arsenal 4/1/2004 (459); v Aston Villa 7/2/2004 (618); v Liverpool 29/2/2004 (656); v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (683); v Portsmouth 25/4/2004 (863); v Derby County 7/8/2004 (927)

14. **Clap clap, clap clap clap, clap clap clap clap – [name of club]**
7 tokens, 6 variants
Arsenal!
Arsenal v Manchester United 21/9/2003 (217)

Boro!
Middlesbrough v Fulham 19/1/2003 (23)
Scarborough v Chelsea 24/1/2003 (506)

Derby!
Derby County v Leeds United 7/8/2004 (939)

Leicester!
Leicester v Chelsea 11/1/2004 (512)

Liverpool!
Liverpool v Blackburn Rovers 28/10/2003 (268)

Villa!
Aston Villa v West Bromwich Albion 22/8/2004 (957)

15. **[Name of club] (sung to the tune of “Amazing Grace”)**
6 tokens, 3 variants

Chelsea
Chelsea v Leicester 11/1/2004 (524)

Leicester
Leicester v Chelsea 11/1/2004 (522)

Villa
Aston Villa v Bolton 18/10/2003 (255); v Leeds United 7/2/2004 (615); v Newcastle United 18/4/2004 (850); v West Bromwich Albion 22/8/2004 (954)

16. **Hark now hear [name/nickname of club] sing,
[Name/nickname of rival] ran away,
And we will fight for ever more,
Because of Boxing/derby day (sung to the tune of “Mary’s Boy Child”)**
6 tokens, 2 variants

**Hark now hear the City sing,
United ran away,
And we will fight for ever more,
Because of derby day**
Manchester City v Everton 7/12/2003 (329); v Manchester United 14/3/2004 (765)

**Hark now hear the Wednesday sing,
United ran away,
And we will fight for ever more,
Because of Boxing Day**
Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 11/11/2003 (293); v Chesterfield 20/12/2003 (413); v Bristol City 28/2/2004 (665); v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (738)

17. **Stand up for the champions (sung to the tune of “Go West”)**
6 tokens, 1 variant

Arsenal v Manchester United 21/9/2003 (206)
Manchester United v Leeds United 18/10/2003 (245); v Manchester City 13/12/2003 (484); v Newcastle United 11/1/2004 (534)
Plymouth v Barnsley 3/4/2004 (810)
Wigan v Barnsley 3/5/2003 (78)

- 18. Super, super Leeds (x3)**
Super Leeds United (sung to the tune of “Skip to my Lou”)
6 tokens, 1 variant
Leeds United v Newcastle United 17/8/2003 (117); v Charlton Athletic 29/11/2003 (376); v Manchester City 22/12/2003 (389); v Arsenal 4/1/2004 (458); v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (685); v Derby County 7/8/2004 (942)
- 19. Li-ver-pool, Li-ver-pool**
5 tokens, 2 variants
Liverpool v Manchester United 9/11/2003 (278); v Newcastle United 6/12/2003 (314); v Newcastle United 24/1/2003 (708); v Manchester United 20/9/2004 (975)
- Al-bi-on, Al-bi-on**
West Bromwich Albion v Aston Villa 22/8/2004 (955)
- 20. The [nickname of club] are going up (x2)**
And now you better believe us (x3)
The [nickname of club] are going up (sung to the tune of “For He’s a Jolly Good Fella”)
4 tokens, 3 variants
- The Blades are going up**
Sheffield United v Liverpool 21/1/2003 (35); v Nottingham Forest 15/5/2003 (101)
- The Rs are going up**
Queen’s Park Rangers v Barnsley 12/4/2004 (831)
- The Reds are going up**
Sheffield United v Sheffield Wednesday 17/3/2003 (8)
- 21. Stand up if you love [name/nickname of club] (sung to the tune of “Go West”)**
4 tokens, 2 variants
- Stand up if you love the Bees**
Brentford v Barnsley 17/4/2004 (845)
- Stand up if you love the Toon**
Newcastle United v Aston Villa 18/4/2004 (849); v Manchester United 11/1/2004 (532); v Liverpool 24/1/2004 (719); v Aston Villa 18/4/2004 (849)
- 22. Champions, champions**
4 tokens, 1 variant
Arsenal v Fulham 9/5/2004 (925)
Manchester United v Newcastle United 23/8/2003 (142); v Newcastle United 11/1/2004 (540); v Leeds United 28/10/2003 (692)
- 23. We’re Leeds and we’re proud of it (sung to the tune of “Go West”)**
4 tokens, 1 variant
Leeds United v Newcastle United 17/8/2003 (118); v Leicester 15/9/2003 (192); v Manchester City 22/12/2003 (398); v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (699)
- 24. You are my [name of club] my only [name of club],**
You make me happy when skies are grey,
You’ll never notice how much I love you,
Please don’t take my [name of club] away (sung to the tune of “You Are My Sunshine”)
3 tokens, 3 variants

Barnsley

Barnsley v Luton 18/3/2003 (19)

Cardiff

Cardiff v Ipswich 9/5/2004 (903)

County

Stockport County v Barnsley 8/3/2003 (59)

25. **Forever and ever we'll follow our team,**
We're [name of club] we are supreme,
We'll never be mastered by no [name/nickname of rivals] bastards,
We'll keep the [club colours] flag flying high (sung to the tune of "The Red Flag")
3 tokens, 3 variants

Forever and ever; We'll follow the team
We're Barnsley FC; We rule supreme;
We'll never be mastered; By no Wednesday bastards;
We'll keep the red flag flying high
Barnsley v Notts County 31/1/2004 (593)

Forever and ever we'll follow our team,
We're Leeds United, we rule supreme,
We'll never be mastered by you bunch of bastards,
We'll keep the white flag flying high
Leeds United v Aston Villa 7/2/2004 (620)

Forever and ever we'll follow our team,
We're Sheffield Wednesday, we are supreme,
We'll never be mastered by no United bastard,
We'll keep the blue flag flying high
Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (755)

26. **Carefree wherever you may be,**
We are the famous [initials of club] (sung to the tune of "Lord of the Dance")
3 tokens, 2 variants

Carefree wherever you may be,
We are the famous AFC,
And we'll fuck you up when we play at Highbury,
Cos we have the awesome Thierry Henry
Arsenal v Fulham 9/5/2004 (917)

Carefree wherever you may be,
We are the famous CFC,
And we don't give a fuck whoever you may be,
Cos we are the famous CFC
Chelsea v Scarborough 24/1/2004 (504); v Leicester 11/1/2004 (515)

27. **And it's hi ho [name of club] (sung to the tune of "Hi Ho Silver Lining")**
2 tokens, 2 variants

And it's hi ho Leeds United
Leeds United v Aston Villa 7/2/2004 (617)

And it's hi ho Sheffield Wednesday
Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (740)

28. **We're staying up, we're staying up,**
We're staying, [name of club's] staying up (sung to the tune of "Football's Coming Home")
2 tokens, 2 variants
- Brentford's staying up**
Brentford v Barnsley 17/4/2004 (843)
- Barnsley's staying up**
Barnsley v Mansfield Town 19/4/2003 (75)
29. **Top of the league, we're having a laugh** (sung to the tune of "Tom Hark")
2 tokens, 1 variant
Bristol City v Sheffield Wednesday 28/2/2004 (662)
Plymouth v Barnsley 3/4/2004 (809)
30. **We are the champions**
2 tokens, 1 variant
Plymouth v Barnsley 3/4/2004 (806)
Wigan v Barnsley 3/5/2003 (77)
31. **2-1, we're gonna win 2-1,**
We're gonna win 2-1, we're gonna win 2-1 (sung to the tune of "Blue Moon")
1 token
Leeds United v Portsmouth 25/4/2004 (873)
32. **Champions, champions, champions** (sung to the tune of "Here We Go")
1 token
Manchester United v Northampton 25/1/2004 (560)
33. **Champions, we're having a laugh** (sung to the tune of "Tom Hark")
1 token
Plymouth v Barnsley 3/4/2003 (803)
34. **C.I.T.Y. Bristol City**
1 token
Bristol City v Sheffield Wednesday 28/2/2004 (669)
35. **Go West** **Bromwich Albion** (sung to the tune of "Go West")
1 token
West Bromwich Albion v Walsall 9/1/2004 (495)
36. **If you all love United clap your hands (x2)**
If you all love United, all love United,
All love United clap your hands (sung to the tune of "If You're Happy and You Know It")
1 token
Manchester United v Liverpool 20/9/2004 (993)
37. **I've never felt more like singing the Blues,**
When Ipswich win and Norwich lose,
Ooooh Ipswich you've got me singing the Blues (sung to the tune of "Singing the Blues")
1 token
Ipswich Town v Cardiff City 9/5/2004 (902)

38. **Jingle bells, jingle bells,**
Jingle all the way,
Oh what fun it is to see,
Chesterfield win away (sung to the tune of “Jingle Bells”)
1 token
Chesterfield v Barnsley 28/12/2003 (438)
39. **Marching on together,**
We’re gonna see you win, na na na na na na,
We are so proud, we shout it out loud,
We love the Reds, Reds, Reds (sung to the tune of “Marching on Together”)
1 token
Barnsley v Notts County 31/1/2004 (613)
40. **Na na na na, Na na na na,**
Na na na na na, na na na na (sung to the tune of “Tom Hark”)
1 token
Sheffield United v Nottingham Forest 15/5/2003 (91)
41. **Ole ole ole ole, Bristol City (sung to the tune of “Ole Ole Ole Ole”)**
1 token
Bristol City v Barnsley 16/12/2003 (361)
42. **One nil to the Albion (sung to the tune of “Go West”)**
1 token
Brighton v Leicester 30/8/2004 (968)
43. **One team in Yorkshire; there’s only one team in Yorkshire (sung to the tune of “Guantanamera”)**
1 token
Sheffield United v Sheffield Wednesday 17/1/2003 (12)
44. **Play up Pompey, Pompey play up (sung to the tune of the “Big Ben Chimes”)**
1 token
Portsmouth v Leeds United 25/4/2004 (872)
45. **Que sera, sera,**
Whatever will be will be,
We’re going to Cardiff,
Que sera sera (sung to the tune of “Que Sera”)
1 token
Liverpool v Blackburn Rovers 28/10/2003 (273)
46. **Stand up if you’re going up (sung to the tune of “Go West”)**
1 token
Sheffield United v Nottingham Forest 15/5/2003 (97)
47. **Staying up, staying up, staying up (sung to the tune of “Here We Go”)**
1 token
Brentford v Barnsley 17/4/2004 (842)
48. **Ten men, we’ve only got ten men,**
We’ve only got ten men, we’ve only got ten men (sung to the tune of “Blue Moon”)
1 token
Luton v Barnsley 18/1/2003 (18)

- 49.** The Lord's my shepherd; I'll not want;
 He makes me down to lie;
 In pastures green; He leadeth me;
 The quiet waters by;
 The West Brom! The West Brom! The West Brom! (sung to the tune of "The Tune of the Lord's My Shepherd")
1 token
West Bromwich Albion v Aston Villa 22/8/2004 (963)
- 50.** Up the Dale, Up the Dale, Up the Dale (sung to the tune of "Here We Go")
1 token
Rochdale v Cheltenham 21/2/2004 (642)
- 51.** We ain't got no money, we ain't got no money,
 Na na na na – hey, Na na na na (sung to the tune of "Let's All Have a Disco")
1 token
Leeds United v Charlton Athletic 29/11/2003 (380)
- 52.** We're going all the way (x2)
 And now you're gonna believe us (x3)
 We're going all the way (sung to the tune of "For He's a Jolly Good Fella")
1 token
Manchester United v Northampton 25/1/2004 (567)
- 53.** We're going home, we're going home,
 We're going, Fulham's going home (sung to the tune of "Football's Coming Home")
1 token
Fulham v Arsenal 9/5/2004 (924)
- 54.** We are going up, say we are going up (sung to the tune of "Oops Upside Your Head")
1 token
Bristol City v Barnsley 2/5/2004 (899)
- 55.** We're going up, we're going up,
 We're going, City's going up (sung to the tune of "Football's Coming Home")

1 token
Bristol City v Barnsley 2/5/2004 (898)
- 56.** We're going up, we're going up,
 We're going up, we're going up (sung to the tune of "Tom Hark")
1 token
Sheffield United v Nottingham Forest 15/5/2003 (102)
- 57.** We are staying up, say we are staying up (sung to the tune of "Oops Upside Your Head")
1 token
Portsmouth v Leeds United 25/4/2004 (871)
- 58.** We are top of the league,
 Say we are top of the league (sung to the tune of "Oops Upside Your Head")
1 token
Barnsley v Notts County 30/8/2003 (180)
- 59.** We want four
1 token
Sheffield United v Sheffield Wednesday 17/1/2003 (11)

60. **We hate Nottingham Forest,
We hate Everton too (they're shit)
We hate Man United,
But Liverpool we love you (sung to the tune of "Land of Hope and Glory")
1 token**
Liverpool v Blackburn Rovers 28/10/2003 (271)
61. **You'll never kill York City
1 token**
York City v Mansfield

Integrative Player/Manager Chants

1. **One part of player's name
17 tokens, 9 variants**

Batty, Batty, Batty
Leeds United v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (249)

Deano, Deano, Deano
Barnsley v Brighton 23/8/2003 (145); v Notts County 30/8/2003 (181); v Oldham 16/9/2003 (196)
Leeds United v Leicester 15/9/2003 (191);

Houllier, Houllier, Houllier
Liverpool v Sheffield United 21/1/2003 (32)

Keano, Keano, Keano
Manchester United v Arsenal 21/9/2003 (209); v Manchester City 13/12/2003 (476); v Newcastle United 11/1/2004 (550); v Liverpool 20/9/2004 (979)

Keegan, Keegan, Keegan
Manchester City v Manchester United 13/12/2003 (472)

Lua-Lua, Lua-Lua, Lua-Lua
Portsmouth v Leeds United 25/4/2004 (881)

Rio, Rio, Rio
Manchester United v Liverpool 20/9/2004 (976); v Leeds United 18/10/2003 (247)

Rooney, Rooney, Rooney
Everton v Liverpool 30/8/2003 (168)

Shearer, Shearer, Shearer
Newcastle United v Leeds United 17/8/2003 (121); v Liverpool 24/1/2004 (716);

2. **One [name of player], there's only one [name of player],
One [name of player], there's only one [name of player] (sung to the tune of
"Guantanamera")
15 tokens, 12 variants**

Chris Turner
Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 11/11/2003 (309)

Danny Spiller
Gillingham v Rotherham 27/9/2003 (229)

Danny Wilson
Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 11/11/2003 (308)

David Batty
Leeds United v Newcastle United 17/8/2003 (120); v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (248); v Arsenal 4/1/2004 (468)

One Gerard Houllier
Liverpool v Blackburn Rovers 28/10/2003 (265); v Newcastle United 6/12/2003 (318)

One Keano
Manchester United v Wolverhampton Wanderers 27/8/2003 (160)

One Lee Bowyer
Newcastle United v Leeds United 17/8/2003 (111)

One Luke Beckett
Stockport County v Barnsley 8/3/2003 (58)

One Lloyd Dyer
West Bromwich Albion v Walsall 9/1/2004 (497)

One Paul Merson
Walsall v West Bromwich Albion 9/1/2004 (491)

One Robbie Fowler
Manchester City v Everton 7/12/2003 (336)

One Veron
Chelsea v Liverpool 17/8/2003 (125)

**3. Player's name in full
7 tokens, 3 variants**

Diego Forlan, Diego Forlan
Manchester United v Liverpool 9/11/2003 (284)

Nobby Solano, Nobby Solano
*Aston Villa v Newcastle United 18/4/2004 (853)
Newcastle United v Manchester United 11/1/2004 (547)*

Steven Gerrard, Steven Gerrard
*Liverpool v Newcastle United 24/1/2004 (714); v Newcastle United 6/12/2003 (319);
v Manchester United 9/11/2003 (287); v Blackburn Rovers 28/10/2003 (275)*

**4. [Name/nickname], [name/nickname], give us a wave,
[Name/nickname], give us a wave (sung to the tune of “Helule, Helule”)
6 tokens, 6 variants**

Bezzy
Barnsley v Notts County 31/1/2004 (611)

Curle
Mansfield v York 14/2/2004 (637)

Dyer
West Bromwich Albion v Walsall 9/1/2004 (498)

Holly
Queen's Park Rangers v Barnsley 12/4/2004 (821)

Megson

West Bromwich Albion v Walsall 9/1/2004 (499)

Wally

Brentford v Barnsley 17/4/2004 (841)

5. There's only one [name of player/manager], One [name of player/manager],
Walking along, singing a song,
Walking in a [surname of player/manager] wonderland (sung to the tune of
“Winter Wonderland”)
6 tokens, 4 variants

Danny Wilson

Bristol City v Sheffield Wednesday 28/2/2004 (660); v Barnsley 2/5/2004 (883)

David Seaman

Manchester City v Everton 7/12/2003 (327)

Gary Megson

West Bromwich Albion v Walsall 9/1/2004 (500)

Kevin Keegan

Manchester City v Everton 7/12/2003 (337); v Manchester United 14/3/2004 (766)

6. When Johnny goes marching down the wing O'Shea! O'Shea! (x2)
When Johnny goes marching down the wing the Stretford End will fucking sing,
We all know that Johnny's going to score;
Na na na na na na na na, na na, na na (x2)
Na na;
We all know that Johnny's gonna score (sung to the tune of “When Johnny Goes
Marching Home”)
5 tokens, 1 variant
*Manchester United v Liverpool 9/11/2003 (285); v Manchester City 13/12/2003 (474);
v Newcastle United 11/1/2004 (535); v Northampton 25/1/2004 (565); v Liverpool
20/9/2004 (988)*
7. Harry, Harry Kewell, Harry, Harry Kewell (sung to the tune of “Daddy Cool”)
4 tokens, 1 variant
*Liverpool v Blackburn Rovers 28/10/2003 (266); v Manchester United 9/11/2003
(289); v Leeds United 29/2/2004 (650); v Newcastle United 24/1/2004 (709)*
8. [Name of player], [name of player], [first name], [name of player],
He gets the ball, he scores a goal,
[First name], [name of player] (sung to the tune of “Hooray, Hooray, It's a Hol-
iday”)
3 tokens, 3 variants

Alan Smith, Alan Smith, Alan Alan Smith

Leeds United v Charlton Athletic 29/11/2003 (384)

Andy Cole, Andy Cole, Andy Andy Cole

Blackburn Rovers v Manchester United 22/1/2003 (40)

Lee, Bullock, Lee Bullock, Lee, Lee Bullock

Cardiff v Ipswich 9/5/2004 (910)

9. [Name of player], there's only one [name of player],
There's only one [name of player, there's only one [name of player] (sung to the
tune of "Blue Moon")
3 tokens, 3 variants

De Zeeuw
Portsmouth v Leeds United 25/4/2004 (877)

Dickov
Leicester v Leeds United 15/9/2003 (186)

Keown
Arsenal v Fulham 9/5/2004 (919)

10. **Mark Viduka** (sung to the tune of "Bob the Builder")
3 tokens, 1 variant
*Leeds United v Arsenal 4/1/2004 (462); v Manchester City 22/12/2003 (396); v
Sheffield United 9/3/2003 (61);*

11. **Oh Jimmy, Jimmy,**
Jimmy, Jimmy, Jimmy Floyd Hasselbank (sung to the tune of "Son of My
Father")
3 tokens, 1 variant
*Chelsea v Liverpool 17/8/2003 (130); v Scarborough 24/1/2004 (510); v Leicester
11/1/2004 (514)*

12. **On the 12th day of Christmas my true love sent to me,**
12 Cantonas, 11 Cantonas, 10 Cantonas, 9 Cantonas,
8 Cantonas, 7 Cantonas, 6 Cantonas, 5 Cantonas,
4 Cantonas, 3 Cantonas, 2 Cantonas,
And an Eric Cantona etc. (sung to the tune of "The Twelve Days of Christmas")

3 tokens, 1 variant
*Manchester United v Liverpool 9/11/2003 (292); v Manchester City 13/12/2003 (482);
v Leeds United 28/10/2003 (700)*

13. **Hey [name of player], Ooh aah,**
I wanna kno-o-o-ow how you scored that goal (sung to the tune of "Hey, Hey,
Baby")
2 tokens, 2 variants

Alan Shearer
Newcastle United v Leeds United 17/8/2003 (106)

Kevin Nolan
Bolton Wanderers v Aston Villa 4/10/2003 (256)

14. **[Name of player] for England**
2 tokens, 2 variants

Seaman
Manchester City v Manchester United 13/12/2003 (672)

Shearer
Newcastle United v Manchester United 23/8/2003 (141)

15. **Thierry Henry, Thierry Henry** (sung to the tune of "Tom Hark")
2 tokens, 1 variant
Arsenal v Fulham 9/5/2004 (922); v Leeds United 4/1/2004 (465)

16. **Come on Shearer, Come on Shearer**
1 token
Newcastle United v Manchester United 11/1/2004 (538)
17. **Gary Neville is a red, is a red, is a red,**
Gary Neville is a red, he hates Scousers Man Utd (sung to the tune of “London Bridge is Falling Down”)
1 token
Manchester United v Newcastle United 11/1/2004 (552)
18. **Oh Kevin Gallen’s magic; He wears a magic hat;**
He plays for Queen’s Park Rangers; He’s such a lovely chap;
He scores with his left foot, He scores with his right;
And when we play the Chelsea; He scores all fucking night (sung to the tune of “My Old Man’s a Dustman”)
1 token
Queen’s Park Rangers v Barnsley 12/4/2004 (827)
19. **Ole, ole, ole, ole, Solskjaer, Solskjaer (sung to the tune of “Ole, Ole, Ole, Ole”)**
1 token
Manchester United v Arsenal 28/3/2004 (797)
20. **Ryan Giggs, Ryan Giggs running down the wing,**
Ryan Giggs, Ryan Giggs crosses like a king,
Feared by the Blues, loved by the Reds,
Ryan Giggs, Ryan Giggs, Ryan Giggs (sung to the theme tune of “Robin Hood”)
1 token
Manchester United v Liverpool 9/11/2003 (290)
21. **Super, super Frank (x3),**
Super Frank Lampard (sung to the tune of “Skip to My Lou”)
1 token
Chelsea v Leicester 11/1/2004 (519)
22. **Thierry, oh oh oh oh (sung to the tune of “Volare”)**
1 token
Arsenal v Manchester United 28/3/2004 (787)
23. **You are my Solskjaer, my only Solskjaer,**
You make me happy when skies are grey,
You’ll never know how much I love you,
Please don’t take my Solskjaer away (sung to the tune of “You Are My Sunshine”)
1 token
Manchester United v Newcastle United 21/1/2003 (36)

Integrative Fan Chants

1. **Hello, Hello, we are the [name/nickname of club] boys (x2)**
And if you are a [name/nickname of rivals] fan,
Surrender or you’ll die,
We all follow the [name of club] (sung to the tune of “Marching Through Georgia”)
36 tokens, 9 variants

Hello, hello, we are the Argyle boys (x2)

And if you are a City fan,

Surrender or you'll die,

We all follow the Argyle

Plymouth v Barnsley 3/4/2004 (808)

Hello, hello, we are the Barnsley boys (x2)

And if you are a Wednesday fan,

Surrender or you'll die,

We all follow the Barnsley

Barnsley v Brighton 23/8/2003 (152); v Notts County 30/8/2003 (176); v Oldham 16/9/2003 (197); v Wrexham 28/10/2003 (257); v Sheffield Wednesday 11/11/2003 (305); v Sheffield Wednesday 13/12/2003 (356); v Chesterfield 28/12/2003 (427); v Scunthorpe United 3/1/2004 (445); v Blackpool 27/1/2004 (576); v Notts County 31/1/2004 (594); v Luton 6/3/2004 (721); v Sheffield Wednesday 13/3/2004 (730); v Plymouth 3/4/2004 (800); v Queen's Park Rangers 12/4/2004 (815); v Brentford 17/4/2004 (837); v Bristol City 2/5/2004 (895); v Bristol City 10/8/2004 (945); v Peterborough 12/4/2003 (1000)

Hello, hello, we are the Brentford boys (x2)

And if you are a QPR fan,

Surrender or you'll die,

Cos we all follow the Brentford

Brentford v Barnsley 17/4/2004 (838)

Hello, hello, we are the Busby boys (x2)

And if you are a City fan,

Surrender or you'll die,

We all follow United

Manchester United v Arsenal 21/9/2003 (204); v Leeds United 18/10/2003 (246); v Newcastle United 11/1/2004 (529); v Northampton 25/1/2004 (558); v Leeds United 28/10/2003 (695); v Manchester City 14/3/2004 (761); v Manchester City 13/12/2003 (785); v Arsenal 28/3/2004 (796); Liverpool 20/9/2004 (981)

Hello, hello, we are the City boys,

And if you are a Rovers fan,

Surrender or you'll die,

We all follow the City

Bristol City v Barnsley 2/5/2004 (894); v Barnsley 10/8/2004 (951)

Hello, hello, we are the Luton boys (x2)

And if you are a Watford fan,

Surrender or you'll die,

We all follow the Luton

Luton v Barnsley 6/3/2004 (722)

Hello, hello, we are the Rangers boys (x2)

And if you are a Chelsea fan,

Surrender or you'll die,

We all follow the Rangers

Queen's Park Rangers v Barnsley 12/4/2004 (814)

Hello, hello, we are the Villa boys (x2)

And if you are a City fan,

Surrender or you'll die,

We all follow the Villa

Aston Villa v Newcastle United 18/4/2004 (851)

**Hello, hello, we are the Wednesday boys,
And if you're a United fan,
Surrender or you'll die,
We all follow the Wednesday**
Sheffield Wednesday v Chesterfield 20/12/2003 (412); v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (747)

2. [Nickname of club/club colours] army
34 tokens, 8 variants

Barmy army

Aston Villa v West Bromwich Albion 22/8/2004 (961)

Cardiff v Ipswich 9/5/2004 (906)

Newcastle United v Leeds United 17/8/2003 (112); v Liverpool 24/1/2004 (717)

Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 11/11/2003 (295); v Barnsley 13/12/2003 (342); v Chesterfield 20/12/2003 (411); v Bristol City 28/2/2004 (664); v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (739)

Blue army

Manchester City v Manchester United 13/12/2003 (675)

Peterborough v Barnsley 12/4/2003 (998)

Portsmouth v Leeds United 25/4/2004 (876)

Stockport County v Barnsley 8/3/2003 (51)

Blue and white army

Tranmere v Barnsley 18/3/2003 (69)

Cider army

Bristol City v Barnsley 16/12/2003 (368); v Barnsley 2/5/2004 (885);

Claret army

Aston Villa v Newcastle United 18/4/2004 (854)

Green army

Plymouth v Barnsley 3/4/2004 (804)

Red army

Barnsley v Stockport County 8/3/2003 (54); v Notts County 30/8/2003 (171); v Oldham 16/9/2003 (198); v Wrexham 28/10/2003 (261); v Sheffield Wednesday 11/11/2003 (320); v Sheffield Wednesday 13/12/2003 (353); v Bristol City 16/12/2003 (359); v Notts County 31/1/2004 (587); v Queen's Park Rangers 12/4/2004 (816); v Bristol City 10/8/2004 (947)

Charlton Athletic v Leeds United 29/11/2003 (369)

Manchester United v Newcastle United 23/8/2003 (139); v Arsenal 21/9/2003 (216)

Rotherham v Gillingham 27/9/2003 (221)

York v Mansfield 14/2/2004 (627)

Red and white army

Manchester United v Newcastle United 11/1/2004 (541)

3. [Name of manager] + [club colours or nickname] army
18 tokens, 15 variants

Bobby Williamson's green and white army

Plymouth v Barnsley 3/4/2004 (813)

Brian Law's barmy army

Scunthorpe v Barnsley 3/1/2004 (452)

Danny Wilson's yellow army

Bristol City v Barnsley 2/5/2004 (897)

David O'Leary's claret army
Aston Villa v Newcastle United 8/3/2003 (52)

Ferguson's red army
Manchester United v Arsenal 21/9/2003 (214); v Liverpool 20/9/2004 (974)

Ferguson's red and white army
Manchester United v Newcastle United 11/1/2004 (537); v Manchester City 13/12/2003 (678); v Liverpool 20/9/2004 (990)

Graeme Souness' blue and red army
Blackburn Rovers v Manchester United 22/1/2003 (42)

Harry Redknapp's blue army
Portsmouth v Leeds United 25/4/2004 (864)

Ian Dowie's blue and white army
Oldham v Barnsley 16/9/2003 (201)

Neil Warnock's barmy army
Sheffield United v Nottingham Forest 15/5/2003 (98)

Paul Hart's red and white army
Barnsley v Bristol City 10/8/2004 (946)

Ranieri's blue army
Chelsea v Leicester City 11/1/2004 (527)

Ronnie Moore's red army
Rotherham v Gillingham 27/9/2003 (219)

Royle's army
Ipswich v Cardiff 9/5/2004 (912)

Tigana's black and white army
Fulham v Middlesbrough 19/1/2003 (22)

4. [Name/nickname of club] till I die; I'm [name/nickname of club till I die,
I know I am, I'm sure I am,
I'm [name/nickname of club] till I die (sung to the tune of "H-A-P-P-Y")
14 tokens, 10 variants

Argyle
Plymouth v Barnsley 3/4/2004 (805)

Boro
Scarborough v Chelsea 24/1/2004 (505)

City
Bristol City v Barnsley 10/8/2004 (948)

County
Notts County v Barnsley 31/1/2004 (600)

Derby
Derby v Leeds United 7/8/2004 (937)

Gillingham
Gillingham v Rotherham 27/9/2003 (227)

Portsmouth*Portsmouth v Leeds United 25/4/2004 (875)***Rotherham***Rotherham v Gillingham 27/9/2003 (225)***Spireites***Chesterfield v Barnsley 28/12/2003 (430); v Notts County 20/3/2004 (771)***Wednesday***Sheffield Wednesday v Sheffield United 17/1/2003 (6); v Barnsley 11/11/2003 (311); v Barnsley 13/12/2003 (357); v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (753)***5. Take me home, United Road,****To the place I belong,****To Old Trafford, to see United,****Take me home, United Road (sung to the tune of “Country Roads”)****8 tokens, 1 variant***Manchester United v Blackburn Rovers 22/1/2003 (37); v Arsenal 21/9/2003 (205); v Liverpool 9/11/2003 (279); v Manchester United 13/12/2003 (477); v Newcastle United 11/1/2004 (530); v Northampton 25/1/2004 (562); v Manchester City 14/3/2004 (762); v Liverpool 20/9/2004 (987)***6. We all follow the [name of club],****Over land and sea,****We all follow the [name of club],****Onto victory****6 tokens, 6 variants****Arsenal***Arsenal v Fulham 9/5/2004 (923)***Barnsley***Barnsley v Notts County 31/1/2004 (591)***Chelsea***Chelsea v Leicester 11/1/2004 (526)***City***Bristol City v Barnsley 2/5/2004 (886)***Ipswich***Ipswich Town v Cardiff City 9/5/2004 (908)***United***Manchester United v Northampton 25/1/2004 (559)***7. Sing your hearts out, sing your hearts out,****Sing your hearts out for the lads, sing your hearts out for the lads (sung to the tune of “Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer”)****6 tokens, 1 variant***Aston Villa v Newcastle United 18/4/2004 (860)**Brentford v Barnsley 17/4/2004 (846)**Leeds United v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (684)**Manchester City v Manchester United 14/3/2004 (767)**Manchester United v Manchester City 13/12/2003 (677)**Wolverhampton Wanderers v Manchester United 27/8/2003 (164)*

8. **Everywhere we go; People wanna know;**
Who we are; Where we come from;
So we tell them; We are Bristol;
Bristol City; We are the boys in red and white;
We love to drink and we love to fight;
We hate the Rovers; [name of manager] is a wanker;
Oh City we love you,
We love you City we do (x3)
Oh City we love you (sung to the tune of “Everywhere We Go”)
2 tokens, 2 variants

Graydon

Bristol City v Barnsley 16/12/2003 (367)

Atkins

Bristol City v Barnsley 10/8/2004 (952)

9. **We’re all going on a European tour, a European tour, a European tour (sung to the tune of “Yellow Submarine”)**
1 token
Leeds United v Charlton Athletic 29/11/2003 (375)

Integrative Location Chants

1. **Name of County**
16 tokens, 2 variants

Yorkshire, Yorkshire, Yorkshire

*Barnsley v Wigan 3/5/2003 (82); v Brighton 23/8/2003 (147); v Chesterfield 28/12/2003 (428); v Scunthorpe 3/1/2004 (454); v Notts County 31/1/2004 (588)
Leeds United v Newcastle United 17/8/2003 (116); v Leicester 15/9/2003 (182); v Manchester City 22/12/2003 (399); v Arsenal 4/1/2004 (464); v Aston Villa 7/2/2004 (619); v Portsmouth 25/4/2004 (869); v Derby County 7/8/2004 (928)
Scarborough v Chelsea 24/1/2004 (554)
Sheffield United v Nottingham Forest 15/5/2003 (94)
Sheffield Wednesday v Chesterfield 20/12/2003 (414)*

Derbyshire, Derbyshire, Derbyshire

Chesterfield v Sheffield Wednesday 20/12/2003 (415)

2. **[Name of place] (sung to the tune of “Here we Go”)**
4 tokens, 3 variants

Derbyshire, Derbyshire, Derbyshire

Derby County v Leeds United 7/8/2004 (929)

Manchester, Manchester, Manchester

Manchester United v Liverpool 9/11/2003 (288)

Nottingham, Nottingham, Nottingham

Nottingham Forest v Sheffield United 15/5/2003 (99)

Notts County v Chesterfield 20/3/2004 (768)

3. **Name of place (sung to the tune of “Amazing Grace”)**
Yorkshire, Yorkshire, Yorkshire, Yorkshire,
Yorkshire, Yorkshire, Yorkshire,
1 token

Rotherham v Gillingham 27/9/2003 (220)

4. **Oh Manchester is wonderful, Oh Manchester is wonderful,
It's full of tits, fanny and City,
Oh Manchester is wonderful (sung to the tune of “Oh When the Saints Go
Marching In”
1 token
*Manchester City v Everton 7/12/2003 (330)***

Appendix 3

Divisive Chants

Divisive Club Chants

1. Who the fuck are Man United/ And the [nickname] go marching on, on, on (sung to the tune of “Glory, Glory Hallelujah”)
13 tokens, 7 variants

And the Blues go marching on, on, on

Manchester City v Manchester United 13/12/2003 (481); v Manchester United 14/3/2004 (757)

Blackburn Rovers v Manchester United 22/1/2003 (43)

And the City go marching on, on, on

Manchester City v Everton 7/12/2003 (328)

And the Gunners go marching on, on, on

Arsenal v Fulham 9/5/2004 (918)

And Leeds go marching on, on, on

Leeds United v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (688)

And the Toon go marching on, on, on

Newcastle United v Manchester United 23/8/2003 (134); v Manchester United 11/1/2004 (549)

And the Whites go marching on, on, on

Leeds United v Charlton Athletic 29/11/2003 (387); v Manchester City 22/12/2003 (395); v Portsmouth 25/4/2004 (868); v Derby County 7/8/2004 (931)

And the Wolves go marching on, on, on

Wolverhampton Wanderers v Manchester United 27/8/2003 (154)

2. _____ League, you’re having a laugh (sung to the tune of “Tom Hark”)
11 tokens, 2 variants

Champions League, you’re having a laugh

Arsenal v Manchester United 28/3/2004 (785)

Leicester v Chelsea 11/1/2004 (521)

Manchester City v Manchester United 14/3/2004 (756)

Newcastle United v Manchester United 11/1/2004 (548)

Premier League, you’re having a laugh

Aston Villa v Leeds United 7/2/2004 (622); v West Bromwich Albion 22/8/2004 (959)

Chelsea v Leicester 11/1/2004 (520)

Cardiff v Ipswich 9/5/2004 (905)

Manchester United v Manchester City 13/12/2003 (480)

Northampton v Manchester United 25/1/2004 (566)

Scarborough v Chelsea 24/1/2004 (553)

3. If I had the wings of sparrow; If I had the arse of a crow;
I’d fly over _____ tomorrow; And shit on the bastards below (sung to the tune of
“My Bonny Lies Over the Ocean”)
8 tokens, 4 variants

**If I had the wings of a sparrow; If I had the arse of a crow;
I'd fly over Clifton tomorrow; And shit on the bastards below, below;
Shit on, shit on, shit on the bastards below, below;
Shit on, shit on, shit on the bastards below**
Bristol City v Barnsley 2/5/2004 (888)

**If I had the wings of an eagle; The dirty great arse of a crow;
I'd fly over County tomorrow; And shit on the bastards below, below;
Shit on, shit on, shit on the bastards below, below;
Shit on, shit on, shit on the bastards below**
Chesterfield v Notts County 20/3/2004 (779)

**If I had the wings of a sparrow; The dirty black arse of a crow;
I'd fly over Hillsborough tomorrow; And shit on the bastards below, below;
Shit on, shit on, shit on the bastards below, below;
Shit on, shit on, shit on the bastards below**
*Barnsley v Sheffield Wednesday 13/12/2003 (346); 11/11/2003 (307); v Notts County
31/1/2004 (586); v Sheffield Wednesday 13/3/2004 (734); v Bristol City 2/5/2004
(889)*

**If I had the wings of a sparrow; If I had the wings of a crow;
I'd fly over Nottingham Forest; And shit on the bastards below;
Shit on, shit on, shit on the bastards below, below;
Shit on, shit on, shit on the bastards below**
Derby v Leeds United 7/8/2004 (936)

4. **Who are you?**
8 tokens, 1 variant
Arsenal v Manchester United 28/3/2004 (791)
Blackburn Rovers v Manchester United 22/1/2003 (41)
Bristol City v Sheffield Wednesday 28/2/2004 (670)
Liverpool v Sheffield United 21/1/2003 (27)
Manchester United v Northampton 25/1/2004 (557)
*Sheffield United v Sheffield Wednesday 17/1/2003 (5); v Nottingham Forest 15/5/2003
(100)*
West Bromwich Albion v Aston Villa 22/8/2004 (959)

5. **Stand up if you hate [name/nickname of club] (sung to the tune of “Go West”)**
7 tokens, 5 variants

The Blades
Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (745)

The Blues
Aston Villa v Bolton 4/10/2003 (253)

The Gas
Bristol City v Barnsley 2/5/2004 (891); v Barnsley 10/8/2004 (953)

Man U
Leeds United v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (244)

The scum
Leeds United v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (691)
Oldham v Barnsley 16/9/2003 (200)

6. **Same old [name of club], always cheating (sung to the tune of the “Big Ben Chimes”)**
7 tokens, 3 variants

Arsenal

*Manchester United v Arsenal 21/9/2003 (207); v Arsenal 28/3/2004 (794)
Leeds United v Arsenal 4/1/2004 (471)*

Man U

*Leeds United v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (251); v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (682)
Liverpool v Manchester United 20/0/2004 (989)*

Walsall

Walsall v West Bromwich Albion 9/1/2004 (496)

7. **Shit ground, no fans (sung to the tune of “Big Ben Chimes”)**
6 tokens, 1 variant
*Barnsley v Notts County 31/1/2004 (598); v Sheffield Wednesday 13/3/2004 (752)
Leeds United v Charlton Athletic 29/11/2003
Manchester City v Everton 7/12/2003 (331)
Sheffield Wednesday v Sheffield United 17/1/2003 (4)
Wolverhampton Wanderers v Manchester United 27/8/2003 (165)*
8. **You’re shit and you know you are**
5 tokens, 1 variant
*Brighton v Leicester 30/8/2004 (970)
Chesterfield v Sheffield Wednesday 20/12/2003 (409)
Leicester v Leeds United 15/9/2003 (193)
Manchester United v Liverpool 9/11/2003 (291)
Sheffield United v Sheffield Wednesday 17/1/2003 (3)*
9. **Build a bonfire, build a bonfire,
Put [name of club] on the top,
Put [name of rival club/player/manager] in the middle,
And burn the fucking lot (sung to the tune of “Clementine”)**
4 tokens, 4 variants

**Put United on the top,
Put City in the middle**
Leeds United v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (702)

**Put United on the top,
Put Fergie in the middle**
Liverpool v Manchester United (283)

**Put United on the top,
Put Shef Wednesday in the middle**
Chesterfield v Sheffield Wednesday 20/12/2003 (416)

**Put Yorkshire on the top,
Put Shef Wednesday in the middle**
Chesterfield v Sheffield Wednesday 20/12/2003 (417)
10. **U-N-I, T-E-D, United are the team for me,
With a nick nack paddywack; Give a dog a bone;
Why don’t City fuck off home? (sung to the tune of “Nick Nack Paddywack”)**
4 tokens, 1 variant
Manchester United v Manchester City 13/12/2003 (473); v Newcastle United 11/1/2004 (528); v Leeds United 28/10/2003 (687); v Liverpool 20/9/2004 (983)

11. Who the fucking, who the fucking,
 Who the fucking hell are you? Who the fucking hell are you? (sung to the tune of “Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer”)
4 tokens, 1 variant
Leeds United v Portsmouth 25/4/2004 (867)
Leicester v Chelsea 11/1/2004 (511)
Manchester United v Leeds United 28/10/2003 (701)
Wolverhampton Wanderers v Manchester United 27/8/2003 (163)
12. Are you [name of club] (x2)
 Are you [name of club] in disguise? (x2) (sung to the tune of “Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer”)
3 tokens, 2 variants
- City**
Aston Villa v Newcastle United (859)
Manchester United v Northampton 25/1/2004 (568)
- Wednesday**
Sheffield United v Leeds United 9/3/2003 (66)
13. We all hate Leeds and Leeds and Leeds;
 Leeds and Leeds and Leeds and Leeds;
 Leeds and Leeds and Leeds,
 We all fucking hate Leeds (sung to the “Dambusters” theme tune)
3 tokens, 2 variants
Derby County v Leeds United 7/8/2004 (940)
Leeds United v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (234)
Newcastle United 23/8/2003 (138)
14. Going down, going down, going down (sung to the tune of “Here We Go”)
3 tokens, 1 variant
Arsenal v Leeds United 4/1/2004 (460)
Portsmouth v Leeds United 25/4/2004 (866)
Sheffield United v Sheffield Wednesday 17/1/2003 (14)
15. They’re going down, they’re going down,
 They’re going, Wednesday’s going down (sung to the tune of “Football’s Coming Home”)
3 tokens, 1 variant
Barnsley v Tranmere 18/3/2003 (73); v Peterborough 12/4/2003 (995);
Sheffield United v Sheffield Wednesday 17/1/2003 (9)
16. We all hate Leeds scum (sung to the tune of “Tom Hark”)
3 tokens, 1 variant
Derby County v Leeds United 7/8/2004 (938)
Manchester United v Northampton 25/1/2004 (563); v Leeds United 28/10/2003 (690)
17. Down with the Wednesday, you’re going down with the Wednesday (sung to the tune of “Guantanamera”)
2 tokens, 1 variant
Barnsley v Chesterfield 28/12/2003 (433); v Notts County 31/1/2004 (599)
18. You’re so shit it’s unbelievable (sung to the tune of “I’ve Got a Brand New Combine Harvester”)
2 tokens, 1 variant
Chesterfield v Sheffield Wednesday 20/12/2003 (407); v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (746)

19. Alan Smith is a red, is a red, is a red; Alan Smith is a red, he hates Leeds (sung to the tune of “London Bridge is Falling Down”)
1 token
Derby v Leeds United 7/8/2004 (932)
20. Always shit on the red side of the Trent (sung to the tune of “Always Look on the Bright Side of Life”)
1 token
Notts County v Chesterfield 20/3/2004 (769)
21. Cheats, cheats, cheats
1 token
Scarborough v Chelsea 24/1/2004 (555)
22. Fuck all, you’re gonna win fuck all,
You’re gonna win fuck all, you’re gonna win fuck all (sung to the tune of “Blue Moon”)
1 token
Arsenal v Manchester United 28/3/2004 (788)
23. Fuck off Sheffield Wednesday (sung to the tune of “Hi Ho Silver Lining”)
1 token
Barnsley v Sheffield Wednesday 13/3/2004 (741)
24. Go back to the Nationwide (sung to the tune of “Go West”)
1 token
Manchester United v Wolverhampton Wanderers 27/8/2003 (153)
25. If you all hate Man U clap your hands (x2)
If you all hate Man U, all hate Man U, all hate Man U clap your hands (sung to the tune of “If You’re Happy and You Know It”)
1 token
Manchester City v Manchester United 13/12/2003 (486)
26. Monday, Tuesday, who the fuck are Wednesday?
1 token
Scunthorpe v Barnsley 3/1/2004 (450)
27. One ball, you’ve only got one ball,
You’ve only got one ball, you’ve only got one ball (sung to the tune of “Blue Moon”)
1 token
Manchester United v Northampton 25/1/2004 (570)
28. Scum, scum, scum
1 token
Leeds United v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (242)
29. Shit scum donkies, you’re just shit scum donkies (sung to the tune of “Guantanamera”)
1 token
Leeds United v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (243)
30. Sit down if you love Man U (sung to the tune of “Go West”)
1 token
Leeds United v Charlton Athletic 29/11/2003 (377)
31. We don’t care cos Wednesday’s down (sung to the tune of “Camptown Races”)
1 token

Barnsley v Peterborough 12/4/2003 (74)

32. **We hate Forest, we hate Forest, we hate Forest**
1 token
Derby County v Leeds United 7/8/2004 (933)
33. **What a load of rubbish**
1 token
Leicester v Brighton 30/8/2004 (973)
34. **What a waste of money**
1 token
Scarborough v Chelsea 24/12/2004 (508)
35. **You're going down, you're going down,**
You're going down, you're going down (sung to the tune of "Tom Hark")
1 token
Newcastle United v Leeds United 17/8/2003 (109)
36. **You're not very good, you're not very good,**
You're not very, you're not very, you're not very good (sung to the tune of "Knees Up Mother Brown")
1 token
Bristol City v Barnsley 16/12/2003 (364)

Divisive Player/Manager Chants

1. **You dirty _____ bastard**
10 examples, 3 variants

You dirty northern bastard
Arsenal v Manchester United 28/3/2004 (790)
Brighton v Leicester 30/8/2004 (967)
Bristol City v Barnsley 2/5/2004 (890)
Portsmouth v Leeds United 25/4/2004 (874)
Queen's Park Rangers v Barnsley 12/4/2004 (833)
Swindon v Barnsley 1/2/2003 (46)

You dirty Yorkshire bastard
Chesterfield v Sheffield Wednesday 20/12/2003 (423)
Manchester City v Leeds United 22/12/2003 (402)
Stockport v Barnsley 8/3/2003 (52)

You dirty Yorkshire bastards
Scunthorpe v Barnsley 3/1/2004 (455)

2. **You fat bastard**
10 tokens, 1 variant
Barnsley v Wigan 3/5/2003 (80); v Notts County 31/1/2004 (609); v Sheffield Wednesday 13/3/2004 (737)
Bristol City v Sheffield Wednesday 28/2/2004 (663)
Manchester City v Everton 7/12/2003 (340); v Manchester United 13/12/2003 (479)
Manchester United v Wolverhampton Wanderers 27/8/2003 (156)
Rotherham v Gillingham 27/9/2003 (226)
Sheffield United v Sheffield Wednesday 17/1/2003 (1); v Leeds United 9/3/2003 (60)
3. **[Name of player/manager], [name of player/manager] what's the score?**
[Name of player/manager], what's the score? (sung to the tune of "Helule, Helule")

7 tokens, 7 variants

Deano

Huddersfield v Barnsley 22/2/2003 (50)

Harry

Leeds United v Liverpool 29/2/2004 (655)

Shearer

Manchester United v Newcastle United 23/8/2003 (136)

Sheron

Barnsley v Blackpool 27/1/2004 (577)

Souness

Liverpool v Blackburn 28/10/2003 (269)

Turner

Sheffield United v Sheffield Wednesday 17/1/2003 (13)

Warnock

Liverpool v Sheffield United 21/1/2003 (34)

4. [Name of player/manager] is a wanker, is a wanker (sung to the tune of the “Hallelujah Chorus”)
7 tokens, 5 variants

Alan Shearer

Aston Villa v Newcastle United 18/4/2004 (858)

Alan Smith

Leeds United v Charlton Athletic 29/11/2003 (385); v Derby County 7/8/2004 (930)

Ashley Cole

Leeds United v Arsenal 4/1/2004 (467)

Manchester United v Arsenal 21/9/2003 (210)

Harry Kewell

Leeds United v Liverpool 29/2004 (651)

Kevin Gallen

Barnsley v Queen's Park Rangers 12/4/2004 (826)

5. What the fucking, what the fucking,
What the fucking hell was that? What the fucking hell was that? (sung to the tune of “Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer”)
5 tokens, 1 variant

Fulham v Arsenal 9/5/2004 (920)

Leeds United v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (689)

Leicester v Leeds United 15/9/2003 (185)

Manchester United v Arsenal 28/3/2004 (792)

Northampton v Manchester United 25/1/2004 (561)

6. One greedy bastard, there's only one greedy bastard,
One greedy bastard, there's only one greedy bastard (sung to the tune of “Guantanamera”)
4 tokens, 1 variant
Aston Villa v Leeds United 7/2/2004 (623)

Leeds United v Liverpool 29/2/2004 (649)
Liverpool v Newcastle United 24/1/2004 (718)
Manchester United v Newcastle United 11/1/2004 (539)

7. [Name of club] reject
3 tokens, 2 variants
Barnsley reject
Barnsley v Stockport 8/3/2003 (56); v Blackpool 27/1/2004 (579)
- Blackpool reject**
Blackpool v Barnsley 27/1/2004 (578)
8. If Neville plays for England so can I (x2)
If Neville plays for England, Neville plays for England,
Neville plays for England so can I (sung to the tune of “She’ll Be Coming Round the Mountain”)
3 tokens, 1 variant
Leeds United v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (250); v Charlton Athletic 29/11/2003 (388); v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (697)
9. Who are you?
3 tokens, 1 variant
Barnsley v Stockport 8/3/2003 (57)
Leeds United v Newcastle United 17/8/2003 (105)
Middlesbrough v Fulham 19/1/2003 (24)
10. Cheer up [name of player/manager], Oh what can it mean,
To a _____ bastard, And a shite football team (sung to the tune of “Daydream Believer”)
2 tokens, 2 variants
- Cheer up Alan Shearer; Oh what can it mean;
To a shite Geordie bastard; And a shite football team
Manchester United v Newcastle United 23/8/2003 (137)
- Cheer up Kevin Keegan; Oh what can it mean;
To be a fat City bastard; And a shite football team
Manchester United v Manchester City 13/12/2003 (487)
11. [Name of staff] got our money
2 tokens, 2 variants
- Leighton’s got our money
Leeds United v Charlton Athletic 29/11/2003 (381)
- Risdale’s got our money
Leeds United v Charlton Athletic 29/11/2003 (382)
12. Rio is a _____head, Rio is a _____head,
Na na na na – hey, na na na na (sung to the tune of “Let’s All Have a Disco”)
2 tokens, 2 variants
- Rio is a cokehead
Leeds United v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (231)
- Rio is a smackhead
Leeds United v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (239)

13. **Alan Smith's a judas, Alan Smith's a judas,**
Na na na na – hey, na na na na (sung to the tune of “Let's All Have a Disco”)
1 token
Leeds United v Derby 7/8/2004 (941)
14. **Bye bye, bye bye; Bye bye, bye, bye** (sung to the tune of the “Big Ben Chimes”)
1 token
Barnsley v Notts County 31/1/2004 (610)
15. **Face like a donkey, he's got a face like a donkey,**
Face like a donkey, he's got a face like a donkey (sung to the tune of
“Guantanamera”)
1 token
Leeds United v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (235)
16. **Fuck off Shearer**
1 token
Manchester United v Newcastle United 11/1/2004 (542)
17. **Hasselbank's a wanker**
1 token
Scarborough v Chelsea 24/1/2004 (509)
18. **Hey, Kevin Pressman ooh aah! I wanna kno-o-o-ow how you got that fat** (sung to
the tune of “Hey Baby”)
1 token
Barnsley v Sheffield Wednesday 13/3/2004 (736)
19. **Houli out! Houli out!**
1 token
Liverpool v Leeds United 29/2/2004 (659)
20. **Jailer**
1 token
Brighton v Leicester 30/8/2004 (971)
21. **Judas**
1 token
Leeds United v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (252)
22. **Kevin, Kevin, give us a wave; Kevin, give us a wave** (sung to the tune of “Helule
Helule”)
1 token
York v Mansfield 14/2/2004 (641)
23. **Off, off, off**
1 token
Scarborough v Chelsea 24/1/2004 (507)
24. **Oh Kevin, Kevin, Kevin Kevin Kevin Kevin Pilkington** (sung to the tune of “Son
of My Father”)
1 token
York v Mansfield 14/2/2004 (639)
25. **Oooooh, shit, aaarrggghhh**
1 token
Chesterfield v Sheffield Wednesday 20/12/2003 (419)

26. **Rio for rehab**
1 token
Leeds United v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (703)
27. **Rio takes it up the nose (sung to the tune of “Go West”)**
1 token
Leeds United v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (232)
28. **Same old Shearer, always cheating**
1 token
Manchester United v Newcastle United 11/1/2004 (543)
29. **Same old Rio, always snorting Leeds (sung to the tune of the “Big Ben Chimes”)**
1 token
Leeds United v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (238)
30. **Scum**
1 token
Leeds United v Newcastle United 17/8/2003 (110)
31. **Sheron is a job seeker (sung to the tune of “Go West”)**
1 token
Barnsley v Wigan 3/5/2003 (85)
32. **Shit Welsh bastard, you’re just a shit Welsh bastard,
Shit Welsh bastard, you’re just a shit Welsh bastard (sung to the tune of
“Guantanamera”)**
1 token
Leeds United v Newcastle United 17/8/2003 (115)
33. **Sit down Pinocchio**
1 token
Leeds United v Liverpool 29/2/2004 (658)
34. **Smackhead**
1 token
Liverpool v Manchester United 20/9/2004 (977)
35. **Thierry Henry, you’re having a laugh (sung to the tune of “Tom Hark”)**
1 token
Fulham v Arsenal 9/5/2004 (921)
36. **We want Doyle out, say we want Doyle out (sung to the tune of Oops Upside Your Head”)**
1 token
Barnsley v Luton 18/1/2003 (16)
37. **You’ll never play for England**
1 token
Charlton Athletic v Leeds United 29/11/2003 (383)
38. **You’re shit and you know you are (sung to the tune of “Go West”)**
1 token
York v Mansfield 14/2/2004 (640)

Divisive Fan Chants

1. **Can/Shall we sing a, can/shall we sing a,**
Can/Shall we sing a song for you? Can/Shall we sing a song for you? (sung to the tune of “Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer”)
13 tokens, 1 variant
Barnsley v Notts County 31/1/2004 (597)
Brentford v Barnsley 17/4/2004 (840)
Brighton v Leicester 30/8/2004 (966)
Bristol City v Barnsley 16/12/2003 (365)
Chelsea v Leicester 11/1/2004 (516)
Chesterfield v Sheffield Wednesday 20/12/2003 (408)
Huddersfield v Barnsley 22/2/2003 (49)
Leeds United v Charlton Athletic 29/11/2003 (386)
Leicester v Leeds United 15/9/2003 (188)
Liverpool v Blackburn 28/10/2003 (274)
Manchester City v Everton 7/12/2003 (338)
Notts County v Chesterfield 20/3/2004 (778)
Scunthorpe v Barnsley 3/1/2004 (451)
2. **You’re not singing, you’re not singing,**
You’re not singing anymore, you’re not singing anymore (sung to the tune of “Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer”)
9 tokens, 1 variant
Arsenal v Leeds United 4/1/2004 (466)
Barnsley v Wrexham 28/10/2003 (260); v Plymouth 3/4/2004 (811); v Queen’s Park Rangers 12/4/2004 (824)
Manchester United v Liverpool 20/9/2004 (984)
Portsmouth v Leeds United 25/4/2004 (878)
Queen’s Park Rangers v Barnsley 12/4/2004 (823)
Rotherham v Gillingham 27/9/2003 (230)
Sheffield United v Nottingham Forest 15/5/2003 (92)
3. **You’re supposed to, you’re supposed to,**
You’re supposed to be at home; You’re supposed to be at home (sung to the tune of “Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer”)
9 tokens, 1 variant
Barnsley v Notts County 31/1/2004 (596); v Brentford 17/4/2004 (839)
Bristol City v Barnsley 16/12/2003 (363)
Cardiff v Ipswich 9/5/2004 (904)
Chesterfield v Sheffield Wednesday 20/12/2003 (406); v Notts County 20/3/2004 (774)
Manchester City v Everton 7/12/2003 (339)
Scunthorpe v Barnsley 3/1/2004 (453)
Wrexham v Barnsley 28/10/2003 (264)
4. **Town full of [nicknames], you’re just a town full of [nicknames],**
Town full of [nicknames], you’re just a town full of [nicknames] (sung to the tune of “Guantanamera”)
(8 tokens, 5 variants)

Dingles
Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (743)

Queers
Barnsley v Brighton 23/8/2003 (143)

Scabs
Barnsley v Notts County 31/1/2004 (603)

Scrubbers

Chesterfield v Barnsley 28/12/2003 (439)
Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 11/11/2003 (301); 13/12/2003 (344); v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (742)

Slappers

Sheffield Wednesday 13/12/2003 (345)

5. **Come to see the [name/nickname of club],
You've only come to see the [name/nickname of club] (sung to the tune of
“Guantanamera”)**
5 tokens, 3 variants

Rangers

Queen's Park Rangers v Barnsley 12/4/2004 (820)

Villa

Aston Villa v West Bromwich Albion 22/8/2004 (960)

Wednesday

Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 11/11/2003 (322); v Barnsley 13/12/2003 (355); v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (749)

6. **Can you hear [name/nickname of club] sing? No, no, (x2)
Can you hear _____ sing?
I can't hear a fucking thing, no, no (sung to the tune of “Camptown Races”)**
4 tokens, 3 variants

City

Manchester United v Manchester City 13/12/2003 (679)

Leicester

Chelsea v Leicester 11/1/2004 (525)

United

Manchester City v Manchester United 13/12/2003 (475); v Manchester United 14/3/2004 (763)

7. **Dee das**
4 tokens, 1 variant
Barnsley v Sheffield Wednesday 11/11/2003 (297); v Sheffield Wednesday 13/12/2003 (341); v Sheffield Wednesday 13/3/2004 (731)
Chesterfield v Sheffield Wednesday 20/12/2003 (420)

8. **Sing when you're winning, you only sing when you're winning (sung to the tune of
“Guantanamera”)**
4 tokens, 1 variant
Bristol City v Barnsley 16/12/2003 (366)
Queen's Park Rangers v Barnsley 12/4/2004 (822)
Walsall v West Bromwich Albion 9/1/2004 (494)
York v Mansfield 14/2/2004 (636)

9. **Who are you?**
4 tokens, 1 variant
Barnsley v Scunthorpe 3/1/2004 (446); v Blackpool 27/1/2004 (584)
Scunthorpe v Barnsley 3/1/2004 (447)
Sheffield Wednesday v Bristol City 28/2/2004 (671)

10. **My old man said be a [name of club] fan,
I said fuck off, bollocks, you're a cunt (sung to the tune of “The Cock Linnet
Song”)**

3 tokens, 2 variants

Chelsea fan

Queen's Park Rangers v Barnsley 12/4/2004 (828)

Wednesday fan

Barnsley v Sheffield Wednesday 31/1/2004 (614); v Sheffield Wednesday 13/3/2004 (735)

11. Dingles

3 tokens, 1 variant

Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 11/11/2003 (298); v Barnsley 13/12/2003 (347); v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (732)

12. Scabs

3 tokens, 1 variant

Barnsley v Notts County 30/8/2003 (172); v Notts County 31/1/2004 (602); Chesterfield v Notts County 20/3/2004 (776)

13. [Name of club], [name of club] give us a song,

[Name of club], give us a song (sung to the tune of “Helule, Helule”)

2 tokens, 1 variant

County

Barnsley v Notts County 31/1/2004 (595)

Mansfield

York v Mansfield 14/2/2004 (632)

**14. Na na na na – inbreds (x2) Na na na na, na na na na, na na na na,
Your sister is your mother, your uncle is your brother,
You only shag each other, the [name of club/place] family (sung to the tune of the
Addams Family)**

2 tokens, 1 variant

Bristol City v Barnsley 2/5/2004 (892)

Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (750)

15. Scabs until you die, you're scabs until you die,

We know you are, we're sure you are,

You're scabs until you die (sung to the tune of “H-A-P-P-Y”)

2 tokens, 1 variant

Barnsley v Chesterfield 28/12/2003 (431); v Notts County 31/1/2004 (601)

16. Sign on, sign on, with pen in your hand,

**Cos you'll never get a job, you'll never get a job (sung to the tune of “You'll Never
Walk Alone”)**

2 tokens, 1 variant

Brighton v Barnsley 23/8/2003 (144)

Manchester United 20/9/2004 (986)

17. What's it like to, what's it like to,

**What's it like to see a crowd? What's it like to see a crowd? (sung to the tune of
“Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer”)**

2 tokens, 1 variant

Notts County v Chesterfield 20/3/2004 (775)

Queen's Park Rangers v Barnsley 12/4/2004 (819)

18. Arthur Scargill, Arthur Scargill,

Arthur Scargill is our friend, Arthur Scargill is our friend (sung to the tune of “Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer”)
1 token
Barnsley v Notts County 31/1/2004 (605)

19. **Bye bye bye bye, bye bye bye (sung to the tune of the “Big Ben Chimes”)**
1 token
Chesterfield v Sheffield Wednesday 20/12/2003 (422)
20. **Champions, but you’ve got no fans (sung to the tune of “Go West”)**
1 token
Barnsley v Wigan 3/5/2003 (81)
21. **Fight, fight, wherever you may be; We are the boys from the West Country;
Fight you all wherever you may be; We are the boys from the West Country (sung
to the tune of “Lord of the Dance”)**
1 token
Bristol City v Barnsley 2/5/2004 (901)
22. **Get to work, get to work,
Get to work you lazy twats, get to work you lazy twats (sung to the tune of “Guide
Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer”)**
1 token
Manchester City v Everton 7/12/2003 (332)
23. **Have you ever, have you ever,
Have you ever had a wash? Have you ever had a wash? (sung to the tune of
“Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer”)**
1 token
Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 11/11/2003 (302)
24. **Home to shag you mother, you’re going home to shag your mother (sung to the
tune of “Guantanamera”)**
1 token
Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (748)
25. **I’d rather be a Paki than a scab (x2)
I’d rather be a Paki, rather be a Paki,
I’d rather be a Paki than a scab (sung to the tune of “She’ll Be Coming Round the
Mountain”)**
1 token
Barnsley v Notts County 31/1/2004 (608)
26. **If you all hate Scousers clap your hands (x2)
If you all hate Scousers, all hate Scousers,
All hate Scousers clap your hands (sung to the tune of “If You’re Happy and You
Know It”)**
1 token
Manchester United v Arsenal 21/9/2003 (212)
27. **Live round the corner, you only live round the corner (sung to the tune of
“Guantanamera”)**
1 token
Northampton v Manchester United 25/1/2004 (569)
28. **One Arthur Scargill, there’s only one Arthur Scargill (sung to the tune of
“Guantanamera”)**
1 token
Barnsley v Notts County 31/1/2004 (604)

29. One nil and you still don't sing (sung to the tune of "Go West")
1 token
Leeds United v Aston Villa 7/2/2004 (621)
30. One song, you've only got one song,
You've only got one song, you've only got one song (sung to the tune of "Blue Moon")
1 token
Arsenal v Manchester United 28/3/2004 (793)
31. Part-time supporters
1 token
Newcastle United v Manchester United 23/8/2003 (140)
32. Sheep, sheep, sheep
1 token
Huddersfield v Barnsley 22/2/2003 (48)
33. Sit down shut up, sit down shut up (sung to the tune of the "Big Ben Chimes")
1 token
York v Mansfield 14/2/2004 (634)
34. Twenty years and you're still a scab (sung to the tune of "Go West")
1 token
Barnsley v Notts County 31/1/2004 (607)
35. We can see you, we can see you,
We can see you sneaking out, we can see you sneaking out (sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer")
1 token
Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (751)
36. When I was just a little boy,
I asked my mother 'what will I be?'
Will I be Chelsea? Will I be Leeds?
Here's what she said to me:
'Wash your mouth out son,
And get your father's gun,
And shoot some Chelsea scum'
We hate Chelsea, we hate Chelsea (sung to the tune of "Que Sera, Sera")
1 token
Leeds United v Chelsea 29/11/2003 (378)
37. Where were you in, where were you in,
Where were you in '84? Where were you in '84? (sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer")
1 token
Barnsley v Notts County 31/1/2004 (606)
38. Worst support, worst support,
Worst support we've ever seen, worst support we've ever seen (sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer")
1 token
Manchester City v Everton 7/12/2003 (333)
(1 token)
39. You're scum and you know you are (sung to the tune of "Go West")
1 token
Leeds United v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (686)

Divisive Location Chants

1. Oh [name of place] is full of shit,
Oh [name of place] is full of shit,
It's full of shit, shit and more shit,
Oh [name of place] is full of shit (sung to the tune of "When the Saints Go Marching In")
7 tokens, 2 variants

Manchester

Blackpool v Barnsley 27/1/2004 (583)

Liverpool v Manchester United 9/11/2003 (282); v Manchester United 20/9/2004 (991)

Oldham v Barnsley 16/9/2003 (199)

Sheffield

Barnsley v Sheffield Wednesday 11/11/2003 (310); v Sheffield Wednesday 13/12/2003 (349); v Sheffield Wednesday 13/3/2004 (733)

2. Small town in [name of place], you're just a small town in [name of place] (sung to the tune of "Guantanamera")
5 tokens, 3 variants

Bradford

Mansfield v York 14/2/2004 (638)

Rotherham

Barnsley v Sheffield Wednesday 11/11/2003 (300)

Chesterfield v Sheffield Wednesday 20/12/2003 (418)

Sheffield

Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 11/11/2003 (299); v Barnsley 13/3/2004 (744)

3. [Name of place] wank, wank, wank (sung to the "Banana Splits" theme tune)
4 tokens, 2 variants

Manchester

Leeds United v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (233); v Manchester City 22/12/2003 (391)

Liverpool v Manchester United 9/11/2003 (286); v Manchester United 20/9/2004 (978)

4. Oh wanky wanky,
Wanky, wanky, wanky, wanky Lancashire (sung to the tune of "Son of My Father")
1 token
Barnsley v Wigan 3/5/2003 (86)

Divisive Referee Chants

1. You don't know what you're doing

6 tokens, 1 variant

Barnsley v Brighton 23/8/2003 (148)

Scunthorpe v Barnsley 3/1/2004 (449)

Sheffield Wednesday v Bristol City 28/2/2004 (667)

Sheffield Wednesday v Barnsley 11/11/2003 (323); v Barnsley 13/12/2003 (351)

Stockport v Barnsley 8/3/2003 (53)

2. The referee's a wanker

5 tokens, 1 variant

Barnsley v Brighton 23/8/2003 (149); v Queen's Park Rangers 12/4/2004 (818)

Leeds United v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (704)

Liverpool v Chelsea 17/8/2003 (128)

Notts County v Chesterfield 20/3/2004 (781)

3. **You're not fit to, you're not fit to,**

You're not fit to referee, you're not fit to referee (sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer")

3 tokens, 1 variant

Leeds United v Manchester United 28/10/2003 (705)

Notts County v Chesterfield 20/3/2004 (782)

Sheffield Wednesday v Bristol City 28/2/2004 (668)

4. **Wanker, wanker, wanker**

1 token

Barnsley v Blackpool 27/1/2004 (575)

5. **Who's the bastard, who's the bastard,**

Who's the bastard in the black? Who's the bastard in the black? (sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer")

(1 token)

Manchester United v Arsenal 28/3/2004 (789)

Divisive Other Chants

1. **Get your tits out, get your tits out,**

Get your tits out for the lads, get your tits out for the lads (sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer")

1 token

Leeds United v Manchester United 18/10/2003 (241)

2. **We shall not, we shall not be moved (sung to the tune of "We Shall Not Be Moved")**

1 token

Bristol City v Barnsley 2/5/2004 (884)

3. **What the fucking, what the fucking,**

What the fucking hell is that? What the fucking hell is that? (sung to the tune of "Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer")

1 token

Queen's Park Rangers v Barnsley 12/4/2004 (834)

4. **You can stuff your fucking houses up your arse (x2)**

You can stuff your fucking houses, stuff your fucking houses,

Stuff your fucking houses up your arse (sung to the tune of "She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain")

1 token

York v Mansfield 14/2/2004 (628)

5. **You don't know what you're doing**

1 token

Brentford v Barnsley 17/4/2004 (835)

Appendix 4

Miscellaneous Chants

1. **Getting off, getting off, getting off** (sung to the tune of “Here We Go”)
1 token
Leeds United v Charlton Athletic 29/11/2003 (372)
2. **Get the pigeon, get the pigeon,**
Get the pigeon off the pitch, get the pigeon off the pitch (sung to the tune of “Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer”)
1 token
Wigan v Barnsley 3/5/2003 (76)
3. **Oh Terry, Terry,**
Terry, Terry, Terry, Terry Exelby (sung to the tune of “Son of My Father”)
1 token
York v Mansfield 14/2/2004 (631)
4. **We love you Terry we do (x3)**
Oh terry we love you
1 token
York v Mansfield 14/2/2004 (630)
5. **We’re off to Blackpool**
1 token
Barnsley v Wigan 3/5/2003 (87)
6. **Who let the guy out? (sung to the tune of “Who Let the Dogs Out”)**
1 token
Leeds United v Charlton Athletic 29/11/2003 (373)

Appendix 5

Tunes of Chants

Rank	Tune	No. of tokens	No. of different chant types
1	We Love We Do	74	2
2	Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer	64	18
3	Guantanamera	50	13
4	Here We Go	47	8
5	Go West	38	16
6	Marching Through Georgia	36	1
7	Tom Hark	31	10
8	When the Saints Go Marching In	25	3
~	Wild Rover	25	1
10	Glory, Glory Hallelujah	22	2
11	Big Ben Chimes	19	6
12	Helule Helule	16	3
~	I'm H-A-P-P-Y	16	2
14	Blue Moon	13	7
15	Knees Up Mother Brown	11	2
~	Marching On Together	11	1
~	The Hillsborough March	11	1
18	My Bonny Lies Over The Ocean	8	1
~	Take Me Home Country Roads	8	1
20	Football's Coming Home	7	4
~	Amazing Grace	7	2
~	Land of Hope and Glory	7	2
~	Skip to My Lou	7	2
~	Hallelujah Chorus	7	1
25	Let's All Have a Disco	6	4
~	Son of my Father	6	2
~	You'll Never Walk Alone	6	2
~	Mary's Boy Child	6	1
~	Winter Wonderland	6	1
30	She'll Be Coming Round The Mountain	5	3
~	Camptown Races	5	2
~	For He's a Jolly Good Fella	5	2
~	When Johnny Goes Marching Home	5	1
34	Oops Upside Your Head	4	4
~	Lord of the Dance	4	2
~	You Are My Sunshine	4	2
~	'Banana Splits' theme tune	4	1
~	Clementine'	4	1
~	Daddy Cool	4	1
~	Nick Nack Paddywack	4	1
41	If You're Happy and You Know It	3	3

Rank	Tune	No. of tokens	No. of different chant types
~	Hi Ho Silver Lining	3	2
~	'Bob the Builder' theme tune	3	1
~	'Dambusters' theme tune	3	1
~	The Cock Linnet Song	3	1
~	Hey, Hey Baby	3	1
~	Hooray, Hooray, it's a Holi-Holiday	3	1
~	Red Flag	3	1
~	Twelve Days of Christmas	3	1
50	Ole, Ole, Ole, Ole	2	2
~	Que Sera Sera	2	2
~	Daydream Believer	2	1
~	Drink Up Thee Cider	2	1
~	Everywhere We Go	2	1
~	I've Got a Brand New Combine Harvester	2	1
~	London Bridge is Falling Down	2	1
~	The Addams Family theme tune	2	1
58	Always Look on the Bright Side of Life	1	1
~	Jingle Bells	1	1
~	Mull of Kintyre	1	1
~	My Old Man's A Dustman	1	1
~	On Top of Old Smokey	1	1
~	'Robin Hood' theme tune	1	1
~	Singing the Blues	1	1
~	The Lord's My Shepherd	1	1
~	Volare	1	1
~	We Shall Not Be Moved	1	1
~	Who Let the Dogs Out?	1	1
~	Yellow Submarine	1	1

Appendix 6

Interview Guide

POTENTIAL THEMES AND QUESTIONS

Background to support

- How long have you supported Barnsley? Reasons why.
- How did your support for the club begin?
- How often do you attend matches, both home and away?
- Has the pattern of your support changed over the years?

Rivalry

- Who do you consider to be Barnsley's biggest rivals? Reasons why?
- Do rivalries change when the clubs are in different divisions from one another? (i.e. do stronger rivalries emerge with other clubs? Do the old rivalries still get mentioned despite being in different divisions?)
- How are the rivalries expressed?
- Any other notable rivalries?
- Rivalries with Notts clubs – would they exist if it wasn't for the Miners' Strike?

Atmosphere

- What is the atmosphere like at Barnsley matches?
- Is there a difference in the amount/type of vocal support at home and away matches?
- Why do you think fans are noisier at some matches than others?
- Do you think the atmosphere at football matches has altered since the introduction of all-seater stadia?

Chants

- What kinds of chant are sung at Barnsley matches?
- What do you think is the purpose of the chants?
- What effect do they have on:
 - a) the fans
 - b) the players
- Why is it so important for fans to get behind the team?
- Under what circumstances do you think it is appropriate to criticise your own club or players through chants?
- What about the chants that are aimed at rival sets of fans about each other?
- How seriously do you take the insults aimed by rival fans and what are their effects?
- What is your reaction to them?
- Are some insults more offensive than others?
- What is your opinion of the scab chants used at matches with Notts clubs?
- Any other comments about chants

Any other comments/concerns