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Thinking Through
Football Hooliganism

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

1

PART ONE

Pages

5.1:	Introuction to Part One	1 - 21
5.2:	Summary of the Whole	22 - 28
5.3:	<u>Chapter One: PHENOMENOLOGY IS THE METHOD OF FOUNDATIONAL RESEARCH.</u>	
5.4:	The Character of The Natural Attitude Towards Hooliganism	31 - 40
5.5:	Suspending The Natural Attitude	41 - 49
5.6:	Suspension Of The Language Of The Natural Attitude	50 - 63
5.7:	The Suspension Of Policy Interests	64 - 72
5.8:	Policy, Theory and Practice	73 - 82
5.9:	The Suspension Of Positive Science And Casual Explanation	83 - 91
5.10:	Summary of Chapter One	92 - 93
	<u>Chapter Two: HOOLIGANISM AS A PROBLEM</u>	
5.11:	Introduction	94 - 96
5.12:	Hooliganism As A Problem Of Violence	97 - 110
5.13:	The Footballing Character Of Football Violence	111 - 118
5.14:	Hooliganism As A Commercial Problem	119 - 120
5.15:	Property Damage	121 - 122
5.16:	Declining Attendances	123 - 128
5.17:	The Financial Repercussions Of Hooliganism	129 - 137
5.18:	Hooliganism As A Racial Problem	138 - 148
5.19:	The Nature Of The Racism-Ascription Process	149 - 153
5.20:	Localism, Regional Pride, Patriotism and Soccer Violence-Accidental Connections	154 - 168
5.21:	Hooliganism As A Problem For The Courts	169 - 190
5.22:	When Hooliganism Is Meant As A Problem Of X, Y, And Z. What Is The Structure Of This Meaning?	191 - 204

PART TWO

Chapter Three: NOETIC ANALYSIS

205

5.23:	The Need To Transcend Noematic Analysis	205 - 206
5.24:	The Act Character Of Noetic Acts	107 - 216
5.25:	Method And Goal Of Noetic Analysis	217 - 222
5.26:	Soccer Hooliganism As Perceived	223 - 225

S.27:	The Character And Effect Of Apperception	226 - 229
S.28:	The Synthesis Of Sense And Attributes Within Apperception	230 -
S.29:	The Character Of Hyletic Date	231 - 234
S.30:	The Animation Of Hyle With The Constituted Sense Of Hooliganism	235 - 240
S.31:	The Unification Of Predicate Senses	241 - 246
S.32:	Apperception Is Founded Upon The Structure Of Understanding.	247 - 250
S.33:	Perception Of Hooliganism Is Founded Upon A Certain Temporal Structure	251 -
S.34:	The Synthesis Of Unification Of Hooliganism Is Founded Upon Temporality	252 - 257
S.35:	Apperception Of Soccer Violence Is Founded Upon A Continuing Tradition Of Pre-Understandings.	258 - 263
S.36:	The Future Orientation Of Perception And Perceptual Understanding	264 - 268
S.37:	Temporality And The New Point	269 - 285
S.38:	Anticipation And The Presence Of Hooliganism	286 - 287
S.39:	The Character Of Anticipated Violence	288 - 293
S.40:	Anticipations And Traditions Of Hooliganism	294 - 303
S.41:	Hooliganism As Recollected	304 - 306
	Introduction:	
S.42:	The Character Of Recollected Hooliganism	307 - 310
S.43:	Recalled Hooliganism As A Modifying Re-Presentation Of A Prior Perception	311 - 313
S.44:	Recollection Re-Presents Hooliganism Within A Margin And Horizon And For A Unified Subject	314 - 320
S.45:	Explicating The Margin Of Recollection	321 - 333
S.46:	Linguistic Pre-Understandings Of Hooliganism Are Grouped Upon Sedimented Tradition And The Continual Sedimentation Of Statements Into That Tradition.	334 - 351

PART THREE

Chapter Four: EGOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF SUBJECTIVITY FOR WHOM THERE IS HOOLIGANISM.

S.47:	The Character And Necessity For Egological Analysis	352 - 355
S.48:	Perception And The Interests Of Perceiving Subjects	356 - 361
S.49:	The Concerns, Interests And Capacities Of Recollecting Subjects	362 - 369
S.50:	The Concern Of The Anticipating Subject	370 - 376
S.51:	The Subject As Will To Power/Recognition - A Recaptivation And Projection Of The Story To Date	377 - 381
S.52:	The Embodied Subject	382 - 387
S.53:	The Habitual Subject Of Hooliganism	388 - 396

	Pages
S.54: The Subject Of Conviction	397 - 402
S.55: The Social Subject	403 - 413
S.56: The Subject Of Time	414 - 426
S.57: The Subject Of Intersubjective Time	427 - 445
S.58: Intersubjective Temporality As The Medium For Self-Consciousness/Truth	446 - 451
S.59: Self-Consciousness And Recognition	452 - 458

NOTES:

GLOSSARY

BOOKLIST

APPENDIX ONE

THINKING THROUGH FOOTBALL HOOLIGANISM.

S.1: INTRODUCTION TO PART ONE.

The overall aim of this work is to uncover, describe and analyse the phenomenon of soccer hooliganism both as it appears and in the way that it presents itself to consciousness.

But why "think through" football hooliganism at all? Surely quite enough has already been said and written about this highly publicised form of public disorder? Already there have been psychological, sociological, socio-psychological, historical and media study accounts - to say nothing of numerous articles and newsreports in the popular media. Upon the basis of their distinctive ways of setting up and relating to this phenomenon, these accounts have produced various types of policy-orientated reactions and explanations in terms of psychological immaturity, the alienation of traditional working class fans from "their club" in an age of consumer capitalism, ritualised aggression, the expression of a traditional male working class form of territorial localism and finally as the outcome of and subsequent reaction to the "labelling" of fans and "moral panic" of the media. In all honesty, what more is there to say? Why has not the author tackled an area of crime that has yet to be so fully documented?

This study is not primarily concerned with adding to the ever escalating and odd academic enterprise of reviewing reviews of reviews from pre-conceived standpoints upon standpoints about such standpoints etc., which themselves rarely address the possibility-conditions of that which they theorise about. A brief glance down the booklist of this research will confirm that there is currently

no shortage of studies which concern themselves with the rehashing of all that which has been previously written about both phenomenology and soccer violence. What, in the face of all this, WOULD truly be an achievement is the APPLIED phenomenological explication of the phenomenon itself.

Undoubtedly the purported explanations mentioned above have, taken as a whole, responded to the problematic presence of something our culture understands as hooliganism in such a way as to explain this "something" in terms of the presence of something else. Only for as long as we understand research purely in terms of this causal-explanatory manner and policy-reactive mode, can this area be said to be unquestionably well researched. It is on this implicit basis that there appears little justification for yet another study of football hooliganism. But are the possibilities of academic research exhausted by the setting up and responding to the established presence of phenomena "out there" in the real world in line with the dictates of established disciplines?

The title of this study summarises a foundational project in that both the thinking and the object "thought through" are brought together. It is a major contention of phenomenology - the method of our foundational research - that all the activities of consciousness and experience are intimately connected to an experienced object or "phenomenon", so that all experience is experience OF some thematic object meant and meant in a distinctive manner. Thus prior to the questions "Why is there football hooliganism"?, and "What should be done about it?", is a more fundamental or "foundational" problematic: one which precedes explanation and addresses the possibility-conditions for the cultural presence of both the phenomenon and our accepted ways of responding to our awareness of it.

In this context, the expression "foundational" signifies the disclosure of a layer of typically pre-thematic - and hence unseen - cultural operations. These operations demarcate, sustain and project the intelligible structure of normality only against which certain activities and attitudes can subsequently become thematic AS "social problems", "deviance" etc. The continual constitution and reiteration of these intelligible structures pre-determine WHAT MUST be experienced IF this experience is TO BE that of hooliganism.

Such constitution occurs through a nexus of various "presentational modes" including imagination, anticipation, perception, signification and recollection. Each one presents to consciousness a sense of hooliganism but in its own distinctive manner that leaves a stamp upon the meaning itself. Because the total experienced presence of a sense of soccer violence is constituted in and through a nexus of these modes, e.g. part imagined, part anticipated, part recalled from others' significations etc., the question "WHAT hooliganism is experienced AS"? leads on to another: "HOW is its presence as X, Y and Z constituted as such"?

Since these meanings and manners of constitution are always directed towards a living intersubjectivity FOR WHOM there are certain events meant as hooliganism through a nexus of these presentations, a third foundational layer can be explicated: "How is our mode of existing as living subjectivities disclosed in the experiencing of soccer violence"? This line of foundational questioning addresses how for example, each act of anticipating trouble at football matches discloses from within itself an anticipating "subject". This shows itself to be an operative series of concerns, habitualities, interests, convictions and

practical comportments towards the social world which surrounds it.

In short, foundational research addresses those questions relating to WHAT is it that is being experienced AS hooliganism? In WHAT SENSE is it currently being experienced as a problem? HOW is this interpretation constituted and sustained? And upon the basis of WHICH series of INTERESTS, CONCERNS and PRACTICAL COMPORMENTS TOWARDS THE SOCIAL WORLD? Once research is understood in these foundational terms, an infinite horizon of research possibilities opens up. Virtually the whole field currently inhabited by causal-explanatory modes of criminology and the sociology of deviance - including that of soccer violence - becomes once again "virgin territory".

Too often though studies in this phenomenological tradition have been one-sided. At one extreme some have been content with purely theoretical debate and inquiries concerning method. At the other extreme, much descriptive phenomenology has occurred in the form of ethnographic and participant observation accounts of crime in general and hooliganism in particular with little theoretical justification of the method which is being applied or reflected upon; (cf. Marsh, 1977, 1978). What is needed to remedy this one-sidedness is an empirically orientated but theoretically informed mode of foundational analysis.

Accordingly the following study is divided into three parts which correspond to the three stages of this foundational orientation towards hooliganism's what, how and for-whom structures. Since theory helps produce the results, or at least allows some data to present itself and not others, each part contains a theoretical investigation which is then illustrated concretely through specific empirical accounts. The three stages - noematic ("whatness"), noetic ("howness") and egological ("for-

whomness"), build upon one another. Together they add up to one single foundational method of thinking ANY TOPIC in terms of what its whatness, howness and for whomness. Yet the PARTICULAR object under study is the experience of football hooliganism, so the test for the method will lie in the clarity, depth and coherence it produces in our comprehension of this experience. Again, the concrete empirical studies depend upon each other as much as the theoretical investigations and any truth assembled lies in the whole.

The empirical evidence gathered for the applied aspect of this investigation has been derived partly from a period of (non)participant observation work carried out between 1980 and 1985 with soccer fans following Chelsea, Portsmouth, Sheffield United and Millwall football clubs. Other empirical sources have been formal and informal interviews with affected parties such as publicans, shopkeepers, supporters' clubs, police officers and court clerks. Also reports in local and national news media, parliamentary debates, articles and books have been examined. Throughout this period I have also attended and monitored magistrates' court hearings in Portsmouth, Rotherham and Birmingham; (for a detailed listing of both see Appendix 1).

Such a broad sweep has been required because the constituted noematic meaning of hooliganism which both defines its whatness and is the target of this part of the research, is itself exemplified across a whole range of social groups and institutions.

The gathering of this evidence did not aim to follow those dictates of quantitative research distilled in positivistic handbooks on how to carry out such social "scientific" research. Because the goal of this research is to ground itself at the prior level of qualitative distinctions and determinations of meaning, no

effort was made to emulate the exact method possible in mathematical physics. The use of questionnaires to set up in advance the "issue" of hooliganism in essentially quantifiable terms, would have necessarily stipulated by fiat that which was sought to be ascertained - the founding level of meaning and acts of meaning-determination; (cf. Marsh 1978, p.141).

For reasons dictated by the scientific imperative of foundational research to be adequate to the cultural nature of the phenomenon, my research has taken the form of a progressive gathering of cultural determinations - determinations whose character is typically glossed over by the transforming standpoints mentioned above. Nevertheless this gathering and its analysis have followed certain rules. Games were selected on their perceived potential for violence based upon past clashes, the importance of the game to fans' "reputations", police warnings of possible trouble and so on. No points are advanced unless they have appeared as common to a number of peoples' perceptions of hooliganism's significance-for-them, and thus as part of the "common stock" of cultural typifications. Indeed for every one quotation used to illustrate an aspect of the phenomenon, another dozen or so could have been added. Therefore although some Millwall fans and their victims feature prominently along with those from South Yorkshire, I have no reason to believe that their sense of soccer violence is specific to these fans. In fact, my subsequent research into other studies by Murray (1977), Marsh (1975, 1978), The Social Science Research Council (1978), Dunning (1982) and Williams et al, (1984) have, at the level of meaning, largely confirmed my own findings. In any event it should now be clear that the project is not a purely factual study of hooliganism's observable and material reality seeking to generalise

and derive lawful causal connections from a "representative data-base".

The events and characters described do not necessarily portray any hypothetical "average" and "normal" occurrences and crowd interactions in and around soccer matches. Thankfully soccer violence is more the exception than the rule. Instead what is claimed is that within the aspects examined, this empirical account does capture, describe and analyse the significant character of these exceptional events' common experience - what they are, in the author's experience experienced AS. For example, in the explication of "hooliganism as a commercial problem", its perceived "effects" - decline in attendances, loss of revenue etc. - appear as themselves contributing to the perceived "causes". (Such a reversal of "cause" and "effect" presents itself as a further justification for the decision not to follow the line of questioning of criminological positivism for whom "cause" is always projected as prior to and somehow more primordial than "effect").

Despite this extensive observational field-research, at no point is there offered a comprehensive commonsensical description of "what it is like" to mundanely experience soccer violence. Other writers such as Murray and journalists such as Brian Lacey have met this need well enough - but upon the basis of a taken-for-granted understanding of what hooliganism is, how and for-whom its "whatness" presents and reiterates itself. Indeed this research has used their, my own and others' "stories" throughout as exemplifications of certain structural aspects of experienced crime per se. Yet the crucial point is that this text aims to supply the foundations and possibility-conditions for these anecdotal exercises which, by virtue of their very anecdotal and commonsensical form, they necessarily gloss over.

The author is acutely aware that this concern for the foundations and possibility-conditions for pre-reflective experience will leave this study vulnerable to simultaneous charges of being both under and overdescriptive.

Underdescriptive in the sense that the concrete experiences of the interviewees and those of the author are not explicated for their own sake as "real life stories" concerning either what it "feels like" to be an actual or potential victim or victimiser. Such an expectation is reasonable enough for a text which considers the CONSTITUTED CONTENTS of the common sense experience of violent crime; it is quite inappropriate for one which attempts to address from within the experiential realm, the possibility-conditions for the cultural constitution of that experience. For foundational studies such concrete and factual contents are essentially trivial, illustrative and contingent; while the revelation of their evident grounds - the meant-structure of hooliganism's meaning, the anticipatory structure of its presentation through anticipation, etc. - are essential and true.

On the other hand, this study may appear overdescriptive insofar as it lacks any concern for explaining the real activities meant in various ways for certain cultural "subjects" as hooliganism. It is as if the description of the consciousness of soccer violence in terms of pre-constituted and constituting intersubjectivity, displaces an "objective" explanatory analysis of that brute material reality which we ARE conscious of in situations of real crowd disorder.

In response to both possible objections, I can only re-emphasise that the problematic of this study is to systematically account for and illustrate the lived-experience of soccer violence in terms of this experience's what, how and for-whom structures. WITHOUT SUCH

AN ACCOUNT ALL DESCRIPTIVE-EXPERIENTIAL AND CAUSAL-EXPLANATORY STUDIES ACHIEVE THEIR MUCH-VAUNTED "CONCRETENESS" AT THE EXPENSE OF GLOSSING OVER THE INTERSUBJECTIVE PRESENCING OF THE PHENOMONON TO INTERSUBJECTIVE AWARENESS.

Another possible misunderstanding of this project concerns history. In the second and third parts the reader is asked to reflect upon temporality as the form of all forms of hooliganism's meaning(s), presentation and subject-comportments; yet nowhere is a straightforward history of hooliganism offered. Undoubtedly this must seem perverse to common sense; yet a factual linear history of incidents is NOT given precisely because this interpretative system projects hooliganism as a series of real incidents and activities in a matter-of-fact material world; whilst a factual history presupposes a "historical" recuperation of the sense of hooliganism only on whose changing basis can we "have" a series of matter-of-fact and "obviously real" incidents.

Although this literature is referred to and referenced throughout this study, no "critical review" is offered. This is because foundational research is more interested in the "first order" phenomenon of hooliganism than what various writers from assorted concealed "second order" standpoints, theorise ABOUT each others' theories. Undoubtedly a complementary study could - and should - be written of the way in which a certain sense of soccer violence is constituted, disparted and communally reiterated through all that is publically said and written about the phenomenon by government reports, S.S.R.C. studies, TV documentaries, journalists, Ministers of Sport etc.

In fact certain linguistic aspects of the phenomenon are in fact explicated below in relation to the way in which the articulated recollection of violence opens up and holds together a distinctive

"world" of soccer violence and members' hierarchical status within it. While this explication has concentrated primarily upon the articulated recollections of fighting gangs and their victims - since signification presupposes a prior intuitive understanding of what it is that is being talked about - there is indeed scope for subsequent research to continue and extend this linguistic aspect into less immediate cultural realms.

To realise the foundational aim of this work requires certain methodological prerequisites. These include the systematic removal of those standpoints that block access to and distort the phenomenon's appearance, and which prevent even a preliminary (noematic) analysis of hooliganism in terms of its "whatness". The works of Taylor and Marsh can, for example, be studied not for their intrinsic value but as illustrations of the way in which socialist and liberal policy standpoints can transform not only the response to hooliganism but the awareness of the phenomenon itself in line with these standpoints' distinctive characteristics. These standpoints upon hooliganism result not in the phenomenon itself, but in its transformation in line with their distinctive dictates, e.g. those of common sense, common sense language, policy interests and positivist versions of science.

Accordingly sections two, three, four and five uncover and describe the concealed operation of these transforming standpoints. Since such a disclosure is quite impossible from within these self-justifying realms, their suspension is entailed both in order to reveal the operation of such standpoints, and to allow our analysis to break through them towards the phenomenon of hooliganism itself.

At this point perceptive readers will have already realised that many difficult demands are about to be made upon them which entail a reversal of habitual standpoints and mundane ways of being-aware

of their experience. Since their need and justification can only appear AFTER these reversals have been performed, these demands to go against the accustomed grain may initially appear unreasonable as well as difficult.

What may add to this sense of suspicion concerns a style of language use and series of technical expressions which refuse to go along with the flow of commonsensical understanding. Such understanding continuously accomplishes and sustains the closure of thoughtful questioning concerning the what, how and for-whom structure of the phenomenon. That this use reflects something essential about the foundational quest itself is apparent from the way all seminal writers within phenomenology - writers whose non-phenomenological works often display great lucidity and straightforward clarity - have been forced by the weight of the opposition to sustained phenomenological reflection, to struggle both in and against the mundane glossing of everyday language.

Once more I would invite the reader to experiment in order to gain a first hand sense of this difficulty by attempting to compare mundane and reflective levels. Namely, the results of explicating WHAT they anticipate when they experience the threat of soccer violence as distinct from the articulation in everyday language of HOW anticipation presents a sense of such violence, or the CONTENTS and FORM of this sense qua sense, or how we ourselves ARE in this anticipatory experiencing.

What only adds to this problem of language is that the very development of such a reflective understanding against the superficial grain of common sense, itself unfolds in and through language. Yet if we attempt to by-pass the progressive development of such understanding and merely summarise the "results" - as has been done in the conclusion of this study - no amount of stylistic

refinement can substitute for the systematic thinking upon the grounds of experience that underscore their intelligibility-for-consciousness. For essential reasons examined below, common sense language lacks expressions for those levels of phenomenological evidence which it glosses over and suppresses. There are for example, no adequate words to characterise the meant nature of the phenomenon of soccer violence, the intersubjective acts of consciousness and culture through which this sense is selectively drawn from a living tradition, animated with contents in an extended presence within the fleeting present and then progressively deposited back into that culture.

As a result the technical expressions "noema"/"noematic", "noesis"/"noetic", "de-sedimentation", "apperception", "enpresentation" and "sedimentation" respectively, have had to be deployed. Inevitably these terms could present yet further problems of interpretation which the inclusion of a glossary at the end of this text can only partly alleviate. In short the difficulties in language have their basis not in the idiosyncracies of phenomenological writers - including the author - but in the real difficulties in substance which their reflexive writings uniquely take as truly problematic and thematic in their own right.

Nevertheless, patiently battling through the trail of the following empirical and theoretical accounts will deliver certain possibilities. Namely opportunities for developing both a peculiarly reflective awareness of that which we ourselves are when we are engaged in the experiencing of our lives, and generalisable skills and strategies for becoming so aware. This is especially true if readers can then develop from phenomenological evidence, results and findings that supersede both my own and that of my reading of the phenomenological tradition.

While this indeed may be experienced as a "reward", it could equally be interpreted as the substitution of a "phenomenology of the self" in place of a phenomenology of soccer violence. Yet this interpretation is sustainable only for as long as the significance of interpreted incidents are divorced from their constitution as such in, through and for an interpreting intersubjectively embodied self. One with all its cultural web of relevancy criteria, topicality, selective concerns etc., which mediate our awareness of entities, actions and others.

Another difficulty a reader may face relates to the use of phenomenological theory. The organisation and character of the questions which this study addresses derive from a broad, argumentative and conflicting tradition. One which includes Hegel, Nietzsche, Husserl, Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty and Ricoueur. It cannot be overstressed that the author's highly selective appropriation of this broad phenomenological tradition in the formulation of issues and for comparison, authority and reference, does not claim to be a simple and uncontroversial duplication of a unitary "school of thought". Of necessity it is an APPLIED interpretation that aims to gain a certain unity of sense from a conflicting and still evolving theoretical tradition. As a result a reader who is expecting yet another study about the phenomenological movement in which Husserl is set explicitly against Heidegger who is then contrasted with Hegel etc., will be disappointed. What follows is not a programmatic investigation about the POSSIBLE application of certain phenomenological texts to criminology in particular or to the social sciences in general.

Accordingly the reader will not be diverted away from the phenomenon of hooliganism towards the author's reasons for giving preference to say Heidegger's account of pre-understanding in experience, to that given by Husserl. This however is not to decry the project of providing an author by author account of the relevance and usefulness of particular phenomenologies for studies of crime and criminalisation; it is rather to emphasise that this exegesis would be quite another kind of study altogether - a study of criminological and phenomenological theories qua theories, in which thesis is set upon antithesis, pros weighed against cons etc.

Instead what follows aims to awaken in the readers' reflection, the shock of re-cognition concerning levels of lived-through but

glossed over experiences in such a way that readers could then be able to compare critically their experience of say, the threat of crime / violence with the account which is offered below. Here readers would themselves be performing a version of phenomenological reflection within the enhanced self-consciousness which it presupposes. Then and only then, would they be able to truly understand and appreciate the debates within the evolving historical problematic of phenomenology itself.

This does not mean that the author is quite unaware of, and unresponsive to, both internal and external critiques of this tradition. That Habermas, Adorno, Derrida and others have subjected it to criticisms upon the basis of a quasi-Hegelian, quasi-Marxist and other perspectives. Indeed the selection and emphasis precisely reflects the force of some of their objections. Thus a "disciple" of the early Husserl could perhaps find my theoretical appropriation of Husserl overly Hegelian and existential. Equally, others working within the Nietzschean / Foucaultian tradition would perhaps dismiss my reading since it apparently entails the idea of a "unitary subjectivity" for whom there is something meant as hooliganism through different modes of cultural constitution. Whatever the strategic advantages of "getting one's retaliation in first" against such theoretical critiques by way of extensive and anticipatory "pre-emptory strikes", I have chosen to leave the defence of my theoretical reading until any informed criticisms of it have actually been made. Again this serves the task of avoiding diversions for the reader.

Operating as it does within the phenomenological tradition, this study cannot "prove" this or that causal "explanation" of the presence of hooliganism, what it can do is to SHOW to the reader

foundations of that which orthodox criminology seeks to explain. In this sense the reader is invited to enter into the systematic and many-layered rigours of becoming fully aware of our consciousness of experienced crime. Thus debate between initiates has had to be sacrificed for the sake of initiating the reader into a position where such a debate COULD become truly meaningful.

Having said all this, the author is quite aware that this selective interpretation of what it means to carry out applied phenomenological research is in many ways original and hence highly controversial within phenomenology itself. To those unsympathetic to Nietzsche and Hegel, the emphasis upon struggles for "recognition" of one's reputation, and the vindication / intensification of one's form of life and may appear to be read INTO rather than OUT of the phenomenon. As an interpretation it arguably stands on its own ground quite independent of the experience of soccer violence, criminology or whatever. But then of course the JUSTIFICATION THROUGH RATIONAL ARGUMENT for the original basis of selection from within the rich resources of phenomenological writings would be a project in its own right. Nevertheless to the extent that the following account of the experience of soccer violence finally achieves a level of coherence and evident truth, the theoretical decisions which underscored my interpretation of these writings would be partly vindicated - at least prima facie. The application of an incoherent set of questions cannot consistently produce a sensible set of answers.

But it must not be thought from what has been stated so far that theorising as such is rejected, or that epistemological questions about how can we be sure about what we think we know is truly known are discounted; or that theories about soccer violence have been relegated to a "lower division" in relation to an account based upon

immediate experiences. Indeed our analysis of common sense seeks to reveal how this most overtly untheoretical attunement is in fact a low level and unreflexive form of applied metaphysics insofar as it has already decided upon the nature and purpose of social reality. As far as this study is concerned it is not a case of trading pure theory against atheoretical practice, pure against applied; but rather of inhibiting and delving through these mutually excluding dichotomies into the cultural dynamics within our consciousness of hooliganism which constitute this as "practical" and that as "theoretical".

We do not "reject" the ascriptions of common sense vis a vis the propriety of their contents; it is their counter-reflexivity which is struggled against. This struggle occurs not from the position of a disembodied spectator consciousness of the ideally neutral observer; but from inside a merely human - and therefore thoroughly immersed - consciousness swimming against its own tide for some heightened degree of reflexive consciousness of soccer violence.

This does indeed involve vast areas of naivete in that common sense is never fully eradicated and a fully reflexive "absolute knowledge" instituted. At every stage of the explication of soccer violence which this text contains one could - from the assumed position of total reflexivity - demand a certain simultaneous phenomenological description. Namely of those ways in which different aspects of the experience legitimate themselves through intuitive self-evidence. In other words, when describing the experience of anticipated violence in terms of the ways in which I saw onlookers glancing anxiously around them, avoiding sitting near windows etc., I could also have described the experiences of securing the cognitive possession of these aspects as most surely those of threatened violence. Yet on this side of absolute knowledge there

are limits to what can at any one time be thematic within the flux of lived-experience.

At any one time not everything can be problematic, every theme only stands out as such upon the basis of a pre-thematic horizon. Again it is crucial not to confuse the effort of this research to inhibit the total unreflexivity of common sense's routine operation, with the idea that its hold can be completely left behind like a snake loses its skin. The practice of phenomenological reflection is not an explosion of light which instantly dispels all darkness and pre-conceptions; it is rather the illumination of darkness and pre-conceptions as such.

That, even after the suspension of mundane policy interests, this quest is bound up with, and a very minor moment of, the intellectual adventure of the West in its search for social and intellectual self-determination, is undoubtedly true. Equally true is Husserl's claim in his "Crisis" text (1936/70) that this adventure contains universal elements in relation to the potential rational humanity of human society since the capacity for self-consciousness is what is definitive of the human. For present purposes, phenomenological theory offers some helpful devices for access to such reflexivity and even some highly general outlines of modes of consciousness per se., but little or no contents.

Thus this study is written for those who are looking for an APPLIED study - but one which is not geared to immediate policy perspectives - IN the phenomenological tradition ABOUT a highly topical phenomenon. One which illustrates both this tradition's and the phenomenon's power to inspire thoughtful and systematic reflection upon concrete experience. Insofar as the author is seeking an intelligible and feasible way of working through the various layers of the intersubjective experience of hooliganism in

particular and experience per se., this study will refer to OUR experience. Such a use could create the impression that I am, without warrant, generalising and projecting my own highly particular experiences. Yet the initial assumption that these experiences are indeed merely those of a pre-social and "boxed-in" private subjectivity to which one has some exclusive access is equally questionable. In this regard the reader is asked to bear with the text until Part Three where the social nature of the subject for whom there is X meant as soccer violence is more fully explicated.

The sense in which this text refers to "our" is intended to be neither dogmatic nor assertive, so much as questioning. It is meant more in terms of "don't you also experience the threat or reality of hooliganism through the structural modes which I have tried to explicate"? In this sense "our" is used in a similar way to that employed by a guide who offers an interpretation of a scene or painting, without legislating in advance for the readers' own composition of the theme.

Because of this use of the author's first hand experiences of soccer violence to illustrate certain aspects of the phenomenon, it would be an understandable mistake for the reader to see this study as purely anecdotal and thus strictly limited to the peculiarities and contingencies of his biographical situation. On this basis it would be possible to doubt whether anything more universal - and hence essential - was in truth being stated.

Although this reading would be understandable - especially given the way conventional criminological studies rarely integrate theoretical and empirical/experiential realms - it would still be a misunderstanding. One which does appreciate fully the purely illustrative status of these experiential descriptions in relation to the phenomenon's structural aspects. For example, in the discussion

of the presence of a sense of soccer violence through the noetic mode of anticipation, there are a number of first hand descriptions of the actual anticipations of potential victims - including the author.

Whilst clearly the CONTENTS of these were specific - what was being anticipated, from whom, on which occasions guided by specific concerns and interests? etc. - those aspects of the phenomenon's INVARIANT ANTICIPATORY FORM NECESSARILY HELD CONSTANT. In other words, the essential way in which each and every possible anticipation of hooliganism MUST present a sense of violence if it is to truly BE the experience of anticipated hooliganism. So while the underlying interests and capacities of the anticipating subjects whose fears are quoted in the text were highly varied and specific, their inclusion was merely illustrative of the truth that ANY presence of crime through anticipation bears an essential structural relation to the concerns, compartments and interests of anticipating subjects.

The same point holds true concerning those experiential descriptions of recollected and perceived hooliganism. In fact the precise difficulty in directing and sustaining reflection towards the FORM rather than the mundane contents of experience - the fact that it goes very much against the habitual grain of common sense - is tackled head on in section two.

If the totality of intelligibility of this three-part investigation is to emerge in the reader's transcendence of this text, a peculiar and patient form of reading is demanded. A reading whose own re-composition of the text grasps its OWN contribution and the COURSE of composing that leads up to this reflexive reading.

Hegel:

"Impatience asks for the impossible, wants to reach the goal without

the means of getting there. The length of the journey has to be borne with, for every stage is necessary; and again we must halt at every stage, for each is itself a complete individual form, and is fully and finally considered only so far as its determinate character is taken and dealt with as a rounded and concrete whole, or only so far as the whole is looked at in the light which this determination gives it"; (1807/1949, preface).

S.2. SUMMARY OF THE WHOLE.

After this introductory effort to explain the overall project in terms of methodology and theory of the first nine sections, it is now time to summarise its substantive contents. Section ten pulls together the earlier suspensions of standpoints. After a brief introduction (S.11), chapter two begins to realise this programme through concrete investigation into certain elements of hooliganism's constituted significance, ie. as it appears to consciousness as a problem of violence (SS.12, 13), commerce SS.14, 15, 16, 17, racism, SS.18, 19, 20) and appropriate legal response (S.21). Following the phenomenological dictate to explicate the margins and mediating horizons of phenomena, the analysis of hooliganism "as a problem of racism" follows through the interrelation of determinations between the perceived racism / racist violence of hooligan fans and wider mediating cultural determinations of what soccer signifies in terms of local, regional and national pride / chauvinism; (S.18).

Further, our discussion of hooliganism as a legal problem reveals that this mediation is a two-way affair. Here judicial determinations reiterate definite pre-understandings of hooliganism which are derived from a cultural typification process to which they, through special statutory interpretations and sentencing directives, themselves contribute; (S.21). Because this research is guided by an idea of truth that entails knowledge about the essential structures of the hooligan phenomenon, section 22 closes this chapter by reflectively distilling the essential structures of ANY of the senses in and through which hooliganism exists for us. In other words, the invariant properties of each and every meaning of hooliganism AS a

meaning without which it could not BE meant at all. Such an analysis addresses the FORM of any possible meaning content.

Chapter three discusses the necessary inadequacies of the purely descriptive noematic study that preceeded it; (S.22). These become apparent when form and content are compared. One aspect of the constituted meaning-content necessarily escapes noematic explication - its having-been-constituted in various presentational acts and by a constituting (inter)subjectivity.

The next two sections - 24 and 25 - address the essential character of (noetic) presentational acts AS acts of constituting consciousness which actualise the presence of hooliganism, and the necessity for noetic analysis of these acts in their sense-constituting function). The distinctive methods and goal of noetic analysis - making our experience of hooliganism fulfilled, rational and self-evident - are then unfolded. This disclosure of the rationality of experience as lying not in the "given facts" but in the fulfilment of its rational possibilities, further develops the earlier critique of positivistic method.

Chapter four moves away from generalised and programmatic discussion, to concrete analysis of the three presentational acts which provide the foundations for the presence of hooliganism to our consciousness - perception, anticipation and recollection. In sections 26 to 37, perception is distinguished from other noetic acts and unfolded as their founding act. The constitution of hooliganism as a perceptual sense through the complex synthesis of its constituent elements - meaningless and specific sensations, generalised cultural pre-understandings and attributes - is then explicated. This explication makes intelligible how it is possible for us to perceive contingent real incidents of soccer violence as themselves having generalised ideal meanings and properties. The

synthesis of elements which animates the perceived world with meaning, is termed "apperception" and found to be grounded upon the structure of understanding itself.

This structure is probed until its own foundations within a temporal horizon is discovered as the possibility-condition for each and every possible perceptual synthesis of each phase of any incident as one of "hooliganism". The temporality of this temporal horizon presents itself in the present as a flowing unity with a fixed structure of future-present-past appearing through protentions, enpresentations and retentions; (SS. 36, 37 and 38). Within this temporal horizon, the flowing of perceptual phases is then shown to exhibit becoming as its primary form and determination - a determination which itself is the temporalising of time. Thus although the perception of hooliganism has so far appeared as essentially an enpresenting of present events within the present, this enpresenting is essentially grounded upon a temporal horizon. Subsequent explication reveals that this horizon itself extends through pre-understandings back into a living cultural tradition, and forward towards that which is emerging from the future into the present. The perception of hooliganism is then seen to be primarily oriented towards the immediate future as the source for its possible fulfilment and therefore truth.

Such an account of perceived hooliganism, leads this investigation to the other primary acts which present a sense of soccer violence - anticipation and recollection. Anticipation is distinguished in section 38 and 39 from other acts and characterised as the operative presence to consciousness of the not-yet-present. This act presents hooliganism within the general outlines of a typical structure that awaits "fleshing out" with intuitive contents by perception. From section 41 onwards,

recollection is then examined as an act which selectively re-
presents to recollecting consciousness past incidents within the
present but modified AS past. This representation manifests the
incidents it renders thematic within an indeterminate but always
determinable margin and horizon. All recalled contents are founded
upon and made possible by a living but sedimented / sedimenting
flowing cultural tradition which is itself the medium for fans'
"reputations".

Chapter five reveals that the neglect of the character of the
subject FOR WHOM there is hooliganism meant as X, Y and Z through
various acts amounts to a (necessary) limitation in the research to
date - one which requires remedy through egological analysis. Each
act is now unfolded as the act of a subject which "lives" immersed
in its performance and whose interests structure and determine this
performance from the outset. Thus each perception, anticipation
and recollection of hooliganism can be analysed as "clues" to the
form of social life of that which "has" the experience. In each
act this "subject" emerges as a motivated structure of concern
oriented towards gaining recognition from others of its own
distinctive form of life. This concern is then unfolded as
essentially will to recognition / power.

Chapter six further explicates the "subject" of soccer violence
in terms of its essential structure, ie. as a materially embodied
system of habitualities, convictions, pre-given social relations,
temporality, intersubjective temporality and finally self-
consciousness of its own truth. Each of these elements are
examined in turn, with each analysis building upon the preceding
ones and contributing to those that follow it. Thus although not
reiterated, the explication of the materially embodied individual
subject still carries over into the disclosure of its pre-given

social character. Consequently, this disclosure of intersubjectivity essentially reveals a materially embodied intersubjectivity. Equally the later discussion of the subject's temporal structure presents implicitly itself as an intersubjective structure - an implication made explicit in the next section.

In spite of this totalising development, each element is initially treated as distinct and on its own terms. For example the subject's embodied character is explicated as an ever present but incompletely given presence that houses, shapes, contributes its own raw sensations and makes possible the distinctive presence of hooliganism as a bodily threat. Its directedness towards an incident is then explicated as an explicit and public clue to the operative and motivating system of concern of the particular subject which animates the body it "owns". Also the body is seen both to provide the possibility-conditions for "normal" perception and thus the criteria for "abnormal" perceptions of hooliganism, and to BE the "zero-point" from which each incident gains its distance, angle and perspective for the perceiving subject. Subsequently explicated is the role of the body as a wilful expression of fans' style of exhibiting for-others, a distinctive and significant presence.

This somewhat static "egological" account is followed by the disclosure of the subject as a substrate of habitual ways of being an experiencing subject which "has" them and is "had" by them as its "personality". These enduring habitualities are shown to be always already at the end-point of a flowing cultural tradition, whose habitual re-enactment in selective perceptions of and responses to soccer violence further entrench this tradition. The consequences of these habitualities in terms of fans' "reputations" both for others and for themselves are then unfolded, followed by a

discussion of habitualities' active and passive constitution over intersubjective time.

Some constituted habitualities are both expressed as and become entrenched convictions about hooliganism which are ritually and publically "confirmed" in experiences whose significance they have already shaped. Convictions are then analysed in terms of their motivations, (re)activation, operation, contribution to a continuing familiarity / identity within the surrounding social world, integrity, practical orientation and temporality.

Next the always already social character of the subject is investigated next at both the constituted and constituting levels, ie. as both a "site" from the collective and institutional elaboration of the world of hooliganism, and as an "agent" actively elaborating the "objectivity" of this world. Empathetic identification founded upon the pairing of bodies with "persons" is then unfolded as the possibility-condition for the experiencing of others as "significant others" - terrace allies, rivals and strangers. The character of the intersubjective "surrounding world" is then explicated in terms of its character AS a cultural world, the role of its members in reproducing it through their motivated vindication of its common pre-understandings, its determining principles as that specific world and lastly its relations with material nature.

The disclosure of the constitution of hooliganism's surrounding cultural world redirects attention to the founding temporal structure of the subject as a member of a constituting intersubjectivity. Through a collective and practically oriented temporal synthesis, this constituting intersubjectivity is shown to constantly assemble and elaborate a constituted culture for whom there is hooliganism meant in various ways. Finitude is then

revealed as the character of the individual subject's time in which it moves through living tradition, memory and anticipation as a "time traveller"; yet, as a participating member of constituting intersubjectivity, its temporal medium is then seen to be potentially infinite. The collective temporalisation of intersubjective time presents itself here as the possibility-condition for any member's experience of soccer violence, its presentational acts or the subject which "has" this experience as its own.

Thus our study argues that the only "explanation" of hooliganism - one which can account for the intelligible presence of a phenomenon in terms of its presence - lies in self-consciousness of the temporal / temporalising constitution - of the phenomenon across noematic, noetic and egological levels. Hence the final section considers the "absolute" flow of intersubjective temporality as the medium for this self-consciousness of temporal constitution and thus potential truth of experienced hooliganism. Here foundational research reaches its own foundations - foundations whose empirical investigation within a community of like-minded others, must be the project of a post-positivist form of reflexive scholarship.

At this point the substantial analysis terminates to be followed by an afterword in which lines for the possible continuation of such foundational research are tentatively offered. These include the analysis of noetic acts of judgement, imagination and signification in the presentation / constitution of hooliganism. Also along with the will to recognition / power, there is the role of language, power and labour as the "engines" that "drive" the intersubjective constitution / temporalisation of our surrounding social world and surrounded selves.

CHAPTER ONE: NOEMATIC ANALYSIS AS THE BEGINNING OF ANY
PHENOMENOLOGY.

S.3: Phenomenology is the Method of Foundational Research.

Phenomenology means the science of phenomenon where science is the giving of a rational account and phenomenon is the appearance of something. Phenomenology therefore is the discipline which records and accounts for objects AS EXPERIENCED and in their ways of appearing or styles of appearance. Appearance here is not to be contrasted with some possible disclosure, nor is it in opposition to "essence"; instead it is reality and its essential structures which appear in experience to reflective consciousness.

Descriptive phenomenology aims to understand and grasp football hooliganism as an object of our direct experience in its immediacy - that is in its living, here and now presence to experiencing consciousness. Once grasped it tries to provide an unadulterated and unbiased description, but this is not easy. A whole web of standpoints and a "veil of ideas" intervene between ourselves and what it is we actually experience when we experience soccer violence. These intervening standpoints include common sense, common sense language, the explanatory attitudes founded upon the quantification of objectively observed facts offered by positive sciences and policy interests which lay down in advance that the truth of hooliganism lies in its eradication. Foundational research needs to "put out of play" and suspend our blind assent in these standpoints upon soccer hooliganism so as to allow the phenomenon itself to surface. The most basic of these standpoints - one that informs the others - is the common sense of the "natural

attitude".

SUSPENDING THE COMMON SENSE STANDPOINT OF THE NATURAL ATTITUDE.

S.4: THE CHARACTER OF THE NATURAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS HOOLIGANISM.

The aim of this section is to initially explicate the character, operation, scope and contradictions of the common sense standpoint in order to explain and justify our subsequent "suspension" of it. Next the nature, difficult procedures and results of this suspension are explicated and then contrasted with both Marxist notions of "ideology-critique" and the relativistic denial of hooliganism's reality.

By the "natural attitude" towards football hooliganism we do not mean an attitude derived from the world of nature, but a conception which "comes naturally" to us as a matter of course. Therefore its "naturalness" refers not to some "original" nature, but to a socially ingrained and habitual way of making sense of the surrounding social world and our embodiment within it. Our current mode of world / self comprehension is based upon a technical / scientific perspective whose general matrix has, over the past 250-300 years, increasingly come to operate within us as a "second nature". Yet whatever version of the natural attitude prevails during any particular historical period, in essence it remains an unquestioning belief in an independent reality.

Within this perspective, the phenomenon of hooliganism is taken-for-granted as simply given in ordinary perception of the world about us; (cf. Husserl, 1936/70, s.38; 1913/31, s.27).(1) In this way we can live in a world in which hooliganism - together with certain other related categories, ie. social security scroungers, muggers, reactionary Judges, right wing conspirators

etc. - are implicitly held to be "obviously real", while their intelligible character and its constitution as such, are routinely glossed over.

The general thesis of the natural attitude operates at a level far below that of conscious judgement. Within it we busy ourselves only with the END PRODUCTS of a series of interpretations, judgements, valuations and commitments that structure phenomena. Husserl;

"Daily practical living is naive. It is immersion in the already given world, whether it be experiencing, or thinking, or valuing, or acting. Meanwhile all those productive intentional functions of experiencing, because of which physical things are simply there, goes on anonymously. The experiencer knows nothing about them, and likewise nothing about his productive thinking. The numbers, the predicative complexes of affairs, the goods, the end, the works, present themselves because of the hidden performances"; (1933/77, s.64.).

On the basis of such thoughtlessness we can easily manipulate, refer to and pass between each other the "same" incident of soccer violence, perceive subsequent crowd trouble as "more of the same" or share an argument over competing pet solutions to the "same" problem despite contests over the right response, ie. birching, ground closure, instant imprisonment or improved leisure facilities; (Ingram, 1978; Williams et al., 1984).

So strong is the unnoticed and unstated commitment to the real existence of what these categories refer to, that the very functioning and accomplishing acts of "projecting", "holding to be real" or "judging" remain necessarily and continually covered up;

(Husserl, 1936/70, p.146). They are lived through but not focused upon. Instead what appears is the world-as-projected, as-held-to-be-real and as-judged. As a result of this glossing over, social life is then lived through these concealed meanings, presentational modes and concerns. Lawyers, for example, can dwell within a world in which group chanting on the way to and during a football match automatically appears in terms of "obstruction of the highway", "offensive words and behaviour", "unlawful assembly" etc; (see S.15 below). As an outcome of the concealed operation of this natural attitude, daily life always presents itself as already populated by "football hooligans", "muggers" and other end products whose culturally constructed reality appears "obvious" and beyond doubt. In a self-justifying circular procedure, these qualities are blindly READ INTO the events themselves as if this a direct unadulterated gift from their intrinsic nature merely "received" by a legal as well as everyday culture and consciousness basking in self-oblivion. Such an unstated commitment to hooliganism as independent from socially defined space, time and things, amounts to a naive epistemological realism. By contrast, our foundational research into football hooliganism addresses the "recipes" or "assembly-rules" that give "an unbroken constancy" and "synthetic coherence running through all conscious acts" to life within the natural attitude; (cf. Husserl, 1936/70, s.38). It examines those cultural operations which constantly assemble and entrench our sense of "obviousness", of say the "real supporter" as distinct from its mirror image - the "hooligan minority".(2)

The range of the natural attitude towards hooliganism is far reaching and by no means the monopoly of football club officials, magistrates, lawyers, sports journalists, outraged local residents, MPs, Ministers of Sport or others with specialised interests.

Further, by no means is this attitude restricted to the processes through which the sense of football hooliganism is socially constructed, responded to and sustained. Instead, it also projects the objects of the social, political, cultural and scientific worlds as obviously there without question, thought or statement.

Therefore the natural attitude is not so much a specific premise entailing particular consequences, but a GENERAL THESIS that underlies and supports all our mundane mental activities including psychological, psychiatric and sociological "explanations" of positivist social sciences that set themselves above common sense; (Husserl, 1936/70, s.38). Upon it - or rather upon the familiar backdrop which it provides - we proceed to deal with both daily and specialist spheres of social life and our wellbeing within them. The adoption of specialist pursuits such as criminological studies; e.g. the study by Marsh (1978) into the motivations of fans perceived as hooligans which challenge this ascription of hooliganism, in no way challenges its general thesis. Instead, it is to the resources and conditions of emergence of this common sense world that such specific and specialist concerns are related.

In fact it is only on the basis of the entrenched and thought-provoking thoughtlessness of the natural attitude that we have access to an obvious world of "football hooliganism" in the first place. This is because its general thesis creates an underlying sense of familiarity in our commerce with our surrounding social world. As a result the perceived abnormality / sub-humanity of the hooligan appears within the horizon of a taken-for-granted everydayness vis a vis the perceived normal humanity of the "real fan". This overarching sense of normality continually confirms itself by calling to account anything which deviates from it. From this blindly accomplished sense of normality, certain elements such

as fan's alcohol consumption, unemployment, parental/school discipline stand out as "clear issues", as "problematic", as "crying out for further research" and as "controversial". Yet its basis in the continual construction of the perceived normality of the "real supporter", is further displaced and rendered unproblematic. Hegel;

"What is "familiarily known" is not properly known just for that reason that it is "familiar". When engaged in the process of knowing it is the commonest form of self deception, and a deception of other people as well, to assume something to be familiar, and give assent to it on that very account; knowledge of that sort never gets from the spot, but has no idea that this is the case. Apprehending and proving consists similarly in seeing whether everyone finds what is said corresponding to his idea too, whether it is familiar and seems to him so and so or not"; (1807/1949, preface).

Despite the self-certainty associated with this "obviousness", it is not however typically upon clear self-evidence, so much as a dogmatic holding-to-be-real and the subsequent projection of this judgement into the surrounding world. It is achieved only at the price of a constant transformation of our flowing concrete experience of the perceived social world. This naive transformation which, as we shall see in later sections mirrors the positivism of much criminology, projects the reality of hooliganism to reside exclusively in physical reality - the bio-chemistry, genetic code, material environment etc. of football fans. Hence our experiencing of certain activities as those of hooliganism is taken as a merely incidental passive receipt of an otherwise

transcendent and essentially material reality. Here our conscious experience of hooliganism, ie. its significance for our consciousness, is accounted for in terms of the assumed properties of real persons and actors. Not only is the reality of perceived hooliganism taken to be exclusively physical, so too are the acts of perceiving certain activities as those of hooliganism and the subject's consciousness performing these acts. Here experiencing consciousness itself is projected as just another "piece" of a material world. By fiat this transformation and concealment of hooliganism's subjectivity-relatedness arbitrarily rules out from the start any consideration of the possible role of social interests in shaping the intelligibility of our experience of soccer violence; (see S.49ff.). Thus the naive realism covers the what, the how and the for-whom structure of experienced hooliganism.

Once so reduced to materiality, this reality can now be taken as quite independent of "merely subjective" social meanings and the historical processes through which these are culturally assembled, structured and presented through different modes to our consciousness. When ingrained in this self-justifying way, the operation of any variety of the natural attitude is quite free of any conscious effort or self-conscious reflection.

Yet when we escape the domination of common sense sufficiently to be able to reflect upon experience, what concretely appears to our consciousness is the experiencing, through various modes - imagination, anticipation, perception, signification and recollection - of distinct activities and themes meant as "violence", "vandalism", "public disorder", "drunkenness", "threatening behaviour" etc. Integral to this experience is its subject-relatedness, ie. a living and irreducible flowing stream of

subjectivity that "has" the experience, which is directed towards these activities in a distinctive habitual style via concrete imaginings, anticipations etc. Further the directedness of this stream towards concrete meanings is quite independent of the physical existence or non-existence of what is meant. Thus in no way would the significance of football hooliganism die out if the activities perceived as hooliganism stopped over night; (see S.12 below).

Therefore this reductive transformation of experience that takes itself to be so "straightforward", is really an abstraction that shifts attention away from WHAT meanings animate these activities, the structure of these meaning as such, HOW these meanings present and constitute themselves as intelligible, the distinctive structure of each presentational mode and the specific concerns of a particular living subjectivity for whom these activities are "threatening", "appalling" etc. An explication of these levels provides foundations for ANY approach, idealistic or materialistic, which allows an initial determination of hooliganism's intelligible character.

Common sense approaches to hooliganism thus begin with ready-made end products and never get beyond them so as grasp the logic of either their assembly and constitution or that of itself.

To immediately reduce our meaningful experience of soccer violence to the material reality of soccer fans or their environment, is to remove access to reflection upon how the phenomenon itself is concretely constituted for consciousness as hooliganism as distinct from say, "high spirits".(3) Material or any other ontological relations assumed after reduction to "explain" our lived-experience of hooliganism are not themselves reflectively observable. What is more, only upon the basis of such

a constitution at a foundational level are common sense reactions and explanations even possible; (Hegel, 1807 / 1949, p. 176).

Since this positivistic character of common sense founds an "explicit" premise of many quasi-criminological accounts, despite their greater controlled rigour and exactness these accounts remain subject to the same problems and contradictions.

Despite this contradiction, the routine experience of daily life lived through on the basis of such naive realism, apparently confirms these constituted end products as part of the furniture of the social world. Such confirmation does not occur because of an accord with our lived experience, but because the transformed experience of common sense can never contradict the prior interpretative scheme and conceptual matrix that reproduces it.

Within the natural attitude towards hooliganism we are therefore entwined, held captive and interwoven into the systematic thoughtlessness of current forms of institutional and social life into which we have already been thrown. Such captivity does not restrict which aspects of football violence that can be addressed, ie. hooliganism as the acts of sub-human moronic savages, as a sign of moral decline, as a response to unemployment, as organised by the extreme right-wing, etc.; it does however determine that the addressing shall be in the distinctive manner of a naive and unreflecting realism that glosses over its own operations.

In short, life within the natural attitude is a participation within a cultural process of constantly bestowing and re-producing various meanings upon the local world in and around football grounds; while at the same time aborting the possibilities of self-consciousness of either the bestowal or the achievement of thoughtlessness. As such it is a form of darkening blindness operating in the heart of our perception.

However in one sense the natural attitude is almost inevitable under present social conditions; (Berger, 1983, ch.2). It cannot be avoided in our everyday dealings within positivistic forms of institutional life, such as the educational, prison and criminal justice system. Here we must and do accept the end products of a whole series of interpretative judgments as real, good, useful and disastrous without thought or reflective awareness of what truly constitutes "reality", "goodness" etc.; (Husserl, 1929/69, p.101). These meanings are taken as residing within the very nature of the thing experienced. As a consequence the evils committed by hooligans - terrorising local people, stoning disabled supporters, kicking Asian toddlers and so on - are conceived in terms of the evil character of their acts or themselves as actors. Questions about what would count as the APPROPRIATE AMOUNT of evil in the world remain unthought. This is despite the fact that, due to the inevitability of the natural attitude, no society to date has functioned without a certain recipe ascribing "evil" to acts which challenge its fundamental articles of faith.

In fact whatever way a society is organised there must be deep rules that prescribe some areas as entirely unproblematic so as to allow for the reproduction of its overall conceptual horizon. Revolutionary societies are faced with the problem of rapidly and violently entrenching such prescriptions through massive and continual propaganda exercises that pass under the name "re-education" or "literacy campaigns". These are evident in the reaction to the growth of football hooliganism in the Soviet Union. Within positivistic varieties of social organisation on either side of the iron curtain, common sense operates upon ground which has already been worked by the institutional logics and requirements. These have replaced questions of truth and ultimate validity with

pragmatic and instrumental criteria of technical usefulness
collapsing intellectual problems into social problems,
thoughtfulness into strategy and policing.

S.5: SUSPENDING THE NATURAL ATTITUDE.

The problem of even talking about common sense and the experiencing of hooliganism is that as long as common sense is operative it cannot see, let alone define or comprehend itself AS an arbitrary interpretation; (Hegel, 1807/1949, p.144). Because it glosses over the meaning of hooliganism which nonetheless prescribes what CAN be experienced as hooliganism and reduces its target to its merely physical aspect, it feels itself immediately in contact with reality itself; (Hegel, *ibid*, p.149). The very question of hooliganism's intelligible meaning, its modes and relatedness to the subject's concerns, now appears "abstract", "woolly", "philosophical" and therefore untrue. Hegel put this well in a letter to Ghert in 1812:

"To the uninitiated philosophy, as regards its content, must simply seem to be the world reversed, contradicting all their habitual concepts and whatever else, according to so called sound common sense, seemed to them valid"; (Briefe, 1, 426; cf. 1806/1949, 176).

It is difficult to overstate the entrenched self-oblivion and self-justifying dogmatism of common sense. As a result of such entrenched dogmatism, the natural attitude can take not only hooliganism but also itself as forever "obvious" and unproblematic.

It is only by actually suspending common sense approaches to football hooliganism that their character as a pre-judgement and low level theory of reality, can gradually begin to emerge; (Hegel, *ibid*, p.144). Yet while this unreflective and self-justifying state of affairs rules, common sense cannot even begin to comprehend what any talk of its suspension could possibly mean. Be

that as it may, what suspension means must still be talked about for our purposes even if these opening gambits in foundational research are left with only a minimal audience.

When common sense approaches to hooliganism are suspended, nothing is done to that which they approach. Nor does suspension of the natural attitude signify that unthinking assent to the presence of the projected hooligan-type is replaced by systematic doubt, scepticism, celebration or self-refuting relativism; (cf. Marsh 1978; Whannel 1979, Taylor, 1971, Hegel, 1806/1949, p.252). It signifies the activity of taking a backward step from our immersion in the natural attitude and to temporarily withhold judgement upon the commitments that attend it. Instead of instantly dismissing alternative rhetorics surrounding various aspects of soccer culture that surface dramatically in football hooliganism as "male myths", "capitalist ideologies" or socialist "dogmas", foundational research aims to disclose the mythical character of any mythology, the ideological character of any ideology etc. ie. the prior sense-structure that allows for any subsequent acceptance or dismissal. Thus by way of the suspension, metaphysical, political and mundane questions about "reality", "ideology" or "mythology" become irrelevant.

The obscene blasphemies uttered by football supporters could for example, be studied as such after suspension as an experienced theme without any commitment whatsoever to atheism, theism or "pure speech". Here reflective consciousness would ideally "deliver itself" completely from such commitments and attend to the nature of the experience AS EXPERIENCED without participating in the natural existence-positing or disbelief associated with theism or atheism. Therefore by our withholding of judgement we neither deny nor affirm the existence of the kind of hooligan-type / true fan

dichotomy taken for granted by common sense. Although we abstain from using the existence-positing of the natural attitude, suspension leaves the positing intact - even within the consciousness of the researcher; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.32).

Suspension merely brackets and withholds the CONSTANT PROJECTION OF BELIEF in order to understand how the objectivity of an overarching cultural reality - with its hierarchy of significations and signified social relations - is put together in our experience of soccer violence.

The suspension of unthinking assent can be illustrated in the difference between a film experienced by an ordinary viewer and one experienced by a critic. To the ordinary viewer the film may become real, inviting the suspension of DISBELIEF, she may cry, sharing the grief of the deserted wife, be inspired by the lofty ideals of the heroes and so on. The critic on the other hand, must attend to the films character AS A FILM, as something CLAIMING reality. Like a critic, the researcher into this form of social life withdraws from immediate and lived-engagement observing this experience and the experiencing of it from a (cognitive) distance. Here the reflective observer is no longer "at one" with the cultural projection of the hooligan-type. The naive realism of the natural attitude is displaced and the reality of it's cultural themes confirmed - BUT AS A PHENOMENON, ie. as a reality-claim.

What remains after suspension are all the meaningful aspects of football hooliganism and its various manners of presentation - that is all its constituted / constituting cultural significance and human sense which were previously regarded as inherent to the real existence of the activities and nature of the fans themselves; (cf. Hegel, *ibid*, p.171). Withholding belief in the independent existence of sub-human, moronic, mindless hooligans; (cf. *The Sun*

15/3/85), reveals the meaning of these categories as culturally achieved and constantly bestowed. It must be stressed that such withholding neither confirms nor denies the validity or the "reality" of such commonsensical ascriptions. Its sole function is to bring to light the fact that they ARE ascriptions as distinct from being factual reports of the intrinsic nature of these actions. The presence to reflective consciousness of these cultural determinations, appears in the form of a string of conscious events temporally but not spatially ordered relative to one another in lived-time. These events have a privileged evidential position vis a vis the real activities of fans they are directed towards. The cultural determinations can in principle appear completely; whereas they signify can ONLY appear one-sidedly through partial aspects and from a limiting physical / spatial perspective. Suspension thus takes as problematic the (re)produced obviousness of daily life that proscribes the normality of the "real fan", and which within the natural attitude can never itself become "news".

After taking the first step down this road through the suspension of common sense, we are no longer concerned WHETHER the projected hooligan-type - with all the unflattering ascribed properties - exists or not; but with the SENSE in and through which this phenomena presents itself to our consciousness as existing in a certain manner; (Hegel, *ibid*, p.153). This manner includes degrees of certainty/doubt, evidential clarity / incompleteness, modes of attention, practical / teleological concern, and spatial subject-relatedness. It also includes a series of interrelations under an overarching totalisation, with other cultural significations, ie. local pride / chauvinism, nationalism / racism, combative masculinity / brute thuggery. etc; (cf. Hegel, *ibid*,

pp.150-51, 222-24). What is further disclosed and uncovered here is consciousness of previously hidden acts of valuing, judging, perceiving, anticipating, recalling, expressing and so on, through which this phenomenon presents itself to consciousness as something meant. As foundational research, it uncovers, describes and analyses the concealed level of constituted-sense / sense-constitution upon which the mundane rhetorics of the natural attitude are based.

The total aim is account for the structure of experienced hooliganism by virtue of which it has the meant properties it has. This is possible by describing the various features of culturally embedded consciousness and their role in the constitution of meaning by intersubjectivity. For example, instead of "obvious hooliganism" we can reflectively describe our experience as follows; "fans-believed-strongly-and-confidently-to-be-hooligans-on-the-basis-of-a-wide-definition-of-hooliganism-embracing-all-that-deviates-from-the-subject's-own-definition-of-the-normality-of-the-normal-fan".

Analysis can then go on to consider the cultural processes that generate the prevailing SENSE of "hooliganism", "real fans", "normality", "public order" etc. The actual fans themselves appear in this judgement as an imperfectly given theme to which a growing system of meanings can be synthetically added. In this example, the aim was to avoid all interpretations that read into the phenomenon more than is genuinely revealed in the subjects lived-experience. The very strength and character of assent to the "existence positing" and the positing itself, by the consciousness that intends football culture, can now become themes in their own right; (Husserl, 1936/70, s.38). We can now confirm that there undoubtedly was such a positing and that we are now re-enacting

both a remembrance of it and a neutralised picture of its contents.

Instead of assuming that the internal and external independent material reality of soccer violence somehow "explains" our experience of it (cf. Dunning 1982), after suspension we try to make that reality intelligible in terms of our lived experience. Such intelligibility depends upon a self-reflective clarity carried to its limits. This reflection re-instates the question of HOW the wider world of football / sport / leisure / combative masculinity / law and order / state power and so on, continually accomplish and culturally constitute themselves, through particular relations of identity and difference, as pre-given to our experiencing consciousness; (Husserl, 1936/70, s.42). The aim here is to see the world of football hooliganism as something thoroughly acknowledged, posited and interpreted as having this or that structure by constituted / constituting intersubjective consciousness.

This cultural determination appears to our individual consciousness embedded within it, as the possibility-condition for its own reconstitution of the phenomenon; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.33). Thus not only is the subject-relatedness, and thus possible humanity / theoreticity, returned to the phenomenon, but so to is consciousness of the social relationships-cultural significations-individual consciousness relation, and in their respective levels of "depth" / primordiality. Thus reflective consciousness, in gaining awareness of itself as a site for cultural transformation, has already suspended its own mundane placement as a psycho-physical piece of the world's furniture; (Husserl, 1933/64/75, s.11).

By gaining access to the logic of this construction, the "engines" that "drive" this construction - power, labour,

interaction (largely governed by the language, labour, the will to recognition and power; (Hegel, *ibid*, p.231-33) - can themselves become accessible to reflective observation. Reflective consciousness of these determinations lies however at the very end of foundational investigations after the what, how, for whom of soccer violence have been fully explicated.

Husserl called this initial suspension the establishment of the observer as a "disinterested onlooker above the naively interested ego"; (Husserl, 1933/77, s.15). At this initial stage the sole remaining interest being to see and to describe adequately what is seen PURELY AS SEEN, as what is seen in such and such a manner, and to describe this in an attitude of "absolute freedom from prejudice"; (*ibid*). By way of the suspension, we are prevented from importing into our analysis of experience prior encrustations, ready-made attitudes and anything more than what is actually presented by it. It must be stressed that "purity" in this context does not mean freedom from the organising contributions of subjectivity to the experience of soccer violence so as address an objective residue untarnished by this contribution. On the contrary, the description of the phenomenon of soccer violence *qua* phenomenon, is designed to reveal the underlying constitution of the sense of this violence by constituting subjectivity - or rather by constituting intersubjectivity. Purity relates to whatness purified of any concern for thatness.

Therefore through suspension we are invited to accept only what actually appears and to accept it only within the limits in which the contents appear. If a relationship between a fan's criminal act and his surrounding circumstances, then that MAY be evidence of a possible causal or motivating relationship. What suspension makes impermissible is the assumption that a particular FORM of

causation MUST apply in order for a "scientific" account of hooliganism to be at all possible; (cf. Hegel, *ibid*, p.200).

Suspension allows for an attitude of questioning wonder in the face of mundane social experience. Contrary to many misunderstandings (Smart, 1980; Adorno, 1982), such an attitude is not an uncritical duplication of a false society's state-of-affairs. Taken as a whole, foundation research is profoundly subversive of any cultural system - including some positivistic varieties of socialism - that have unreflective dogmatism or the non-disclosure of latent contradictions among their possibility-condition for social reproduction. It calls a halt to the mobilisation of consciousness for the on-going reproduction of established culture. It amounts to a positive commitment to critical / reflexive forms of social life at both objective and subjective poles of experience. Analysis no longer can resort to the crutches of common sense certainty in the face of "what is only to be expected", "facts of life" and other allegedly "realistic" and self-justifying standpoints to which we are constantly instructed to "face up to".

Husserl rightly calls the suspension a transformation "which breaks through the normality of straightforward living... a resolve of the will for a total change of attitude"; (Husserl, 1936/70, s.38, s.39). It is to re-awaken the fluidity of our lived-experience of culture in its current crisis state and open up the possibility of a "reversal in existence". This transvaluation applies to the WAYS OF EXPERIENCING, ACTS of consciousness and interpretation of common sense, as well as its objects - the CATEGORIES of "popular prejudice" as much as their real or possible referents. It is a removal of limitations and prohibitions from our experience of football hooliganism that derive from the mundane

transformations brought about from the operation of common sense. This removal brings to light a liberated range of actual and possible experiences that potentially shatter the manufactured "obviousness" of established reality and open up the possibility of reversal in its unreflective existence.

Of course it is important for phenomenology not to be unreflexive about its own social existence. Its project is itself part of an intellectual quest for self-determination that - as Husserl showed in his Crisis text - began with Ancient Greek philosophy. In this broader sense it is not, nor can it be "free" of cultural determination; only that this determination is also part of the essence of an adequate understanding of social reality.

5.6: SUSPENSION OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE NATURAL ATTITUDE.

Foundational research suspends the language of the natural attitude, that is to say the symbolic heirlooms of accepted realities whose very acceptance has long been forgotten; (Heidegger, 1927/80, s.35). In the context of football hooliganism, this means that analysis must begin with "conventional usage" of the expression, ie., the-problem-of-hooliganism-as-X, Y and Z". However analysis cannot evidentially ground its enquiries upon the pragmatic achievements of "ordinary language" - the simple fact that this linguistic expression successfully "works" in everyday talk about violence in and around soccer grounds. Instead the foundational question is; What does the linguistic expression "hooliganism" truly express within our understanding of it? What does this signification signify? By seeking the foundation of symbolic predication, our analysis can avoid the contradiction of trying to "justify" ordinary usage by its own standards; when the very effort to justify itself breaks one of the implicit rules of ordinary common sensical use, ie. that the use of common sense language requires that its acceptance is not to be questioned. Therefore the issue of justification is quite alien to its overall agenda; (Heidegger, ibid). In his "Encyclopedia", Hegel also saw this self-oblivion as basic to the symbolic expression of common sense:

"The wonderful thing about language is that it promotes its own oblivion: my eyes follow the lines of the paper, and from the moment I am caught up in their meaning I lose sight of them. The paper, the letters on it, my eyes and body are there only as the minimum setting of some invisible operation. Expression fades out

before what is expressed, and this is why its mediating role may pass unnoticed"; (1827/1892, s.459).

Yet this oblivion is achieved through and implanted in us precisely by language appearing as a mere sign only once it has already provided us with a meaning.

We therefore cannot for the basis of any systematic pursuit of knowledge, rely upon statements made per se by fans and others to describe their experiences of hooliganism,. First, most of our ordinary words and expressions are associated with their relevant concepts or things simply by convention and chance association. Much of actual speech is a product of various contingent elements so although language is "the body of thought" chance plays a decided part; (Hegel, 1827/74, s.145). Only in its social and historical perspective does rationality fully emerge; (Hegel, 1956, p.63).

Once the process of self-initiated oblivion has been made apparent, we can fix attention precisely upon everyday talk as a theme in its own right and enquire into its anatomy. We can see that in it there is deposited a hidden interpretation and pre-understanding of hooliganism and the hooligan-type as a moron, only mindlessly interested in the possibility of trouble etc. This deposit concerns our social relations as well as self-understanding, it envelopes traditionally received themes such as respect for the police, parental discipline, the legitimacy of established authority etc. as well as that currently being understood as football hooliganism.

Also common sense language lays down in advance whatever possibilities and horizons for fresh interpretation may be available in the future; (Heidegger, 1927/80, s.35). This pre-

understanding contains an "average intelligibility" that allows us to exchange words without their referent being grasped and its sense re-instituted in primordial intuition and understanding. Here the contents of everyday talk are held sufficient for all practical purposes and the referent is merely "alluded to" approximately and superficially. In the natural attitude, this superficiality as to what hooliganism "obviously" signifies is shared by speaker and listener through their "common" understanding. The word is "passed on" with this unstated pre-understanding unthought, unquestioned and unaltered. It thereby gains an authoritative status within ever widening circles. The obvious and apparently "natural" character of its referent is reinforced as what "everyone knows", a sense which becomes increasingly common and groundless.

The groundlessness of everyday talk is no obstacle to its becoming public. What facilitates this is the possibility of understanding everything without previously making it one's own. A kind of undifferentiated immediate intelligibility prevails without limits. It works to erase any sense of estrangement, wonder or distance. An everyday talker can quite rightly assume that this listener "knows what I mean" by hooliganism because it is what anyone would mean. The very possibilities of genuine disclosure are closed off and even this closing off preceeds without insight into its own nature. Again, common sense succeeds in the "closing off" of original intuition of the "normal fan", "abnormal hooligan", etc. This closing off is aggravated by the fact that an UNDERSTANDING of what is talked about is supposedly reached by everyday talk. Whilst a certain highly generalised understanding may be passed between commonsensical speakers sufficient for their practical purposes within everyday life, this is quite inadequate

from a phenomenological point of view. This is because it is not the phenomenon as such that is thereby grasped - the meaning of hooliganism qua meaning - but rather certain events naively taken to have such and such a meaning in themselves. For example, the 1978 SSRC Report took hooliganism to be that for which the police arrested fans for! This itself "arrests" enquiry and reflexivity and positively holds them back in this uncritical state.

The enveloping character of everyday talk excludes no-one. We discover ourselves as already entwined in it. Even if self-discovery results in its challenge, the challenging takes place on its own ground and terms. Even our inner-most feelings towards hooliganism are publically pre-formed as already such and such;

"It is clear that to a large extent, a historically pre-given language relieves the individual of the burden of independently forming types. In language, as a pre-given of the biographical situation the world is pre-typified. The possibility of separate type constitutions remains unchallenged"; (Schutz / Luckman, 1974, p.235).

In it we revel in a general public-quality but tend to exclude ourselves from the task of communicating anything particular. Heidegger grants this state of affairs a "most everyday and stubborn "reality" and holds absurd any talk as if the perpetual suspension of everyday talk - even if possible - was the business and destiny of anyone and everyone. As if any social arrangement - least of all a "revolutionary" one, could permanently exclude these characteristics of the natural attitude's language.

This process of oblivion informs the written as well as the spoken word thriving as it does upon superficial readings and

writings to such an extent that the very difference between grounded and groundless talk about "the problem of hooliganism" becomes virtually impossible to make. (Phenomenology itself is subjected to many "instant" critiques of this nature based upon its alleged "subjectivism", "relativism" and "ahistorical" character, precisely by schools which need clarification of the sense in which these terms and that of foundational research itself exist"; (contra Taylor, Walton and Young, 1973; Smart, 1975). Typically these "schools" pass the word that sense-clarification and analysis of essential meanings is precisely what falls under their "critique". Thus incoherence solidifies around what "everyone knows" about phenomenology that makes a painstaking reading of its originating texts already redundant. Here the very need for the understanding of the "thing itself" given in self-evidence, its various modes of being and appearing over time, the synthesis that retains and sustains its identity as a movement, the modifications, self-corrections, responses to outside critique's etc. can all be left un-read and unnoticed. The "a-historical" and "subjective" nature of the critique itself remain unthought as the natural attitude of the "critic" confirms its unreflexive form of life).

To see the counter-reflexivity, ie. lack of possible rationality of common sense language we need only look as far as its control over its reflection. By laying down an interpretative schema in advance of any dialogue, everyday talk even controls the ways in which one may be curious about hooliganism, what one "simply must" read, watch, visit etc if one is to be seen as responding "appropriately". Such talk governs the nature of the read, watched, visited and every motivation for all there is; (A Schutz and Luckman, *ibid.*, 248). It is a lively affair full of the "latest thing" in which causal theses about parental discipline etc. are

"revived" before they've been properly buried, only to be discarded as the next "latest thing" or instant solution is hunted down as "the news". This is so even in the reading of newspapers reports of soccer violence which at least formally allows selectivity in topics examined and in their order of reading. Everyday talk thus conforms to a determined relative world view, and the inner form of this talk offers with its fundamental meaning structures.

Here the semantic and syntactic structure objectivates typical experiences and the results of their explanation by the everyday speaker. This pre-supposes different forms of detachment and "alienation" from specific and immediate subjective experiences. It is in this way that everyday talk can function as a socially objective system of signs and as a model for "everyones'" subjective experiential structure. Hooliganism in this is a public issue, a source for concern, regardless of whether or not there is any first person experiential basis with concrete incidents. In everyday talk "normality" has already happened, thus the abnormality of hooligans is already well entrenched for the common sense speaker prior to any possible perception. More precisely it can function as a coherent manifold of "regional models" - fields or provinces of meaning for the experiences of the everyday and normal speaker.

That which is "interesting" about hooliganism, ie. why is there no trouble at Rugby League matches, has already been distinguished from what is "irrelevant"; (Radio Sheffield, 17/3/85). It determines which objects, properties and events are routinely related to one another, and which belong to a heterogeneous province of meaning, classification systems etc, which goals are normally binding or only under special circumstances, ie. "acceptable" rowdiness and vandalism away from home can become

perceived as unacceptable from rival fans at home games. Everyday talk has already established which goals are binding, approved, disapproved or which means relate to these and which typical experiences are conjoined with typical attitudes towards hooliganism, drunkenness, vandalism, public disorder, law and order etc. These have an overwhelming presence even for fans who are perceived as abnormal in relation to these established categories. Thus chants of "We hate humans", "Hull City Psychos" and "nutters" take over but celebrate an already established invalidating language. Even the child who has not yet learned to talk, cannot ignore their force, everyday talk even here is always "on hand" and "to be learned" and time is displaced by more immediate and "instant news" via the radio, television. Thus even one form of consensual pre-understanding of soccer violence in terms of an alcohol ban can risk displacement by another if it cannot "keep up" with this celebration of immediacy.

Hooligans talked about in everyday talk are proximally "there" as a theme in terms of what "they" have heard about this type of person, what "they" say in their talk and what "they" know about this third person. The second person who listens already knows that the way he or she responds contributes towards what "they" will get to hear about him or her and so on concerning the first persons original talk. There is here what Heidegger terms a "reciprocal listening-in" that is implicitly known but not acknowledged explicably. Inside the cosy communion of any gossip club lies a constant possibility of being gossiped about. Within a fighting gang there is also the prospect of having one's reputation and standing damaged by those out to improve their own position. This cruel decisiveness however will rarely be stated since it would undermine the club itself.(4)

Everyday talk then is not some accidental by product from the outside, but an integral part of being together with others in a shared - but divided - social world. It is a permanent possibility and temptation towards a tranquilised shared thoughtlessness. Such a state is at one with its handed down tradition and traditional institutions. This state of affairs realises not some sub-human "alienated" life in a Marxist sense, but one of our possibilities for enlarging ourselves both in ourselves and in each other.

Conversely the death of fans in everyday talk retains the language of the third person, ie. as if it is something that happens to everyone else or everyone in general but not in the form of "I will die". It is disguised in the form of its expression by such terms as "passing on", "resting in peace" etc. The utter finitude of it as our most personal experience and destiny is thereby concealed. In the tranquilised state, "they" tell us "we'll be alright" because that is what we as members of the "they" ultimately want to hear. Whole systems of religion involving re-incarnation, heaven etc. have had to be invented to perform this function.

The historically pre-given language of everyday talk is of decisive significance in the subjective origin of what soccer violence signifies, in that on the one hand it contains already assembled meanings which are merely learned, while on the other it patterns from within, and therefore stabilises, independently formed meanings. We can accordingly say that the semantic arrangement of a language corresponds, to a great extent, to the typically relevant experiential schemata dominant in a society. Therefore it also largely corresponds to the set of types included in the subjective stock of knowledge of the individual socialised in this society and language; (Schutz and Luckman, *ibid*, pp.174,

235).

This is not to "write off" hooliganism's everyday usage altogether. Sedimented within the language of the natural attitude is a collective history of social experience. Distinctions made within it, ie. between the Judged, the Judgeent and the Judging itself correspond to genuine distinctions between the transcendent object, the intentional object and the intentional act. These distinctions have been lost to many would-be sciences, ie. structural linguistics, where noetics are largely ignored - as if judgements existed in isolation from acts of judging. Yet while this distinction is found in ordinary language of the natural attitude, its consequences are wasted upon it. We can then find within the language of the natural attitude deeper meanings and more profound senses than it itself is aware. Puns and etymologies can reveal the essentially rational nature of human expression, ie. its originally being well founded upon intuitive and reflective evidence; (Hegel, 1827/1872, ss.133, 304, 244; Heidegger, *Hulzwege*, 1963, V). Logical categories, constituting the forms of human thinking itself lie hidden in our familiar ways of speaking; (Hegel, *ibid*, p.10). It is the familiarity and unthinking immediacy of the natural attitude which allows us to pass over the speculative dimension of common words preventing us from realising the deeper implications of our ordinary thoughts and expressions. Referring to his statement quoted earlier in the preface of his *Phenomenology of Mind*: "what is familiar is not known simply because it is familiar", Hegel asks:

"What is more familiar than just those determinations of thought of which we make use of at every turn, which proceed out of our mouths with every sentence we speak"? (1807/1949, p.11).

In attempting to lay bare the conceptual framework and basis of experience and thought, foundational research aims to bring to the fore the categories of what Hegel call a "natural logic". The presence of this experiential logic in ordinary language has become submerged because of policy and practical interests. In our context this means the perceptual logic of perceived hooliganism, the anticipatory logic of anticipated hooliganism.

The disclosure of this logic must not create an esoteric language for its own sake, but only insofar as it is necessary for the reconstruction and deduction of such categories and thought-determinations out of the content and form of ordinary language.

These:

"Run through our mind instinctively and unreflectively, and even though they enter into language, remain unidentified and unregarded"; (Hegel, *ibid*, p.19).

Foundational research has to re-cover the rationality of its expression in the language of the natural attitude and bring it and its contradictions to self-consciousness. It is possible to find contradictory meanings for the same word and this need not be the object of any "remedy", but can express the contradictions of its referent - hooliganism itself could be a contradictory phenomenon. For example, the word "transcend" expresses both a preserving and superseding meaning. There need not be a fault here - as if one had to choose EITHER one OR the other, but a disclosure of transcendence itself, ie. the transcendence of the language of the natural attitude.

The language of our tradition risks reproaches from that of the

natural attitude. It does not have the facile flow of the ordinary language, even ordinary words like recover or recognise are hyphenated into "re-cover and re-cognise". This is in order to express its truth ie. that this cognition of hooliganism as hooliganism implies a previous acquisition of this meaning and that this cognition further cements this acquisition. Ancient or Greek words like noema (the object of experience) and noesis (the acts of experiencing) are revived into its vocabulary. Its language cannot be assimilated as easily as other modes of expressions and must be re-read several times.

Such an endeavour is what constitutes an element of foundational thinking: the need to re-read the same proposition, each time on a more complex level. Only in this way is our "natural" view of such propositions and the deductions they make, changed. Initially, such determinations are viewed by common sense consciousness in the natural attitude as being either trivial or circular; only gradually is this view destroyed and a genuine attempt made to understand such statements in a phenomenological context.

Hegel describes the dialectical experience the reader must go through occasioned by the very difficulty and destiny of foundational thought-expressions themselves.

"The philosophical proposition, being a proposition, gives rise to the opinion that the relation of subject and predicate and the procedures of knowledge are as usual. But the philosophical content destroys this procedure and this opinion; one learns that what are supposed was not what one was supposed to suppose; and this correction of one's opinion requires knowledge to return to the sentence and to reinterpret it"; (1802, p.52).

There is a parallel between the experience subject-consciousness undergoes WITHIN the system and the procedure that the reader WITHOUT must follow in order to truly conceptualise it. Ordinary expressions serve as the occasion for foundational thinking on the part of the reader. Yet philosophising itself is only possible when what appears to be statements in ordinary language are in fact interpreted as breaking down the common patterns of thought.

Thus by introducing qualifications to ordinary language while employing it serves as a foil to its "naturalness" which occasions its transcendence. These must be consciously EXPERIENCED thereby initiating a two-way or "dialectical" process of philosophising made explicit through the style and substance of the writing itself. If this is merely left to the imagination of the reader without being exemplified then the necessary dialectical movement is lost.

Such a movement can be seen to be taking place in the phenomenological expressions themselves only when the actual subject who utters such propositions or the reader who wants to understand this process of consciousness, experiences the immediate natural situation, its consequent transcendence and feedback. Only such a dialectical movement occurring through the urgency of the reader re-achieves foundational inquiry and its more fluid, processal and dynamic expression.

A purely conceptual exposition of our vocabulary even if possible, would not be completely welcome or successful. Its thinking must nonetheless be anchored in and often occasioned by ordinary language. Thus the tension between the two styles reflects itself in our exposition where difficulties of expression express difficulties of subject matter and difficulties which necessarily inflict readers incapable of alienating themselves from

the natural attitude. Much of the language of the natural attitude is quite incapable of seeing any anchorage whatsoever. It must not be thought that because it is possible to discover rationality within it that everything found is necessarily rational.

Thus the suspension of everyday talk does not mean any denial of its existence or any denial or affirmation of the existence of its referents. It means merely an interruption of the processes whereby the act of speaking, the speech itself, the spoken about in speech and the non-linguistic referent are confused and conflated. If the non-linguistic referent is no longer taken as real, it is not to deny or affirm its reality but to allow space for hooliganism as the object-in-speech to emerge in its own right.

Further it is to pass from this to the acts of consciousness through which hooliganism is presented to our awareness in the form of a linguistic sign. Next in the descriptive stage it is to consider the founding acts of consciousness which make possible, which re-supply the "SENSE" of this referents' linguistic existence. Finally, in this stage, the SUBJECT of these acts is allowed to emerge into phenomenological discourse - a discourse which contrary to everyday talk, is a disclosure of intentional objects, acts and the acting and acted upon subject. This discourse aims to grasp hooliganism as subject-related and the real meant events and activities as existing significantly form a social subectivity through a medium of linguistic expression.

These levels are to be brought to consciousness, analysed in their appearing and described. The return to unsuspected reality is then informed by levels of insight into previously concealed processes through which the ready-formed sense of existing as hooliganism is achieved and generated. It goes without saying that precisely by allowing these levels to emerge makes it possible for

us to speak of the real activities and events as independently existing to clearly know the processes of formation through which this meaning of reality "as independently existing" is actually formed and assembled along with all the other meanings that relate to it. We are only then capable of discovering the difference that this information makes to our practical lives in our dealings with our linguistically mediated social worlds.

S.7: THE SUSPENSION OF POLICY INTERESTS.

Here the argument follows on from but does not reiterate, that used concerning the suspension of common sense and its language. Concepts such as common sense and suspension therefore retain their earlier sense while foundational research can now be more fully explicated. By policy interests are meant those sense-determinations which prescribe the in-order-to structure of the phenomenon, ie. what it is "there for". Thus the-problem-of-hooliganism means not a problem in the sense of being an intellectually problematic ascription, but exclusively a problem-to-be-eradicated; (McFarland, 1984). Now the latter desire to eradicate the "problem" does not necessarily lead to a misunderstanding of hooliganism insofar as it is experienced as a problem for actual and possible victims of soccer violence. What it does do is to direct attention exclusively to the question of how to "deal with" the problem - as distinct from the project of clarifying in what sense hooliganism is commonly experienced in these terms. This section outlines the character and contents of present policy orientations, their failure to grasp the phenomenon and thus devise policies adequate to its nature. The need for a comprehensive and remedial programme of foundational research is set out and contrasted with present initiatives founded upon common sense typifications of "the problem". Only within this context is the character of and reason for the initial suspension of current policy interests, intelligible.

In a multitude of ways soccer violence is typified by our culture as a problem; (Times, 28/3/85; S Times, 17/3/85; D Mirror, 16/1/82, 15/3/85; Guardian, 16/1/80). This typification is so well

entrenched that to refer to "the problem of football hooliganism" appears not to say anything in its own right; (Guardian 4/4/84). What is signified instead is a pre-fix to another statement about "causes", "preventive measures" and "solutions"; (Times, 13/1/84). It is not even a question of hooliganism signified as a problem of a PARTICULAR SORT - simply "the problem of football hooliganism"; (cf. Hall, 1978). In fact although we suspend policy interests, we take the subject MORE SERIOUSLY than those others who are so quick to join in an endless saga of "instant solutions" endlessly replacing previous instant, but failed solutions. Here every new reported incident doubles as a crime report which itself can inspire law and order crusades; (G Whannel, 1979, p.333). One report of hooliganism can thus spread itself from the sports pages to front page headlines, from political law and order campaigns to editorials. In terms of political clout and compared with say industrial accidents, a small amount of bloodshed at a football match can go a long way.(5) Thus from 1969 new policy initiatives have been acclaimed as placing "us" on the verge of defeating the problem - until next time; (Taylor, 1980).

"Instant solutions" generated by such "crusades" and directed at politicians who are themselves highly sensitive to the mileage of law and order issues, have included up-market all seater stadiums; (Lang Report on Crowd Behavior 1969; Guardian, 20/1/77; BBC1 Panorama, 14/11/77), strict crowd segregation; (Working Party on Crowd Behaviour, para. 5; Safety at Sports Grounds Act 1975), identity cards, a "league table" to monitor the most violent fans; (Minister of Sport's Working Party Report 1984), a complete ban on alcohol sale or consumption; (Crowd Disorders, Football Association, 4/12/80; Minister of Sport, Guardian, 30/7/75), ground closure and fines for clubs, stiffer penalties for convicted fans;

(Guardian, 25/11/76, 14/8/73), instant imprisonment of arrested fans; (W Johnson, MP, Guardian, 21/4/75), public flogging of hooligans on the pitch; (A Clarke, manager of Leeds, Guardian, 25/11/80) and the use of water cannons/indelible dye. Also specialist police snatch squads or "Mob Hunters" and flame-throwers to "burn alive" Millwall fans have been proposed; (A Lewis MP in a debate on the 1977 Criminal Law Bill, Hansard 1977; D Express, 24/3/69, 28/3/69, 31/3/69; B Robson, now England manager March 1978). There have even been calls by managers Brian Clough and Peter Taylor for the deployment of the SAS against Leeds and Chelsea fans; (Pratt and Salter, 1984, p.201).

The operation of these policy interests in no sense requires any self-consciousness of its own sense-constituting procedures - in fact it is founded upon a refusal of such reflexivity. As a result the hooligan character of any hooliganism, the topicality of any topic, the problem nature of any social problem remains operative but unconceptualised. Further the deeper social interests that underlie this typification process are necessarily glossed over both in their particularity and in their nature as knowledge-constituting-interests; (Habermas, 1972).

The presence of such counter-reflexivity is equally found in some versions of "academic" research. For example, the widespread concern for quantification, calculation, measurement and statistical analysis found in the research (cf. Milson, 1976; SSRC, 1978; see also s.5, s.6 below), does not think the validity of its own modes of projecting and conceptualising the truth of hooliganism as something mathematical. This conceptualisation levels out the phenomenon's qualitative diversity, ambiguity and conflicting perspectives into a realm of stable quantifiable facts. What remains unthought and unthinkable is the neat way this

dovetails into the institutional and bureaucratic logics of uniformity, management and predictability. Also concealed are those technocratic interests and relations that are served and reproduced through the displacement of victims' own experiences by the certified expertise of the statistically literate. Such exclusively quantitative research cannot place its own mode of conceptualisation into the context of the administered social world it both analyses and sustains. In this way its own determination as part of the infinite organisation of the statistically average person is conveniently glossed over. Thoughtlessness is thus installed as the norm.

It follows from this generalised and unreflective typification process operating both inside and outside academia, that all discussions of the subject are already placed in a "social problem/policy interest" realm. This realm is governed by definite pre-understandings as to what constitutes "suitable research" and "appropriate responses". Here it is not that hooliganism is understood and then condemned as a problem-to-be-solved on the basis of this achieved understanding. Instead the policy interest supplies the pre-understanding of crowd disturbances as a "topical issue", an issue of "hooliganism" and thus "obviously" a problem to be solved. In this way a correctional interest pre-determines and informs all subsequent perceptions and judgements based upon it. Even the more thoughtful of academic researchers such as Williams et al, have reacted to the expectation that prescribes "recommendations" and "practical measures to combat the problem"; (1984). If this expectation is not satisfied, writers face the dreaded charge of being "merely theoretical" or worse still of "romanticising" "the disease of hooliganism". Such a state of affairs is not specific to research into crowd violence. The

truth-content of much criminological research is judged by its degree of successful policy application; (J.Wilson, 1975).

Even disciples of a "new"/"critical" criminology who make so much of their opposition to the "capitalist" interests underlying positivist criminology, do not supersede the "ideological" character of that which they oppose. Hooliganism is still treated here like the ubiquitous stained shirt in soap powder adverts, ie. as the mere occasion for flexing this or that "latest idea". Hooliganism is subjectively valued or devalued solely as a theme of its own valuing as "authentic" or devaluing as "inauthentic". Hence its presence alters in significance with each and every change in academic and cultural fashions or policy directives; (Heidegger, 1947). Thus in the self-certified "radicalism" of the 1970's, some accounts of crime merely reversed the "social problem orientation" of criminology. These either "celebrated" hooliganism as a harmless ritual or treated the phenomenon as an implicit but "authentic" form of "resistance"; (Marsh, 1975 and 1978; Corrigan and Frith, 1975; Clarke, 1978; Hall and Jefferson, 1976).

Yet the thoughtlessness ingrained in the reversed correctionalist standpoint in no way justifies a "celebration" of hooliganism as part of a "ritualised resistance movement" by would-be revolutionaries in search of a substitute for a phantom proletariat; (contra T. Jefferson et al, 1975). Here the "authentic" meanings that (selected) lawbreaking and violence have for those (selected) young people engaged in it, is contrasted with the "inauthentic" social reaction to lawbreaking. However at no time are we given any real grounds - other than the political fads of the authors - for initially privileging the experience of the one group over the other. On these grounds one could just as easily "celebrate" the "authentic" political meanings given to

their actions by Millwall fans engaged in racist violence that sparked off the Southall riot in 1982, or anti-communist violence used at Lewisham in 1979. This discrimination by such celebratory/politicising criminology is thus itself "inauthentic". It is not so easy to discount the experienced reality of anxiety, fear and even desperation of possible victims of soccer violence - this suffering becomes merely another occasion to advertise/mobilise this or that form of ready-made "politics"; (contra Taylor, 1971). Yet it is the widespread concern for this threat of football violence, its presence and construction through various modes and structuring by social interests that ground these ready-made standpoints. In their own right these groundings are the primary research topics.

There are then very real problems for both "correctional" AND "celebratory" standpoints upon youthful crime. The precise sense in and through which soccer hooliganism is experienced as a problem is glossed over. Not only is the constituted sense taken as "obvious", but so too are the CONSTITUTING PROCESSES through which this "obviousness" is forever re-constituted as the "same thing". Therefore it is made unavailable for research based upon such pre-given projections of the nature of hooliganism and the social reactions to it.

Ironically it is precisely because of the weight and entrenched counter-reflexivity of such common sense typifications, that entails a DELIBERATE SUSPENSION OF BLIND PARTICIPATION IN ESTABLISHED POLICY INTERESTS IN ORDER TO CLEARLY REVEAL THEIR OPERATION; (Husserl, 1936/70, p.168, Berger and Kellner, 1981, p.52-6). This implies an openness to the structuring of perceived hooliganism by the values and practical concerns of others who are relevantly affected, as a topic in its own right. This openness is

the very opposite of "expose" accounts that "unmask" ideologies - for concerns which on their own terms must also be perceived as equally "ideological". To do this we must initially allow the phenomenon to present itself and study it in the WAY that it presents itself to our consciousness as a many layered structure of constituted meaning; (see s.12). This involves an abstraction by the researcher from participation in all effective and practical aspects that hooliganism's "obvious" reality as a problem owe to cultural typification, evaluation and policy directives. Here the researcher "splits" his or her consciousness so that one "ray" of its attention aims for a purely non-partisan spectator consciousness motivated exclusively by a cognitive interest in rational and true knowledge founded upon clear perceptions and perceptual judgements. One can then begin to see their operation in oneself and in others as a neutral spectator without continuing to ascribe hooliganism's value-predicates to the intrinsic nature of the behaviour itself. Instead of "appalling hooliganism", what is now allowed to surface is "hooliganism judged to be appalling on the basis of certain pre-understandings, interests and ways of directing oneself towards the social world founded upon them"; (Husserl, 1948, s.13).

Suspension potentially fulfils the possibilities of our COGNITIVE INTERESTS by following Nietzsche's imperative to be "beyond good and evil". We must do this in order to discover in what sense hooliganism IS a real problem and those interests at work in the recipes employed to constitute it as such; (Philipson, 1971, p.26; Husserl, 1936/70, p.168). For example, after suspension we can begin to comprehend the way in which umbrellas, rolled newspapers, darts, distress flares, coins, plastic seats, snooker cues and balls, window cleaning sprays, modified trilby

hats, CB radio bugs, steel combs, etc.- are determined as "offensive weapons" by both fans and police officers. Such determinations only appear when their consciousness is already orientated towards a practical concern for the realisation/prevention of crowd violence. This orientation appears in the 1001 precautions taken by clubs, police, local publicans, shopkeepers and residents affected by the threat of soccer violence.(6) Here the meaning of a host of mundane physical objects is temporarily transformed so that the glass window of a pub becomes perceived as both a potential source of laceration and a means for looking out for/avoiding trouble; (Salter, 1985). Instrumentality prevails.

Suspension allows us to see that this practical orientation is not grafted on to a previously contemplative consciousness of soccer violence as its "project"; rather we "have" a world of possible violence only on the basis of a prior concern for, commerce with, being-directed-at, harnessing-for, acting-upon, and comporting-towards this possibility and world. Such an orientation is related to perceived needs, implicit values, urges, passions, desires, the will to have all these recognised and be recognised by others through them. In the perceived world of soccer violence we can (reflectively) see a mirror of ourselves as essentially a will to power and recognition; (Nietzsche, 1886/1968, p.36; Hegel, 1807/1949). Unreflective consciousness of hooliganism is thus situated at the level of "know-how" prior to any "know-that".

Informing and interweaving between these two levels are relevance structures that direct attentional concern to soccer rather than rugby matches as focuses for disorder. By the operation of these (founded) structures we are provided with a map for orientating our other concerns, comportments, actions, attention - in short our-selves; (Berger and Kellner, 1981, p.45).

Reflective theoretical consciousness is thus possible only as a (strenuous and hard-fought) modification of a more primordial and enduring concern of and for ourselves; (see below). The resistance to suspension can only be accounted for after suspension; yet it is only from this position that it is possible to fully see the self-contradiction and - quite literally - senselessness involved in violating the character of perceived hooliganism by pre-conceived correctional and celebrational standpoints; (cf. Matza, 1969, p.17).

SIB: POLICY, THEORY AND PRACTICE.

It could be argued that suspension results in a disinterested, purely theoretical stance. Certainly in one sense, foundational sense-investigation is self-justifying; it keeps to its own laws and need have no immediate echo, result or effect - its own rationality being its own motivation and explanation; (Heidegger, 1947). After all, policy-interests can be irrational and, in the absence of foundational research, frequently are. Research is more a problem raising exercise than a problem solving one. The crucial point is that the VALIDITY of foundational research IS IN NO WAY DEPENDENT UPON ANY PRACTICAL EFFECT HAPPENING; (Heidegger, 1964/72). For example, if in the unlikely event of our culture becoming more sensitive to the routine practices through which hooliganism is perceived as a problem, this development would neither confirm nor deny the original research findings that helped inspire it.

In a wider sense however theorising is always already implicated in practical concerns and even suspension cannot fully escape or become irrelevant to policy interests. Our very suspension is necessarily an intervention within the cultural process it addresses - the generation of a sense of hooliganism. After suspension the production of theory is itself a social practice geared towards changing its field of operation from partial to total intelligibility. The very writing and publication of any research is an outcome of specific workings of power, authority and recognition operating within the social world it addresses. Insofar as we can intelligibly contribute, we are thus always already bound by the common sense terms of that debate. This applies after as well as before suspension, because suspension via

temporary disassociation, does not eliminate or deny our mundane interests; it discloses their continued operation in reflective as well as common sense consciousness. Even if an ideal reflective consciousness was finally obtained, the remainder would continue to unreflectively operate on the basis of mundane policy interests that determine hooliganism to be itself "appalling", "shocking", etc. I myself have found and continue to find many of aspects of soccer violence quite horrifying; yet gaining a certain internal cognitive distance from this reaction is necessary to allow any horrified, appalled and disgusted reactions to become researchable, ie. problematic, in the first place.

It does not follow from this, that our theorising after suspension can be reduced to current practices and meanings. Defining the validity of research merely in terms of an accurate, consistent, once and for all duplication of hooliganism's established meaning for affected parties suffers from a number of problems; (cf. Philipson in Filmer et al, 1972; Psthas, 1973, p.112). It is by no means an accident that the call for foundational research has come in an era where institutionalised positivism has all but conquered sustained philosophical reflection. Its credibility has been established against and continues to require the self-contradictions of positivist forms of life. No position can establish itself via critique and at the same time assert that there are no grounds for criticising hooliganism. Further, no movement founded upon critique of ideas can, without contradiction, stop short of the institutional arrangements and legitimating logics that sustain them. The prevailing reality of soccer violence cannot be uncritically set up as its own truth-criterion without falsifying the universality of truth itself: (see S.6,7,8).

In the idea of truth-as-accurate-duplication, the very process of validation of "pure theory" by taking it back to the fans and other parties themselves, may produce changes in the phenomenon itself that by its own standards "invalidate" the original account. In this way and contrary to all its relativistic and tolerant intentions, theory upon a social practice can inspire a new practice; (Cicourel, 1972). No field research that positively engages its field of study can be purely theoretical in the sense of having no effect upon this field. All research has a practical moment as the obvious presence of the researcher becomes a dynamic moment in the field under research. To see this difference one only has to witness the effect that the presence of television cameras has on football crowds, or on the subjects in "fly on the wall" television research. This effect is especially dramatic with soccer violence where the gaining of media recognition and thus the denial of media recognition to other contenders, is a major motivating force behind the violence; (Pratt and Salter, 1984).

My own research with soccer fans has inquired into a situation that necessarily included the effects of my own physical presence, questioning, actions and so forth. This is in spite of a conscious policy of a non-participating "undercover" presence. In conflict situations for example, the effect of a third person can both inspire or discourage an attack on what otherwise would be "just a couple of them". There is of course no way of exactly gauging the overall effect of a researchers' presence or absence.

It is also questionable whether a written monological account can - because of the real difference in form between the spoken and written word - duplicate the flowing and dialogical sense of hooliganism deployed in everyday conversations. The written account of the researcher has "every literate person at any time"

as its potential audience; while the speaker aims at a particular audience with some awareness of shared pre-understandings, relevance criteria, confidences and past understandings operative in one specific situation. However even if an exact duplication recognisable as such by the original fans is possible, this would not amount to a true account. Here truth is held to reside in and be exhausted by, hooliganism's prevailing form of life - the already established (institutional) realities of combative masculinity, militarised consciousness, partisan chauvinism, nationalism, racism etc. To simply reproduce established understandings of hooliganism in a way that conforms to their accepted usage, is to confuse the truth of research with uncritical social conformity, rebellion with ignorance. Thus a transformation of the above forms of life that made good their rational potential, would necessarily be rendered untrue and thus irrational by this invalid notion of validity.

When the subjects of research are violent fans who themselves stubbornly refuse to conform to our culture's prevailing sense of the "real fan" - such uncritical duplication subverts itself. Such a notion of validity is self-contradictory; it amounts to an irrational vindication of social irrationality. Reason is conceived not as a critical, dialogical tension between the research field and our consciousness of it, but reduced to a disclosure of the rationale of subjects. Yet to absolutise the accounts of fans and their self-images in the name of fidelity to the phenomenon, is to implicitly accept as "rock bottom" the end products of that which calls for thought - the cultural generation/reproduction of these meanings.

Empathetic understanding and intuition of what hooliganism currently means for those involved and affected, is certainly

necessary but hardly sufficient for this truth orientation. Immediate understandings of soccer violence cannot be passively accepted as simply and incomparably "different" anymore than another theoretical position that totally rejected this "pure tolerance" could be so accepted. On every side immediate experiences need to be contextualised and this mediating context conceptualised in non-particular categories within a totalising horizon; (Gadamer 1960/75, p.268). In other words racist abuse by fans has to be thought as an exemplification of both abusiveness and racism per se, and these conceived as dynamic parts of a series of higher level moments, ie. local chauvinism/pride, regionalism/personal identity and patriotic-nationalism/racist thuggery; (see 21, 22 below). These are not reducible to the conscious intentions of individuals.

The adoption of such a laissez-faire approach towards hooliganism is not then a purely theoretical detachment from policy interests but a vindication of liberalism as a policy. This position is not indifferent to the character of those aspects of hooliganism it addresses. Applied to racist chanting or violence it is widely perceived as approving of that perspective because of its "failure" to condemn it. While this perception by racist and anti-racists may be quite wrong insofar as it relates to the values of the researcher, there remains in this charge a limited truth. The truth lies in the fact that any writing about hooliganism becomes a transforming part of the phenomenon itself because language is the prime means for the cultural reproduction of any phenomenon; (Heidegger, 1947). The achievements of any reflection have their basis in the natural history of the human species; (Habermas, 1972, p.313). The ideal of "pure" description duplicates, in the name of value-freedom, the social conservatism

of positivism and all the technocratic social relations this legitimates. By contrast genuine, ie. critical, knowledge is subversive of socially useful dogma.

Gadamer claims that the researcher is analagous to neither prosecutor nor defence advocate, but to the judge; (1960/75). It is a question of knowing hooliganism BETTER than hooligans. Theorising cannot give those involved and affected by soccer violence the "last word" without destroying - on theoretical grounds - the role of theorising in criminological studies. Thus uncritical relativism is false because truth cannot be merely a duplication of any piece of self-contradictory irrationality, but is justified/justifiable intuition.

It is only on the basis of our concerned and living engagement with the world of football hooliganism that we have an intelligible research field in the first place. Here the effort to know hooliganism better than those involved or affected does not depend totally on the skills of the researcher, but also the state of the social conditions that situate the interpreting. Contradictions in the form of life of hooliganism and its context cannot be resolved by even the most advanced form of comprehension. Further, prevailing intentions are rarely translucent, lucidly self-conscious or self-critical. Those observed and interviewed typically exhibit a mixture of sense and nonsense, intended actions and thoughtless reactions, wilful purposes and symptoms of crass manipulation, creative improvisation and passive resignation. The sense of hooliganism as excitement and a vehicle for recognition may itself be a reaction to a lack of alternative sources of meaning and recognition.(7) Access to policing strategies is made very difficult, so is that of the "crack squads" of fighting gangs such as West Ham's ICF.(8) Understanding thus requires a positive

sifting of restricted/restricting evidence within a setting of strictly limited rationality and communicative possibilities. The unintelligible side of these call for a degree of deepened understanding via therapeutic interventions in communicative action, ie. critical probing. The cognitive interest in rational and total comprehension makes those blindly determining and unintelligible aspects of hooliganism a target for transformation independent of policy interests. Acting to remove obstacles to mutual understanding and communicative actions can then be a necessary pre-condition for a fully developed reflective understanding.

Further if accepted, our research itself already has definite practical implications for some of the policy orientated standpoints displayed within it. Our empirical evidence will show how inadequate are simplistic "arguments" that explain away the threat of hooliganism by reference to "Media Myths"; (contra Whannel, 1979; Marsh, 1977). At the same time evidence is presented below which suggests that the "coverage" by the tabloid press is one constituting element in the cultural process it claims to merely report upon; (see part two).(9)

Foundational research also tends to have a subversive effect upon readers by rendering problematic common sense certainty; (Husserl, 1936/70, p.269; Berger and Kellner, 1981, Ch.1). It thus weakens those counter-reflexive institutional logics which reproduce themselves through the thoughtlessness of common sense understanding; (Berger and Kellner, 1983, C.4). It would therefore be wrong to see a dichotomy of pure "theory" versus pure "practice" here, and then to adopt radical sounding postures about the "unity of theory and practice".

In short the suspension of policy interests does not aim to,

does not achieve, nor could it, produce a purely theoretical cognition of hooliganism; (cf. Adorno, 1946/1974, p.26, p.28). Equally it does not try to, does not and cannot reduce theoretical reflection to a mere duplication of established significations and immediate understandings of those involved in or affected by soccer violence. The potential rationality of both research and the research field is founded upon the totalising and progressive realisation of a non-contradictory and rational social/communicative form of life; (Husserl, 1936/70; Gramsci, 1971, p.365; Esterson, 1970, p.186). So long as willed policy is intelligible as the effort to realise an idea, and ideas grasped as constituted by, embodied within, applying to and pointing towards a definite form of social life, then the theory versus practice debate remains a misunderstanding; (cf. Habermas, 1973, p.76-79). What has to be grasped is not simply the mutual determination of "theory" and "practice" but the foundational cultural logic that continually determines this realm to be "theoretical" and that to be "practical"; (Heidegger, 1947). Such constituting determination is prior to any consideration of the "dialectic" operating between these (constituted) realms. Foundational investigations aim at rational self-consciousness of cultural determination; (Husserl, 1933/77, s.56). Such a consciousness is certainly no tool for this or that policy; it is more a means for developing a critical tribunal for the evaluation of policies according to ideal standards of truth and rationality; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.62, 1933/77, s.53-54, 1936/70, p.262, n.5). The preservation of this ideal is itself resistance to the means-end rationality, or rather technocratic rationale of positivist forms of social life and mindless relativisms; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.20, 1933/77, s.45, 1936/70, p.107; Adorno, 1946/74, p.8, p.63; cf. Filmer et al, 1972,

p.3; Schur, 1971, p.14; Pollner 1974, p.29).

Only through establishing and exemplifying a degree of coherence at a reflective level - one not immediately intelligible to common sense - can the real force of the opposition to current policies be gauged and practical counter strategies formulated. This force is considerable. Despite the overwhelming domination of policy interests, the stubborn problem of soccer hooliganism persists; this persistence suggests that current policies may be so concerned to be seen to be "doing something about it" that the foundation of effective policy is left insecure. Hooliganism will not be defeated until we know what it is we are dealing with, and how soccer violence continues to remain the way it is. We can show in some detail that the failure of present and past policies is partly due to the very domination of policy interests. For instance the most recent "idea" from the 1984 Working Party of a "league table" has been widely derided as a positive incitement to violence, ie. will Millwall fans manage to reinstate their traditional claim to be the "hardest in Britain" against upstarts from Leeds and Chelsea? The derision had its source in an embryonic understanding of the motivational structures of both sport and soccer violence - the will to recognition; (D Star, 17/8/84; D Telegraph, 17/8/84). (10)

Equally counter-productive given the militaristic insignia and organisation of some fighting gangs - Millwall's "F troop"/Bushwackers, Leeds's "Service Crew" and West Ham's "Inter-City Firm" - is the suggestion of "army-style glass-house punishments" as part of a short, sharp, shock for violent fans. Ironically some of Portsmouth's most violent fans are already trained in the territorial army and have joined right-wing Paramilitary groups; (Pratt and Salter, 1984, p.206, p.216).

Paradoxically the greater segregation of supporters consistently recommended by each report has encouraged an "us and them" attitude, gang formation and organisation within a "fortress-to-be-defended/captured". Also segregation often displaces confrontations to unpoliced pubs, public transport and railway terminals. Highly planned avoidance of crowd control measures has developed through "crews" dressing up in expensive executive-type clothes, travelling late on Friday nights in hired vans, using early morning service trains and tracking rival's coaches with CB radio bugs. These have become a source of "prestige" and recognition in their own right; (Wallsall Express & Star, 31/10/84).

All seater stadiums such as that at Coventry, have created a "funeral" rather than a family atmosphere and drastically reduce support from the public - but not that from hard core fighting gangs who are now sitting on a ready-made source of missiles. By insisting on yet more of the same, such reversals feed on their own past failure without seeing their causes in the continuing misunderstanding of the phenomenon itself. Even on pure policy grounds it is futile to resort to a knee-jerk law and order reflex. This aims only to satisfy the Monday morning clamour to "do something (anything) about it"; (D Mirror, 14/3/85).

Contrary to the knee-jerk reaction, far from being "obvious", hooliganism is widely typified as a problem in a number of distinct but interrelated senses - racial, commercial, physical violence, assertive masculinity and the acceptance of authority. These senses examined below, are themselves based upon specific social interests in racial harmony, commercial expansion, personal safety, sexual equality and the legitimation of a specific form of authority.

5.9: THE SUSPENSION OF POSITIVE SCIENCE AND CAUSAL EXPLANATION.

Positive science in this context signifies the attempt to explain soccer hooliganism in terms of internal or external material causes. "Science" here involves identifying the differences between offenders and non-offenders from similar backgrounds, genetic code, class and so on until a significant correlation is discovered. Whatever "cause" is looked for, positive criminology unites around the commitment to explain away rather than decide, the phenomenon of crime; (Matza, 1964, p.3). Explanation in this context, takes the form of discovering lawful generalities holding between factual states of affairs, arrived at through quantifying observable factual data. Thus if football fans involved in hooliganism are found to have a statistically significant higher than (statistically) average quantity of lead in their blood stream, then this is perceived as evidencing a possible cause of their behaviour; (Bryce-Smith, Guardian, 29/5/72). Proof is considered to consist of confirmation of the possible cause disclosed through statistical analysis and by other studies which themselves mathematically analyse already quantified facts.

Such an approach is perceived as positive insofar as it bases itself on observable hard facts, as distinct from speculative propositions, metaphysics or religious dogma; facts that are verifiable and infinitely calculable. This overall matrix informs psychological and psychiatric studies of hooligan and non-hooligan fans and their interaction with players; (cf. Horn, 1983; Beisser, 1979; Russell, 1981). It also informs studies into players' aggression and violence; (Underwood and Whitewood, 1980).

For our purposes, suspending the results and methods of such causal explanations means exactly what it did in the previous

sections - "making no use of", "disconnecting" and "putting out of play". Again this is NOT in any way a denial of these sciences, nor an attack on science per se but only a "device of method". This device is used to clarify and restore the foundations of any enquiry - the sense in which hooliganism, other topics of scientific scrutiny and the significance of science itself exist for us; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.31). It is to return from scientific standpoints upon hooliganism to "the thing itself". Ricoeur:

"The first truth of the world is not the truth of mathematical physics but the truth of perception; or rather the truth of science is erected as a superstructure upon a first foundation of presence or existences, that of the world lived through perceptually"; (1965, p.9).

Merleau-Ponty:

"To return to the things themselves is to return to that world which precedes knowledge, of which knowledge always SPEAKS and in relation to which every scientific schematization is an abstract and derivative sign-language, as is geography in relation to the countryside in which we have learnt beforehand what a forest, a prairie or a river is"; (1945/64, p.IX).

However it is most definitely not a case of asserting the primacy of the common sense lived-in world against science simply because the categories of science and their topics feed upon this level. Husserl's own presentation of method does not accept the validity of the "life-world" as bed-rock; (contra M.Ponty 1945/64). Husserl actually criticises positive science for NOT TRANSCENDING

the naiveties of (unreflectively) lived-experience:

"It is no different with the positive sciences. The latter are naiveties of a higher order; they are constructions of an intelligent and theoretical technology, but they do not explain the intentional acts from which ultimately everything originates"; (Husserl, 1933/77, s.64).

Science here is, vis a vis common sense, a "higher order" because of its effort to ground statements upon generalisable evidence but its critical procedures are not radical in the sense of disclosing the existential meaning of their themes, theoretical constructs, values, purposes and pre-understandings. Instead, all science is founded upon essential structures of meaning and their connections with others which can be uncovered by analysing the "nature" of the natural sciences, the "thinghood" of things, the "scientificity" of science, the "worldhood of the world" and so on; (Heidegger, 1926/80, s.14). All this as an aspect of the "UNIVERSAL LOGOS OF ALL CONCEIVABLE BEING" which, includes the regional possibilities of being and all their "corresponding correlations". Husserl:

"All rationality pertaining to actual facts resides in the a priori. A priori science is a science of the essential, that upon which the science of matters of fact must return for it to be ultimately and essentially grounded. However a priori science must not be naive, but must spring from ultimate transcendental and phenomenological sources"; (Husserl, 1929/75, p.38; Hegel, 1807/1949, p.285).

(And this, as we shall see in our closing chapter, depends upon the

development of "meaningful community" in the life-world which Husserl regarded as suffering from a current "crisis of existence"; (Husserl, 1936/70). This crisis is rooted in the "alienation" of ourselves from our experienced life and positivist versions of administered life. Ultimately it is THIS which requires explanation).

If we consider psychological explanations of hooliganism in terms of fans' "immaturity" attempted by the 1967 Harrington Report, suspension would amount to an explication of the sense in which the fans' activities were perceived as hooliganism, the sense of maturity used to render such fans immature and then deployed to "explain" the outcome of this very rendering. Such an explication is not a reiteration of common sense determination, but to determine that which common sense and science leave indeterminate.

After suspension positive science remains experienced and "lived" but bracketed off from actual use;

"All sciences which relate to the natural world, though they stand ever so firm to me, though they fill me with wondering admiration, though I am far from any thought of objecting to them in the least degree, I disconnect them all, I make absolutely no use of their standards, I do not appropriate a single one of the propositions that enter into their systems, even though their evidential value is perfect, I take none of them, not one of them serves me as a foundation - so long as it is understood... as a truth concerning the realities of this world. I may accept it only after I have placed it in the bracket"; (Husserl 1913/31, s.32).

This means they are accepted only in the modified consciousness of the judgment as it appears in suspension and not as it figures

within the science as its proposition, a proposition which claims validity and is recognised AS A CLAIM-TO-BE-EXPLICATED / REALISED.

In doing this, we must turn away from the results of the sciences and consider how hooliganism is given to consciousness as a theme, ie. the acts of consciousness through which it appears as meaning what it does in a SCIENCE OF PHENOMENON FOR CONSCIOUSNESS. Thus suspension of scientific explanations and results along with their supportive lived-in worlds, does not leave us facing nothing. Instead we are free at last to grasp the concrete and undeniably real intersubjective processes making up the significance of the cultural world and science and the objective contents of these processes purely as MEANT. The implicit suspension of this explanatory attitude to the phenomenon of crime in the "sociology of deviance" during the early 1970's, allowed for questions about the meaningful character of criminal actions for the actor and others to emerge. Also the dependency of "crime" upon the meaning of lawful behaviour now appeared as antecedent to that of criminality as a "pathological condition" and therefore meaningless; (S Cohen, 1971, introduction). During this period of intellectual turmoil, it was precisely the "normality" of the prevailing social order which was questioned and made questionable. For example, in a crude and romantic way R.D. Laing performed this suspension of schizophrenia-as-a-disease-for-psychiatry. He treated it as an interpretation arrived at by some people authorised as doctors of madness and partly imposed upon those who are no longer sufficiently credible to have their version accepted as real in the eyes of parents, relatives and others with power over that person. In place of bio-chemistry he conducted an inquiry into the intelligibility of the discredited person's behaviour. Instead of a value-free science he substituted a

hierarchy of normality-rules governed by regimes of power / recognition that operated in the "common sense" of families. These rules themselves provided the subsoil for psychiatry to nurture into an alleged science; (1961).

A similar suspension could be applied to medicine concerning the regime of power/recognition of handicap and a description of the rules and regulations which operate anonymously to define the meaning of health and thus sickness, physical recovery/handicap, normal functioning/abnormality etc; (cf. Vrettos et al, 1981). Thus an injured fan who receives criminal compensation on a scale dependending upon his percentage loss of faculty can, after suspension, be seen as determined by cultural ascriptions that are prior to any bio-chemical determination. Husserl:

"Now we know very well that there are such things as "abnormalities" (ie. subjects who are blind or deaf) - but abnormality must first be CONSTITUTED as such, and the constitution of abnormality is possible only on the basis of an intrinsically antecedent normality"; (Husserl 1933/77, s.55).

Suspension thus leads inquiry into the recipes that prescribe what counts as psychological, psychiatric, medical and cultural normality, and how these recipes and the real activities they prescribe, are historically instituted, continually reproduced or modified by culture.

Such explication of pre-scientific experience is foundational insofar as it determines and clarifies what is meant by crime in criminology, the psyche of psychology / psychiatry, the bio in biological explanations of criminal violence etc. Equally it secures the meaning of "logos" in such disciplines - the SENSE in

which causation, experimentation, explanation, quantification, verification, facts, law, truth etc. concretely exist as meaningful activities and orientations for those involved and affected. It also reveals HOW these themes appear to thematising consciousness and the manner of both these appearances. IN THIS WAY A REALM IS UNFOLDED ONLY IN WHICH IS IT POSSIBLE FOR HOOLIGANISM TO BE EXPERIENCED AS SUCH. In short, we bracket the fact THAT hooliganism exists as a possible theme for positive science in order to reveal in what sense it exists, how and for whom - in other words to disclose a foundational realm underscoring both mundane and scientific experience.

The criticism that we get to know about hooliganism, not by analysing our acts of experiencing it but by knowing the factual reality of hooliganism itself, falsely severs the prior realm of mutual belonging that houses both the hooliganism that we experience, and our experiencing of its reality. It is also based on the idea that foundational research sets itself up as a SUBSTITUTE for empirical science. Not so. Suspension is only a facilitating device of method allowing us to clarify the constitution of hooliganism for intersubjective consciousness and culture, to explicate the hooligan character of hooliganism, the thinghood of any factual thing, the materiality of each and every material fact etc; (Hegel, 1807/1949, p.286, p.292). Thus suspension and subsequent explication is not in any way concerned with the real constituent elements or qualities of fans, their violent activities or consequences per se. Psychology may tell us about the psychological make-up of fans, foundational research by contrast, tells us about the prior meaning-structure of "the psychological" as distinct from the "psychiatric", "biological", "sociological" etc. Therefore to assert the priority of

foundational clarification is not in any way to make a "take over bid" for empirical science.

While all the claims of psychological, psychiatric, bio-chemical and sociological explanations of soccer violence are available after suspension as phenomenon and acceptable as such, no inherent relativism is involved. There remain rigorous standards of evidence concerning the procedures through which these objects are experienced, for determining the modes of experiencing and so on. It is precisely to supply absolute foundations for the hidden relativities of science that studies like ours exist. Further, no anti-science irrationalism or mysticism is involved in the effort to arrive at a GROUNDED science of phenomena based on patient study, clarification and assembly of evidence; (contra Heidegger, 1947). The irrationalism comes from the effort to explain hooliganism in terms of lead levels, immaturity, absorption and re-enactment of players' violence, unemployment, social deprivation or right-wing organisations, without first making evident what IT IS that is being explained; (Husserl 1933/77, s.3).(11)

Although the validity of the already-formed sciences is no longer assumed as a real basis for foundational investigation, the aim of science AS SUCH is nevertheless preserved - the striving after evidenced truth and universality of judgement. This is the "infinite horizon" within which our research works away in a series of finite approximations aiming at "systematic universality of knowledge", with its basis in the "nature of the objects themselves"; (Husserl 1933/77, s.5). Its goal is both to fully know and reduce the gap between its achievements and potential.

Here we take note that any particular world of science at any one period can later come to be seen as a "coherent illusion" like much of the science of the middle ages. Thus while retaining the

goal of science as such, it is necessary to avoid grounding absolutely our account upon unexplicated cultural ascription of hooliganism upon any historically specific social world. These "worlds" to are potentially doubttable in the sense that their non-existence is at least thinkable. Thus the mundane facts of everyday experience which naively assume the "natural" character of these orders, offer insufficient evidence. They to become acceptance-phenomenon rather than firm ground for science.

5.10: SUMMARY OF CHAPTER ONE.

We began our study by stating that the aim of our research was to disclose, describe and analyse the phenomenon of football hooliganism. Reflection upon its phenomenal structure was obscured by the naively realistic operation of the natural attitude. This attitude is directed towards real activities and events without concern for the sense of hooliganism that prescribes those activities and events as signifying hooliganism. Not only is this particular founding sense glossed over, but so to is its structure as a sense, the particular acts of consciousness that present it, their structure as presentational acts, the specific modes of ego-comportment towards hooliganism and these as exemplifications of the subjectivity of the ego in its invariant structure.

By contrast, foundational research began to emerge as that which reflectively and progressively explicates all that common sense glosses over and lives through unreflectively. Explication requires a suspension of the natural attitude and the standpoints of common sense language, policy interests and positive science. These - in their distinctive ways - tend to obscure the realm of constituted-sense / sense-constitution that ground them. Suspension does not mean denial of the existence of hooliganism/hooligans as determined by these standpoints; it means a temporary disassociation so as to disclose this foundational determination itself.

While analysing the operation of policy standpoints in this determination, we attempted to further explicate and relate the act of suspension, suspended policy interests and foundational research. Foundational research emerged as neither primarily

theoretical in the sense of unrelated by aim, operation or consequences to policy, nor practical in the sense of being merely the means for the realisation of ready-made policy objectives. It is theorised policy as much as applied theory. Here as everywhere, foundational research showed itself to be quite unintelligible to the either/or logic of common sense. In fact its own position amounts to an internal critique of counter-reflexive and laissez-faire / "appreciative" approach. Positive explication of what foundational research is, how it operates and where it stands, further developed through this critique.

In this vein we approached positive science as a second order conceptualisation of common sense determinations founded upon the perceived life-world. Further its own sense both as a superstructure and as founded upon prior technical senses of the psyche of psychology, the bio of biology, were disclosed as unexplicated within the various "explanations" of soccer violence. The explanatory standpoint was then contrasted with the ideal of a pure description of hooliganism as experienced and in the manner of its being experienced.

As promised our discussion so far has been almost exclusively methodological. Soccer violence has surfaced only as an illustration of more general points vis a vis common sense, common sense language, the operation of policy interests and positive science. Yet by conceptualising football hooliganism as an indeterminate X, we have contradicted our own tradition's notion of truth, eg. qua fully explicated phenomena. Thus what is now required is a reversal in focus away from treating the concrete as a trivial exemplification of its grounds, towards a sense-explication of hooliganism in its concreteness, mediations and total interrelatedness. This is not a reduction of theorising to

an empirical level of the sort that was attacked above as uncritical, relativistic and self-contradictory. It is a concrete explication of the sense in which hooliganism is experienced as a problem by the natural attitude. This concretisation requires an account of the form-structure of meaning as exemplified by football hooliganism; (s.19), preceded by an explication of the contents of this form. These contents include hooliganism as a problem of "appropriate" legal typification, statutory interpretation, and sentencing; a problem of racism/typification of racism and its mediations with local, regional and national chauvinism; hooliganism as a commercial problem and one of physical violence.

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CHAPTER TWO: HOOLIGANISM AS A PROBLEM.

5.11: Introduction.

In this chapter there follows a sense-explication of hooliganism as a problem. It does not aim to be totally comprehensive. If it did then it would be necessary to explicate hooliganism as problems of other kinds, eg. a problem of parental discipline / legitimacy problem; also as excitement, as a day out with the lads, as a source of recognition and a display of the will to power. Because our research is a partly programmatic contribution to a wider project of foundational research, it is not by any means exhaustive. Nor could it be with its limited resources.

Further our earlier critique of liberal sociologies of deviance made an effort to "appreciate" the meaning of hooliganism for the "actors" and contrast this with an "inauthentic" social reaction, a highly suspect project. There appears to us no a priori reason for privileging the meaning of hooliganism for hooligans over that of affected shopkeepers, local residents, publicans, clubs and so forth. Furthermore, however much some soccer fans disown or neutralise our culture's reaction, it still is the pre-given / pre-giving medium for their own actions and understandings; in fact the possibility of outraged headlines or shocked newsreaders can even motivate soccer violence.

Our analysis casts doubt on an approach that conceptualises the phenomenon in terms of inner/outer, action/reaction, appreciation/correction, dichotomies. We in fact find that social action and reaction are always already intertwined. Hooliganism is not an isolated oasis of authenticity within a cultural desert. Hooliganism as a racial problem is thoroughly mediated with wider structures of local, regional and national chauvinism. At the same time racist soccer violence and abuse sustains and reproduces in its distinctive way, these wider mediations. Even fans who experience hooliganism as excitement nevertheless experience soccer violence as a problem when they or their family are the victims of it. Hooliganism as a commercial problem is also mediated by wider determinations concerning the meaning of leisure, class and the weekend; at the same time the costs and consequences of hooliganism are such as to sustain these disincentives to watch soccer and render "impractical" various preventive

measures.

It would therefore be quite wrong to perceive what follows merely in terms of 'social reaction'. It is as much action as reaction, as much immediate as mediate, as much inner as outer. For these and other reasons given earlier we do not follow the imperative of liberal sociologies of deviance.

It has already been asserted that this is a foundational investigation into the experience of football hooliganism. Foundational studies set themselves the task of disclosing, describing and conceptualising the structure of phenomena. This involves progressively grasping in reflection the what, how, for whom and from where of the phenomenon's presence to lived-experience. Each of these structures pre-suppose the others. Any effort to unfold the question "how is football hooliganism constituted as such in experience?" is nonsensical when divorced from questions of what has been constituted as "football hooliganism", and "for whom is there football hooliganism meant as X, Y and Z through various (re)constituting "recipes" operating within different modes, ie. anticipation, perception etc?". Thus we have to study each one in turn with each structure further illuminating the others.

The aim is not, however, to reflect upon methodology for its own sake, but to engage in concrete analysis. However analysis cannot become concrete by seizing on this or that indeterminate part of the empirical world and "objectively" observing it. Instead concretisation involves a process of making concrete - an evermore comprehensive determination and thus clarification, of the above structures of experience. This process actually produces evident concreteness. To concretely grasp the already-constituted "what" of experienced hooliganism requires a double-rayed reflection. One ray must be oriented towards what it is that analysis does, and must do if it is to truly investigate this or any other constituted meaning. The second ray directs itself at what it is that is meant in the specific experience of soccer hooliganism. These moments mutually determine and act as checks upon the other. It is through the methodological ray that the second empirical study can remain "on course" as a concrete analysis of constituted meaning and gain self-consciousness of this fact. Only by virtue of the empirical study does the first methodological analysis have its empty programmatic promise of concreteness fulfilled. Together they produce concreteness in that the empirical meaning of hooliganism is made determinate, clear and evident, and so is its own

process of determination, clarification and making-evident. Ideally neither the "what" of the phenomenon, nor that of its adequate analysis, would be left indeterminate.

In terms of sheer "bulk", the empirical moment takes far longer to explicate because football hooliganism is experienced with changeable degrees of certainty/doubt, as a problem of various sorts, ie. a problem of criminal behaviour/appropriate legal responses, a problem of actual and threatened physical violence, a reaction to a lack of excitement in the game itself combined with ever greater expectations, a commercial problem and yet another aspect of a widespread legitimacy crisis affecting respect for established authority. For some of those voluntarily involved, hooliganism means excitement and a way of obtaining recognition and recognised identity, reputation, status and a sense of belonging to a highly publicised sub-culture. On this basis it is also possible to see football hooliganism as a media problem insofar as recognition given by its sensationalised "coverage" and perceived "newsworthiness" motivates and therefore reproduces the phenomenon itself.

It must however be stressed that although some of these elements of meaning contain and imply "explanations" in terms of both causes and motivations, foundational research is not itself in the business of constructing the phenomenon on the basis of preferred ready-made explanations. Here for class-warriors such as Taylor (1971, 1980), hooliganism becomes a "class-thing" necessitating "class-analysis" and revolutionary policies. To liberal perspectives such as those of Marsh, hooliganism is constructed as "ritualised aggression" and thus becomes an occasion to display a non-interventionist laissez faire approach. For psychologists it becomes a psychological thing. Such endless self-affirmation and advertising leaves the structure of the phenomenon itself quite unexplicated, unaccounted for and thus neither understood nor "explained"; (Hegel, 1807/49, p.436; Husserl, 1907/64, p.18).

Faced with such escalating thoughtlessness, foundational research aims to clarify the structure of the phenomenon itself on the basis of which adequate explanations then become possible. They only become possible because explanations have already understood and comprehended what it is that is to be explained and why it is that the presence rather than the absence of football hooliganism is truly problematic. Having tried to clarify or at least make intelligible, why a foundational mode of research is being followed, it is now time to begin the first empirical moment of the double-edged analysis outlined above.

S.12: HOOLIGANISM AS A PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE.

This section aims to unfold the sense in which hooliganism is experienced as a problem of actual or possible physical violence. Once more the focus is upon this component of an already-constituted sense of hooliganism as distinct from the modes through which this sense is continually (re)constituted as such. Thus analysis remains at the level of what it is that is perceived or anticipated as hooliganism - not the "how" of the phenomenon, ie. the perceived character of perceived hooliganism or the anticipatory nature of anticipated hooliganism etc. Initially we are only concerned with what constitutes the violent character of soccer violence. In the second section the more complex recipe used to construct its soccer context vis a vis persons, places, time-slices etc. will be explored.

a. The Violent Character of Soccer Violence.

Although violence is a conceptualisation easily used in a soccer context, what is glossed over is the interrelation between the criminal offences it can entail, the non-legal use of the expression and what it expresses, the required kind of actual or threatened damage and the assumed present or future intentions of different persons accused of being responsible for it.

It is necessary to be extremely careful when the character of the offence with which fans are charged, is taken as a measure of the level of perceived violence. Even quite serious fighting and attacks as took place during Sheffield United's visit to Hull City in 1983 or when attacks are made upon players - often, for evidential reasons only attract "threatening behaviour" or "breach of the peace" charges.(1) These do not always square even with concrete perceptions of police, witnesses and victims that are presented to the court; (Guardian, 6/3/85). Conversely there is a widespread belief among fans that the police "can do you for fuck all" and pressure one into pleading guilty. Therefore instead of founding our investigation upon the formal charges, we must look at the originating perception of events that led to the possibility of arrest and charges in the first place.

When soccer violence is described, what is generally meant is not a literal "violation" of people's general "rights" which would cover property damage, offensive language and controls

over free movement on the day of a game. Instead such violations are themselves perceived as "vandalism", "rowdiness", "loutish hooligan behaviour" and "crowd control"; (Guardian, 3/12/82). Even confrontations that build up without developing into full-scale fighting are sometimes described as "disturbances" as distinct from soccer violence; (Sheffield Star, 10/10/83). Thus the degree and kind of violence is primarily determined by our idea of what we have already understood violence to be and not just the words we use to express our application of this pre-understanding. Alternative expressions include "aggro", "sorting them out", "getting a kicking", "having a row", "doing 'em real bad", "trouble", "rucking", "scrapping" and "having a go". Their selection depends as much upon context, audience and desired emphasis, rather than any particularly subtle nuances of meaning. Also "edited highlights" of the violent events themselves may be given without any specific characterisation. Alternatively graphic war-like analogies are sometimes used to convey a rich sense of violence. One analogy compared the exploits of England supporters armed with knives and axes in France, Belgium and Luxemburg with Hitler's destruction of Europe through several countries; (BBC, Radio 4, "Today", 6/11/83). As an illustration of how inadequate a purely linguistic analysis would be, ie. one that reduced the meaning of soccer violence to its various expressions and analogies, consider the comments of Frankie - a Cardiff fan interviewed by Harrison.

"I go to a match for one reason only: the aggro... Before the match we go round looking respectable and if we see someone who looks like the enemy we... do him over. We saw one of our lads getting his head kicked in. The bloke I got this scarf off was bleeding from everywhere from his face by the time I'd finished with him; (1974).

Clearly an enduring common idea of violence is here intended by a diversity of expressions. This idea can also be conveyed by strategic silences over personal involvement; (Star, 15/4/85). Our foundational concern must therefore address what it is that is expressed in these expressions and silences.

The violent character of soccer violence means violating the body's physical integrity. What constitutes "bodies" in this context is not confined to human bodies but includes those

of police horses and dogs; (S Star, 16/5/83). This includes being spat on, bruised, crushed, trampled on, punched and kicked; (M Telegraph, 4/5/82, 3/12/84; S Star, 10/10/83). Also where the body is clubbed with baseball bats and hit by missiles such as bricks, smoke bombs, distress rockets and darts; (Sunday People, 11/29/81; BBC1, Look North, 26/10/83; S Times, 6/11/84). Consider Harrison's

perception of crowd violence of this kind at the 1974 Cardiff v Manchester United game:

"At about 2.15 someone from the Cardiff side threw the first stone, then the bricks started flying... Swathes opened up in the crowds on either side as they saw the brickbats coming. I saw three people hit in the face, one above the eye, one in the ear, one in the nose, blood streaming down them"; (1974, p.604).

There is also the prospect of being stabbed with daggers, cut by beer glasses, flying glass or Stanley-knives, blinded by chemicals and shot at with rifles; (Guardian, 3/5/82; BBC 1 Newsbeat, 3/10/83; S Star, 3/3/83, 13/4/83; M Telegraph, 4/5/82; D Mirror, 1/2/82).

The threatening presence of violence is much wider than the direct perception of any such incident. It can appear as an "undercurrent of violence" that was seen at Birmingham v West Ham as "present throughout" and "surfaced" in particular episodes of fighting; (Guardian, 20/2/84). I had a similar experience at Luton in 1985, when a few hundred Millwall fans were patrolling the streets waiting for an opportunity to create havoc. After Chelsea had beaten Leeds five nil in 1984, the final pitch invasion and crowd violence had already been foreshadowed. Leeds fans were described by the Guardian as "simmering" - a state which culminated in the dismantling of Chelsea's scoreboard and hurling the debris at the police and Chelsea fans. One policeman almost died; (E Standard, 23/5/84).

In such cases the perception of violence does not suddenly shatter an earlier non-violent normality. What is perceived from the start is a growing air of tension, danger and expectancy in which a lack of violence would come as a surprise. During the 1984 Chelsea v Leeds game, the players were taken off seconds before the end of the game because of a pitch invasion. When they did come back, they positioned themselves close to the players' tunnel:

"Sensing another pitch invasion at the final whistle, the Leeds players seemed reluctant to kick off, and eventually did so with the entire team, including their goalkeepers, in the middle of the pitch. On kicking off they turned on their heels and headed for the dressing room as the referee finished the match"; (Guardian, 30/4/84).

Such impending violence haunted the build up to, and games within the 1982 World Cup; (Guardian, 3/12/82). This experience is often more direct than that of anticipated violence, ie. when police officers, club officials and local people make plans before a game. It can be sensed because it is almost tactile, possessing a certain "weight".

Further this tension is often perceived by those in charge of clubs with violent supporters such as Chelsea and Leeds, as having its source outside any footballing context or as part of a more widespread working class violence in sport generally; (Ken Bates, quoted in the Guardian, 30/4/84). This is relevant not as an "explanation" so much as one aspect of the meaning of soccer violence itself, ie. as that which calls out for explanation and eradication. After the 1984 Birmingham v West Ham game that had seen the police overwhelmed by a pitch invasion by both sets of supporters, the Birmingham manager said:

"If we did not have football matches, we are in such a state in this country that we'd have riots in the streets because football is a safety valve for these hooligans".

Another self-serving strategic perception is to reverse the high interest "value" our culture attaches to perceived violence and subordinate it to the football; (cf. Guardian, 20/2/84). This subordination can even result in managers saying that they did not perceive any terrace violence or that they saw only "high spirits"; (S Star, 20/5/82; Guardian, 30/4/84).

Regardless of where the source of this tension is located, its realisation within a football context is not an empty threat. Joe Corrigan - Manchester City's goalkeeper was knocked out by a bottle thrown from the Liverpool Kop, and a reserve team Chelsea player was reputedly stabbed by a Millwall fan.; (S Times, 27/12/81). One Barnsley fan had:

"To drag himself up from a large pool of his own blood in a pre-match attack by Sheffield

United supporters... They had been flashing off Stanley-knives and pointing at our throats".

The result was a 14 inch long gash that had cut through muscles as well as skin; (S Star, 13/4/83). Another Barnsley fan had to have a blood transfusion after being slashed with a Stanley-knife at Middlesborough during the same season. Three of his friends were also hospitalised after being ambushed outside a pub. Also a Rotherham fan had his throat slashed with a butcher's knife by a Sheffield Wednesday fan; (M Telegraph, 4/5/82). At Barnsley's Cup-tie at Liverpool a visiting supporter was repeatedly slashed with a knife across his back:

"We were leaving the game when this gang of Liverpool fans came towards us. I felt something stick in my back and my clothes were torn apart"; (S Star, 16/1/82).

It is not then surprising that fans will take very real risks in fleeing from other fans who are confronting them. For example, two Sheffield Wednesday fans were attacked at a motorway service on the M1 by Middlesborough supporters. In an effort to get away Andrew Stanton ran across the motorway and was knocked down by a Rolls-Royce. He was admitted to hospital with leg, hip and severe internal injuries. His friend described the incident:

"Andrew got out of the bus and was immediately chased by a gang. I saw him go down and a number gather around him. It was a frightening experience. The Middlesborough fans had been running around like maniacs and throwing anything they could lay their hands upon"; (D Mirror, 15/11/82).

Not only are these and other such violations perceived as "violent" and as aspects of soccer violence but so too are their immediate and indirect consequences, ie. the abandonment of games, expulsion of teams from Europe, fear, anxiety, disruption of previous routines and non-attendance at away or overseas fixtures. Eric Morecambe - director of Luton Town - has written that the sheer threat of attack and the "frightening consequences" from supporters who carry "sheath knives, bicycle chains and lead piping" and other "death wielding weapons" are killing interest in the game; (S Telegraph magazine, 27/12/81). Also there is the prospect of

shock, aches, pain, a fractured skull, ribs and other bones, collapsed lungs, unconsciousness, brain damage, loss of blood, being stranded in a foreign country, facial and other scars, unwelcome publicity, death, blindness, long term disablement, loss of work, independence and self confidence; (Harrison, 1974; D Mirror, 1/10/82; D Telegraph, 11/5/84; Guardian, 3/5/82, 22/11/83; P News, 25/4/84; Times 15/3/85). After 50 Manchester Utd. fans were injured in clashes with Spanish police and rival fans, the Chairman of their supporters club refused to organise any future trips abroad. He stated: "We were lucky to get back without several dead"; (D Mirror, 1/10/82). The Barnsley fan attacked at Liverpool by some 30 home fans said: "Before this I was like a kid waiting for Christmas, but now I will never go to another match. I had eight deep slash wounds from my shoulders to my waist"; (S Star, 16/1/82).

He also hoped that "his mates" who were "very angry" would not "create any trouble" in the replay the following week. Also consider the case of Diane Bee, an 18 year old model, whose face was scarred when a beer glass was pushed into it by a Charlton fan visiting her home town of Barnsley. She had been out "for a quiet drink" after a shopping trip. Afterwards she was quoted by the Sheffield Star as saying:

"I just don't know what to do with my life. A couple of days after I was glassed I was due to have a portfolio of photos done but obviously I could not go. I was in a right mess with plasters and stitches in my face and will be scarred for life"; (7/9/83).

A more permanent consequence of soccer violence is death. Yet the deaths of 66 Rangers supporters at Ibrox Park in January 1971, were not perceived as soccer violence rather a failure of safety provisions; (Times, 3/1/71). At the other extreme, premeditated deaths caused by stabbings are immediately perceived as soccer violence of a most serious kind necessitating specific investigation and police appeals from the public for further evidence; (Guardian, 3/5/82). The first reported death that was attributed to soccer violence was that of Kevin Olson who was stabbed at Blackpool in August 1974. Two years later, a Celtic fan was killed at Abroath, and a Millwall fan was found dead on a railway line after a fight with West

Ham fans.(2) 1980 saw the murder of a Swansea supporter by fans from Crystal Palace; (Guardian, 25/10/80). In 1982 an Arsenal fan died at the hands of West Ham's Inter-City Firm; (Guardian, 3/5/82), and a Leicester man was kicked to death by two Wednesday fans in the early hours of Sunday morning; (S Star, 10/11/82). In the following year a Chelsea fan eventually died after being beaten up by five Huddersfield supporters after the game as he walked towards his car in a crowded street; (Times, 3/10/83). A Spurs fan was also shot dead and two others wounded at Brussels in May 1984; (D Telegraph, 11/5/84).

Between these two extreme poles are deaths by "natural causes", ie. heart attacks, which occur during crowd confrontations. The exciting 1985 Sheffield Wednesday v Chelsea cup-tie saw crowd disturbances involving missile throwing, infiltration of Sheffield Wednesday's seats and the firing of rockets. Some of this unscheduled combat took place in a stand that contained an elderly supporter who collapsed and died from a heart attack; (cf. Harrison 1974). The death of a young fan crushed on an escalator as Spurs and Manchester United fans fought at a station, was also perceived as "an accident"; (S Times 22/11/81).(3)

However there is no need for these violations and their consequences to be FULLY intended. It is not the specific intentions of the perpetrators towards particular victims alone that constitutes the violence. Nor is it relevant that the final injuries can be worse than what was intended by the attackers. Thus a police baton charge that injures a railway worker can be perceived or anticipated as soccer violence as much as a premeditated attack by rival fans whose violent intentions are realised. A police officer who had his leg broken by a police horse at Charlton as clashes occurred involving Middlesborough supporters was perceived as a victim of crowd violence; (D Mirror, 15/11/82). The Charlton fan who injured Diane Bee claimed he was trying to push her out of the way and forgot he had a beer glass in his hand. Also the Sheffield United fan who slashed the back of a Barnsley supporter claimed he only intended to scare him and cut his clothing. It is conceivable that the Hull fan who threw a bottle which cut open the eye of Chelsea's goalkeeper who was returning by coach to London perhaps only intended simple vandalism or alternatively far greater physical harm to all the players; (M Telegraph, 23/1/82). Yet even if these claims had been accepted, it would in no way have altered the perception of these acts as incidents of soccer violence. Here the consequences take priority over the intentions of the assailant; (S Star, 13/4/83).

On this basis it is possible to see drunken violence as a more serious example of soccer violence than that carried out by sober fans. Although in one sense this lack of control could be said to negate intentions, what takes priority is the effect on the anticipations of actual and potential victims, of seeing such drunkenness. For example, the "drunken loutish behaviour" by supporters watching the FA Amateur Vase Trophy was perceived by the Guardian's reporter as aggravating the unpleasant character of their fighting and vandalism rather than being a mitigating factor; (10/5/82). His report even advertised itself with the headline title "The violent vase". Also reporting the attacks on the police at Luton in 1985, as not only drunken but "mindless", "lunatic" and "senseless", while Millwall were seen as "wild animals", added to rather than mitigated their perceived "seriousness"; (D Telegraph, 15/3/85). Once more the projected irresponsibility of "lunatic" fans for their acts, is not perceived as any obstacle to the most draconian punishments which pre-suppose rational responsibility and the possibility of deterrence.

It does not follow that the present intentions of those involved are altogether irrelevant

to the ascription of soccer violence. There was for example, no perception of soccer violence when supporters were injured as a wall collapsed under the sheer strain of Millwall fans visiting Dagenham in 1982. This perception would not have been negated even if both the crowd and those injured had actually intended to do some damage to the ground after the game was over. A similar incident in 1894 involving Sheffield Wednesday in which 80 people were injured was also perceived in terms of "accidental chaos"; (S Star, 3/12/81). Also in a "fracas" between Chelsea and Cardiff supporters at Wokingham Town v Cardiff City Cup-tie in 1983, a policewoman was knocked unconscious and nine of her colleagues suffered from broken bones and cuts caused by missiles. These injuries were perceived as soccer violence only to the extent that they were not attributable to a stand collapsing; (Guardian, 22/11/83). Thus the absence of any current intent to injure, push and shove recklessly, can negate the ascription of violence to these injuries perceived in a soccer context.

In a fatal injury there is strong presumption of non-involvement that derives from horror at the death and an interest in not further upsetting the "victim's" parents, family etc.; (Guardian, 3/5/82). To some extent this is also true of lesser injuries where the onus is very much placed on the assailants to establish that the victim was voluntarily involved. Again perhaps it is assumed that anyone capable of inflicting such injuries is more than capable of telling lies in an effort to gain a reduced sentence. Alternatively there is an unwillingness amongst fans who have escaped arrest, to "set the record straight". Thus fans injured in crowd violence are frequently perceived as "victims" of soccer violence even though they may have been willing but unsuccessful participants in it.

This assumption is very strong in the case of female fans since femininity is culturally projected as implying passivity. One dramatic picture of a woman being carried away by two men with blood pouring from her head and neck, was carried by the Sunday Express under the caption "The sad face of Highbury"; (15/4/84). The same picture - enlarged and strongly focussed upon the injuries - was carried by the News of the World. Its headline ran "Girl savaged in Cup riot - one minute she was a happy fan cheering on her team the next a bloodstained victim of mindless violence."; (15/4/84). In many cases the assumption may well be quite correct even in this case when most of those involved in the fighting had to climb on to the pitch to confront each other. Yet this presumption creates a more dramatic - and thus

highly newsworthy - perception that re-affirms the pre-understanding of violence as mindless and thus a threat to "any normal person". By contrast the fact that a policeman was stabbed and another 98 persons injured was perceived as progressively less serious/newsworthy by this paper. Where an injured party actually boasts of his involvement or gives "startling" press interviews, ie. when a Millwall fan said the police at Luton "got what they deserved", then this presumption of simple victimisation is quickly reversed; (D Star, 15/3/85).(4)

One aspect of what soccer violence means includes a non-specific conceptualisation of the intentions of those held responsible for it. Even in the face of conflicting evidence these persons and their intentions are projected as "non-supporters-only-interested-in-the-trouble". This entity is constructed out of and then projected as a mirror image of the "true-supporter-only-interested-in-the-game". After the scenes at Luton v Millwall in 1985 there was a re-affirmation of this pairing with attempts to distance Millwall from those involved by claiming many of them were either "freelance" trouble makers or not "real" supporters. Real supporters are sporting humans gracious in defeat, hooligans are wild savages and animals to be caged; (Sun, 15/3/85). In fact the Sun even issued an apology to animal lovers who had complained following this conceptualisation of Millwall fans. Millwall FC themselves stated:

"If success means that we have to be tarnished by those few hundred animals who appear intent on destroying not only Millwall, not only football but society itself, we have to ask ourselves is it worth it?"(5)

Such perceptions offer not only an account of "what happened" but also an instant "explanation" of the violence. Hooliganism is caused simply by the presence of football hooligans. Such perceptions link up with a set of "appropriate remedies" of counter-violence that can be suggested irrespective of the specific character of any particular incident; (D Telegraph, 15/3/85). They re-affirm the perceived righteous intentions of the witness whilst dispensing of the need to actually examine the motivational structure of the fans themselves in relation to events inside and outside the game; (S Star editorial, 10/11/82; Guardian letters; 21/3/85). Such a response cannot however be analysed as merely "capitalist ideology"

as it has been copied in the Soviet Union; (D Telegraph, 11/5/84).

Undoubtedly a significant proportion of Millwall fans share this dichotomy, and by denigrating those they perceive as being on the other side, re-affirm their own elevated status as a "true" supporter. Such denigration may even begin with the "true fan" presenting his or her own "credentials":

"As a lifelong Millwall supporter, I could only stand in disbelief as I watched the riots. And I felt like crying. Children around me clung to their parents in fear, women and pensioners vowed never to go to another match again... As a true Millwall fan it is impossible not to feel shame... and despair at how low life had sunk. These people were not fans, these were not people, they were animals"; (D Star, 14/3/85).

However the president of the club and former MP for Bermondsey Bob Mellish, appeared to see a continuum between youthful thuggery and a fully qualified Millwall supporter. He said:

"These aren't true Millwall supporters. Not the supporters I know. They're just kids. They may be budding Millwall supporters"; (ITV C4 News, 15/3/85).

Even some of the "budding fans" who were involved appeared to accept the projection of the true fan/disinterested thug couplet, but like B Mellish accepted there was a "middle ground".

One, John Hayes, claimed to be a "real" supporter:

"Who does not go to matches looking for fights, but I do like a bit of a heavy atmosphere... I'm not one of those who goes to the match for the aggro. I'm a real Millwall fan. Sometimes though things happen..."; (D Star, 15/3/85).

Also fans who commit assaults on rival players or fans are frequently applauded or greeted with chants of "loyal supporter" - a response perceived as "sickening" by the Times reporter at the 1985 Chelsea v Sunderland game; (5/2/85). This wide acclaim does not support the superficial appeal of the true/disinterested dichotomy. It focuses attention upon surrounding

circumstances, policing, officially encouraged motivational structures, the overlap between conventional values of "action-packed-newsworthiness" and those of the hooligan sub-culture, and player conduct; ... it awkwardly distinguishes between the intelligible character of the phenomenon, its adequate analysis and appropriate policy reaction; (D Miller, Times, 13/3/85). It also asks under what circumstances would the subject for whom there is the "true fan", use violence if grossly provoked, threatened or assaulted.

As a result it lacks the plausibility and comforting self-affirmation of "every decent person" possessed by that which it challenges; (cf. R Saunders manager of Birmingham City FC, in the Guardian, 20/2/84). It is not therefore surprising that even those papers that carried these "startling views" or the "sickening chorus" of "loyal supporter", nevertheless conceptualised them within the familiar dichotomy; (D Star, 15/3/85). In fact the Times used Chelsea fans' reaction to further support the dichotomy by contrasting it with the outraged reaction of Liverpool supporters to the missile thrower among their own ranks who felled the Manchester City goal keeper; (Times, 6/3/85).

Where violence is combined with scenes of concerted and sustained public disorder, vandalism, overturning cars, smashing windows etc., then a "soccer riot" is frequently perceived. This determination does not appear to be as determinate as that of violence. For example the scenes at Chelsea v Sunderland in March 1985 where Clive Walker an ex-Chelsea player was attacked, coins, improvised spears and seats thrown at police was perceived as a "near riot"; (Birmingham Post, 5/3/85). Here police were forced to use mounted officers to clear the pitch after Sunderland had scored.

Rioting can embrace soccer violence but need not, while many forms of vandalism become perceived as integral parts of an "orgy of violence" etc. Thus a Times reporter saw rioting as a "night of wanton and widespread destruction" by Millwall fans at Luton in 1985. Here 31 police officers were injured along with 16 fans. Inside the ground 15,000 pounds worth of damage was caused as seats were smashed up and thrown at retreating police officers in what the referee called the "worst ever trouble I've ever seen in 21 years"; while outside shops, homes, residents, commuters and cars were damaged; (D Telegraph, 15/3/85). Here two police officers gave vivid firsthand accounts:

"All I can remember was feeling a terrific blow to the back of my head and I passed out. The next thing I was lying flat out with people running all over me".

His colleague who rescued him added:

"In 11 years policing football at Luton I've never seen anything like it. It was terrifying. I was lying across Colin (another officer) giving him mouth to mouth and trying to protect him from all the fists and feet that were going in. He had swallowed his tongue and had stopped breathing, but they didn't care. They were laughing and jeering at a policeman lying there badly hurt. It wasn't so much fright I felt as sheer fury... When Colin was breathing OK we stretchered him away but they were still jeering and pelting us with missiles"; (D Star, 15/3/85).

The Times reporter stated that:

"Spectators sat terrified while the Millwall fans hurled pound coins, snooker balls and bottles into the crowd".

A spectator hit under the eye by a coin said:

"There were families with little children sobbing their hearts out, people were quivering with fear. There were hundreds of police but they were faced with a load of animals"; (15/3/85).

Now such scenes were universally described as soccer violence with the predictable range of pre-fixes - worst ever, yet more, thuggery, lunatic, disease and so on. The award for most contradictory combination must go to the Sun for: "the marauding pack of lunatic Millwall fans ran amok"; (15/3/85). Yet not all such violence constitutes a riot in the eyes of reporters; a "near riot" was seen by the Morning Telegraph, while the D Mail, The Sun and The Home Secretary perceived a fullscale riot.

However property damage that would otherwise have been seen as vandalism became perceived

as "soccer violence" with those who had their windows, cars and selves attacked, perceived as the victims; (Times, 15/3/85). Thus once violations of bodies is linked to violations of property and "rioting" then the meaning of soccer violence appears to be sufficiently elastic to cover both. Consider for example the report of an "orgy of violence" at Portsmouth involving Chelsea fans:

"Thousands of pounds of damage was caused after violence flared on the terraces during ugly post match scenes... An avalanche of plastic seat covers, cast iron and wood supports, and coins rained down upon the pitch at police... One policeman escaped serious injury when he was hit on the hand by a bottle". (P News, 25/4/84).

After the game two sailors were stabbed - one through the lung, the other across the kidneys - during "rioting" in which Chelsea supporters used chemicals to temporarily blind rival supporters. Nine police officers were also injured; the context of "rioting", overturning cars and looting shops were perceived as violence rather than simple vandalism or theft.

S.13:b. The Footballing Character of Football Violence.

To (re)constitute football violence, the realisation of violent intentions must be directed to a definite footballing context - yet the precise character of this context is by no means "obvious". Instead the recipe used to construct it involves including, excluding, interrelating and "grading" certain persons, motivations, violence, injuries, places and slices of time. What is more, each final outcome of their combination itself appears with varying degrees of evidential "weight", ie. uncertain, possible, likely, probable and certain soccer violence.

Only some persons can be perceived as responsible for soccer violence or be its victims. By itself the involvement of persons who, amongst many other pursuits are soccer fans, is not necessarily sufficient. A fight for instance, between two rival supporters who are unaware of the allegiance of the other and which started over a spilt drink, need not be perceived as soccer violence - "beer-fighting"/"pub brawl" would be more likely determinations. This exclusion would hold good even though had either of them been aware of the other's loyalty, a fight would have ensued in any case.

Generally, violence directed against the police rather than rival supporters is still seen as soccer violence - in fact one of its "ugliest" forms; (Sun, 6/3/85; D Mirror, 14/3/85). However after their match against York, Doncaster fans attacked local police in York town centre in February 1985. This was seen as a possible continuation of battles begun during the 1984-5 miners strike. The local radio station seemed unsure of its character and merely described the attacks in terms of "an outbreak of violence" after the game followed by a description of "what happened", (Radio Sheffield, 6/3/85). Here a low evidential weight would have attached to either of the alternative specific characterisations. These could have been further confounded by the conflict of interpretations concerning the significance of the police/miner tensions during the earlier strike itself, ie. "fighting for jobs and local communities" v "political insurrection". Both of these attribute a form of rationality to this violence that is conventionally denied to that which occurs in a soccer context. Therefore any perception that conceptualised these attacks on the police as both soccer thuggery and a continuation of the miners' strike would be quite unstable. Alternatively

either one by itself could be doubted by reference to the alternative conceptualisation. Thus to perceive these attacks at a more general level avoids these ambiguities and conflicts of perceptions at the cost of concreteness. (On "doubt" see s.26 below).

It would be quite wrong to say that the presence of wider tensions present in violence at soccer matches actually annuls its character as soccer violence. For example at Luton v Millwall in 1985, much of the violence appeared, at least for some more perceptive commentators such as David Lacey, to be a continuation of inter/intra-racial and youth/police tension prevalent in South London generally; (Guardian, 15/3/85).(6) Yet although noted, this was seen as more to do with the violence's "explanation", strategic "outraged reactions", criticisms of police and government policies etc., than its initial conceptualisation as soccer violence; (Hansard, 14/3/85).

Violence by fans against people from another town is perceived as soccer violence even if the victim has no connection with any club or police-force whatsoever, ie. the kicking unconscious of a Sheffield man by Derby supporters in February 1985; (S Star, 24/2/85). Also the stabbing of local people in Worcester by Leeds fans stopping off after playing at Cardiff in 1983 was similarly perceived and reported. Thus the football relatedness of football violence covers a fairly wide scope of possible victims and motivation so that even tenuous connections between crowd trouble and the game of football suffice.

However violence by players or managers need not be so perceived. Instead, often it is reported in terms of violence-by-a-celebrity whose footballing connection - unlike that of supporters - can even stand the accused in good stead; (D Mirror, 30/4/82, 8/5/82; Guardian, 30/4/82; Times 5/3/85). However in recent years there has been a tendency to associate violence on the terraces with that on the field and so widen the scope, gravity and extent of the phenomenon; (cf. speech by the Prime Minister 23/3/85).(7) This association can appear positively, as when the behaviour of Chelsea's David Speedie caused him to be sent off and was subsequently involved in a confrontation in the players' lounge after the game. This has been linked to fan misbehaviour; (Times, 6/3/85). A referee who received a blow and retaliated by hitting a player was banned for 18 months; (Sun, 9/12/81). When Millwall's Dean Neal smashed up a security door at Slough Town's ground after having been sent off was perceived by the club and reporters as part of a day of hooliganism involving crowd violence also.

Here the relationship between crowd and player violence was perceived as being reciprocal. Slough Town's manager for example, blamed the violent atmosphere that surfaced in a pitch invasion and attack on home supporters by Millwall fans, for the violence by both teams that saw three players sent off:

"It was an explosive day from the moment Millwall supporters started arriving. At one stage the gates were stormed and people were flooding in without paying. The Millwall supporters were a rough old crowd but a lot of trouble was caused by a group of Chelsea supporters who had come to bait the Millwall fans. It all seemed to have an effect on a game which was extremely physical"; (Guardian, 22/11/83; cf. D Telegraph, 6/3/85).

Assaults by fans on players or referees involve a footballing context twice over, and are seen as even more outrageous than those on the police - perhaps THE most serious form of soccer violence; (Sun, 13/3/85). Millwall's Andy Massey was assaulted in 1982 by one of his own teams supporters after a spell of poor form. Also during the violence at Luton Town, I saw a long knife being thrown at the back of Luton's goalkeeper by a Millwall fan. The vulnerable goalkeeper was later given advance notice of the final whistle to allow him to (narrowly) escape from the pitch after having punched one attacker; (Sun, 15/4/85). Had a Luton FAN under these circumstances made such a retreat, he would have risked being perceived and arrested for actually using violence.

Millwall's own players were assaulted by Huddersfield supporters in 1982 in what their manager described as "disgraceful scenes"; while in December 1984 Celtic supporters attacked Rapide Vienna's goalkeeper and goalscorer with the result that the club were given a large fine by UEFA; (D Mirror, 13/12/84). Southampton's Mark Dennis was also knocked unconscious by a missile thrown by a Portsmouth supporter, while at the same match Wallace - a black Southampton player - had bananas thrown at him; (Sunday Express, 30/1/84). Such assaults are perceived as a form of soccer violence far worse than missile throwing between rival fans whose bodies and general physical safety are in general valued less highly than those of the players. As a result of this valuation clubs are more likely to be fined or have their grounds closed down.

We have already seen that dramatic and therefore photogenic injuries to female fans can be perceived as more serious/newsworthy than those of the police. Still seen as football violence and graded somewhere between assaults by fans on players and each other, are attacks upon police officers. The attacks on Bedfordshire police officers by Millwall fans at Luton were given more attention and condemned with greater vigour by sports journalists, the police themselves, newspaper editorials, members of parliament, government ministers, than those upon local fans, commuters or even elderly residents; (Sun, 18/3/85, Times, 15/3/85). This is just one example of a more general grading of violence by the status of the injured party that also manifested itself in the reaction to the violence at the Chelsea v Sunderland match a few days before; (Guardian, 6/3/85).

Conversely attacks by police armed with wooden clubs on fans are barely seen as soccer violence. Thus planned ambushes on Millwall supporters by the Metropolitan Police carried out in revenge for attacks on themselves at the 1985 Chelsea v Millwall Cup tie, were not perceived as soccer violence at all, rather in terms of "summary justice".(8) It is interesting to compare this with the police condemnation of an ambush of Barnsley supporters by Sheffield United fans:

"This is the sickening side of football that we are seeing all too often"; (S Star, 10/11/82).

This is not to allege "hypocrisy" by claiming that the "same" action is treated differently; it is only to show that it is not the intrinsic nature of the activities themselves that constitutes soccer violence and its "gravity", but the status and football relatedness of the parties and their assumed motivations. Thus injuries suffered by Millwall supporters whose heads had been cut open by police truncheons at Portsmouth in 1981, were not treated as the "same" as similar injuries suffered by the police. Many injured fans who were still bleeding were pushed onto a train back to London.

Widely perceived as least serious of all are those injuries caused to away fans by foreign police. Supporters who suffer injuries from foreign police are rarely perceived as experiencing soccer violence so much as just retribution from "firm policing"; (Guardian, 3/3/84; D Telgraph, 11/5/84). Thus when French riot police indiscriminately battered English

supporters, some of whom had already suffered stab wounds from French fans, this was perceived by the British Embassy as:

"Dealing with them suitably. They have only themselves to blame. The fans knew in advance that the police would react toughly - they should not have provoked trouble".

For violence to be perceived as soccer violence there is no need for the assailant be a member of a rival gang of fans or even belonging to another group. When deployed against rioting groups of Millwall fans at Luton in 1985, police officers appeared afraid of violence from their own dogs, while Millwall's visit to Doncaster in 1983 saw a police officer injured when his horse threw him off. Also fans regularly risk violence from their own supporters when missiles are thrown from the back of the terraces by supporters who over-estimate their own strength. Thus during the visit of Leeds United to Sheffield United in March 1985, home fans were smashing their own seats for use as missiles but only succeeding in hitting fellow supporters in the John Street terracing in front of them.

The same applies when fights break out after fellow supporters block each others view by remaining sat upon fences. This was the first form of violence from Millwall fans inside Luton's ground; (Observer, 17/3/85). Nor is it necessary for either party to have a direct connection with any particular football team. Thus a local resident crushed against a wall by a police horse trying to control an unruly crowd can still be seen as suffering from soccer violence.

Assaults by players on one another or on team managers are rarely perceived as football hooliganism despite the high valuation placed on their physical wellbeing. It is as if the privileged "celebrity" position of both cancels each other out so that while the events are reported with some glee, rarely is there any effort to characterise them as soccer violence; (Rotherham Star, 7/12/83; D Star, 3/11/84). Thus fighting between half a dozen QPR and Everton players at Loftus Road in 1984 was perceived in terms of a "fracas" rather than criminal assault. This was despite the furious use of fists and boots that left Stainrod flat out on the pitch; (S Times, 9/12/84). One Oldham striker, Derrick Parker threatened legal action against former team mate Mick McCarthy following a violent clash that left him needing a hospital operation for a depressed fracture of the cheekbone; (R Star, 5/12/83).

A Scottish player whose career was ended after a violent challenge by a St. Johnson player, received a substantial out of court settlement; (R Star, 7/12/83). Likewise when Noel Brotherston gave a two fingered salute to Middlesborough supporters after having been ordered off the pitch, his own club were quite prepared to defend him. Had a supporter done the same thing the very opposite reaction would have been likely. Trouble between players after the

game is over are by no means uncommon, yet at most are seen as an internal matter for the rules of the Football Association; (Times, 28/12/84).

Where managers and players come to blows - as with Southampton's Lawrie McMenemy and Dave Wright - not only is this perceived as "internal" and "private", but also an "inside story" as both parties sold their "story" to Sunday newspapers. Even when a manager abuses and obstructs a referee during the course of a game this has also been seen as "an internal matter"; (Times, 28/4/84). In one sitting in 1984, the FA's disciplinary committee heard four cases involving managers or coaches abusing referees - one of whom had just been awarded the accolade of 'Manager of the Month'; (Times, 11/2/84). Even managers such as Watford's Graham Taylor who are so keen to improve football's image and respect for authority on the terraces find no difficulty in publically attacking the authority of referees who have punished their players; (Guardian, 2/5/84). How these incidents escape being perceived as "threatening behaviour", "assault" or "affray" can only be explained in terms of the status of the parties involved.

The same could be said of incidents in the 1984 Everton v Sheffield Wednesday game where Peter Reid threw himself - studs first - at Wednesday's winger Peter Marwood. The result was that the Marwood was stretchered off the pitch; (M Telegraph, 3/12/84). It is not therefore surprising that violence on the terraces is being associated by the Prime Minister and others with a general cynicism towards rules and authority among players and managers - a theme which will be considered later; (M Telegraph, 25/3/85). Conversely, where financial frauds may have occurred in which the clubs or players are the victims, there appears no reluctance to perceive breaches of the law; (Times, 14/12/84).

Violence that takes place hours after a match, at train stations, motorway service stations or at nightclubs on a Saturday evening between rival fans or visiting supporters and local youths can still be included; (Guardian, 3/5/82, Hansard, 14/3/85). The death of the Leicester man mentioned above took place in the early hours of Sunday morning. Thus neither the place, assailant, victim or time, need have a direct footballing connection. However this connection in some forms of physical injury can be insufficiently proximate for the injured person to be perceived as a victim of soccer violence, ie. a pedestrian accidentally run over by a coach of travelling fans. This is because the violation is only contingently related to

a football match - no more attributable to soccer violence than it would have been an industrial injury had the vehicle been a mobile crane. By contrast, the reckless throwing of missiles out of coaches by Derby fans at on-coming cars at Cambridge, or the assault upon commuters at Luton were perceived as soccer violence even though the victims may have had no relation with the home team.

However to be sufficiently related to a footballing context, rivalry between fans need not relate to any particular game or footballing confrontation. When Manchester United fans attacked Millwall supporters at Chesterfield in 1983, this was perceived as soccer violence by all concerned. This interpretation was not put in any serious doubt by the fact that it was more to do with the reputations of these fans than any possible game of football between the first and third division teams they support. The same holds good where fighting between visiting supporters and local teams 'reinforced' by a contingent from another nearby club, or in situations in which four or five different sets of fans of any club or reputation fight at railway stations or town centres; (Guardian, 6/3/85, 22/11/83). In such cases the evidential weight may be somewhat less, especially where there had been no anticipation of violence and the events are perceived as highly contingent 'one off' situations.

On the other hand, what constitutes "violence" for local police officers, railway workers and residents unused to crowd confrontations may be that much broader and their sensitivities far higher. As a result any disturbances during that weekend whose character is not obviously unconnected with the match may be perceived as possible soccer violence. This did appear to be the case when Millwall visited Slough Town in 1983. After the boost to their reputation given their well publicised exploits at Luton in 1985, I would anticipate that this aspect of the phenomenon ie. the "looking out for trouble" from Millwall supporters, will be most marked for at least the rest of the 1984-5 season; (cf. Millwall's match programme for the game on 23/3/85 against Gillingham that referred to the fans "now being on trial").

S.14: HOOLIGANISM AS A COMMERCIAL PROBLEM.

The sense in which hooliganism is a problem of racism and physical violence has a commercial significance. Black players and fans of any colour are discouraged from involvement in the game by racist chanting and attacks. For example, if successful, the attempts to "root out and expel" racist supporters from Portsmouth, a move bravely promised by the club's Chairman John Deacon, could lose that particular club a significant proportion of its support and hence revenue. This promise came in the 1984-85 season when Noel Blake was repeatedly abused home and away by supporters of his own team. In response the player and chairman stated respectively:

"I don't care where I go from here. But I must get away. I have had enough of this crowd. The only thing that keeps me here is the football and the training, otherwise I can't stand it".

I'm not going to allow him to be driven out by racism. It was a disgusting attack on him. I will go on the terraces and find out for myself, and then have these people banned. They must learn to accept black people here... He is a great lad and well liked"; (Times, 3/12/84).

Black players have contributed significantly to the revival of entertaining football that has occurred since the early 1980's and which many perceive as vital to bringing back the crowds. (9)

Each and every stabbing or other personal injury that results from hooliganism can mean loss of earnings, employment and economic disruption for the victim and his or her employer; (Uddin v RTH, EAT 85/80, 29/7/80). If the victim is self-employed then the economic significance can be especially grave. However hooliganism is perceived not just as a side effect of racism and physical violence but as a commercial problem in its own right. This problem is perceived as one of:

1/ The cost entailed by vandalism and other property damage; (S.15).

2/ The decline in attendances; (S.16).

3/ The financial repercussions of bans, ground closure, fines and preventive measures for a game already in financial difficulties. (S.17).

S.15: PROPERTY DAMAGE.

Hooliganism damages not only people - whose injuries add to NHS expenditure - but more frequently property. Since their inception clubs have invested increasing sums into their grounds (Vamplew, 1980). Currently they face the sheer cost of replacing seats and other property damaged usually, but not always, by away supporters. For example, Millwall fans at Luton caused some 15,000 pounds worth of damage to parked cars, garden walls, shop windows, stand seats, a ticket kiosk, turnstile barriers and advertising hoardings in their 1985 cup-tie. One elderly couple had their upstairs window smashed by part of a child's cot and a downstairs window shattered by two pieces of wood; (D Telegraph, 15/3/85). Even if covered by insurance, the cost of attacks must be met through higher premiums. Further, the price and rateable value of houses and businesses near football grounds are not helped by the publicity their destruction attracts. Millwall supporters have a history of attacks upon visiting fans' coaches dating back at least as far as their game against Plymouth in 1967. Sheffield United, Bradford City and Bristol City have also been recent victims of organised ambushes by the "Buckwackers" gang; (D Mirror, 20/9/82). Damage to coaches must also be paid for either by the organisers out of any profits and/or from travelling fans through higher charges. Sheffield United have even stopped running official coach trips to Millwall after their coach windows were smashed in 1983.

Clubs too face substantial bills for property repairs. Oxford's scoreboard was dismantled by Manchester City fans in 1985; (Times, 25/3/85). Leeds' travelling fans ripped down water and gas pipes, advertising hoardings and seats during a "day of shame" at Sheffield United in 1985; (M Telegraph; 25/3/85). These fans at Huddersfield in 1984 smashed 34 stand seats, 9 windows, 3 doors, a number of toilet fittings, overturned a lottery ticket and caused a 1000 pounds worth of damage to parked cars; (Yorkshire Evening Post, 22/10/84). Two cars of rival fans were overturned by Sheffield United fans after the visit of Manchester City in 1984. One of these had its windows smashed and was set on fire while four Manchester fans were still inside it. Portsmouth had the dubious pleasure of entertaining Cardiff and their supporters in 1983. A contingent of the latter were not satisfied with simple fighting but managed to

demolish advertising hoardings and the scoreboard; (D Telegraph, 14/3/83).

Derby County had nearly 1,500 seats destroyed in two successive weekends in 1983 following the visit of Chelsea and Leeds United; (Sheffield Star, 11/2/83). This was on top of similar damage caused by Chelsea fans in November 1981 costing some 2,500 pounds, in which seats were destroyed, water pipes wrenched from walls and fires started on the terracing; (D Star, 30/11/81).

Leeds fans have a particular history of destruction. At Oxford in 1984 they began dismantling the scaffolding holding up a television rostrum and hurling the debris at the police and any Oxford players within range, causing the game to be delayed for 4 minutes; (D Telegraph, 26/11/84). Their visit to Huddersfield in 1984 saw a concerted effort to demolish a specially strengthened fencing that had itself been rebuilt after earlier damage caused by Newcastle fans. As it was the fence was finally loosened and dislodged bricks were hurled at police and ambulancemen attending injured police officers. During their 1984 visit to Barnsley, Leeds fans fought a pitched battle with police, pelted a disabled persons enclosure with missiles, smashed some windows and damaged offices in the ground. Commenting after the game the Barnsley Chairman Geoffrey Buckle said:

"We have spent 500,000 pounds on security in the past three years. Goodness knows how much more we will have to spend if we keep getting visits from these thugs".

Costly damage can occur after games to trains. A handful of Millwall fans managed to rip seats, smash windows, tear out fittings and smash holes in the ceilings of their "football special", causing 45,000 pounds worth of damage; (Times, 15/3/85). Two Leeds fans, one armed with an axe, the other with a crow bar, managed to cause over 4000 pounds worth of damage to a train carrying them the short distance from Barnsley - where their team had played - to Sheffield; (S Star, 12/12/83).

S.16: DECLINING ATTENDANCES.

Not only do precautions to avoid soccer violence cost money in themselves and reduce attendances, but so too does the failure to take sufficient precautions to prevent trouble. (10) Incidents of vandalism, violence and rioting are costly not merely in terms of replacing the immediate damage, but through the subsequent publicity discouraging home supporters from watching their team when they are entertaining say Chelsea, Millwall or Leeds. During the 1970's league attendances fell by some five million, while during the 1980-81 season one and three quarter million fans deserted the game; (Guardian, 30/12/81). In the decade 1973-83 attendances dropped more than 35%, while other forms of participation in sport became more popular; (Central Office of Statistics Report, December, 1983). It is both impossible and for our purposes unnecessary to calculate the percentage lost purely because of "the blight of hooliganism", as distinct from poor play, spartan facilities, televised soccer, higher expectations, a decline in the values of the game itself, alternative sports etc; (cf. Clarke 1978). The point is that hooliganism is widely perceived as a commercial problem of falling attendances; (E Standard, 25/1/82), and it is this sense of hooliganism that we are investigating.

For sports journalists and clubs officials whose career is founded upon the continuing popularity of football, hooliganism is one reason for declining attendances. A Daily Mirror editorial, stated:

"Football is still a great national game but it has become the victim of the theorist on the field and the thugs on the terraces. Get rid of those and the crowds will come back. Then there will be no need to advertise"; (20/8/82).(11)

Also consider the sense of hooliganism conveyed by the following report:

"Right from the very start a large number of Leeds supporters were determined to inflict their mindless violence on Huddersfield. They threw bricks and coins at police, organised raiding

parties to battle with Huddersfield fans, and ripped up chairs in the stand throwing chunks of jagged wood into people's faces. One of these flew over my own head and into the face of a young man sitting trying to watch the game two rows in front. As his skin parted blood tumbled down his cheek, another man old enough to have been an active part of the second world war shook a fist at the idiots. "You can have this lot for me, I'm off, your all bloody crazy!" If the only way to play a game is to have scores of policemen, truncheons drawn, battling with hooligans, then forget it. My only advice is that Leeds are due to visit your ground, give the match a miss. It simply isn't worth it"; (Sun, 22/10/84).

Having read such reports, a builder who regularly supports Sheffield United was sorely tempted to take this advice. He told me:

"I was thinking of not going like, with Leeds coming down and all their bloody hooligans. What with taking the lad and everything".

After the trouble with Chelsea fans in 1981 Derby's FC. stated:

"This was not a football match it was a battle... It's no wonder people are staying away"; (D Star, 30/11/81).

Further, clubs playing teams whose supporters have a reputation often make a special plea to supporters to come along, without referring directly to earlier violence. This appeared at Portsmouth v Millwall in 1982; (P News, 28/9/82). Sir Andrew Stephen - Chairman of the FA certainly believed hooliganism to be one factor in declining gates along with an over saturation of poor football:

"There is little doubt that there is an urgent need to investigate the madness that takes place on the terraces"; (Rothmans Year Book, 1972-3).

After crowd violence that interrupted the 1984 Coventry v Leicester match, their manager said:

"It's society that's sick not just football. As soon as we remove that four lettered word - "fear", from the game and people can watch without aggro, the better it will be for us all"; (D Mail, 29/9/84).

Ironically this violence occurred in an all-seater stadium that was re-designed to cut out the possibility of terrace violence.(12) Yet the absence of effective segregation has not halted crowd violence; (Pratt and Salter, 1984). Even lower division clubs such as Doncaster are on record as saying that their difficulty in attracting supporters is partly due to the threat of crowd violence; (BBC1, Nationwide, 25/2/83). After the violence at Huddersfield, Leeds manager Eddie Gray broke the Leeds tradition of not "seeing" anything, and banned his "football mad" family - wife and five kids - from ever attending any Leeds away games. He stated:

"You just cannot afford to risk the danger of anyone close to you getting involved in trouble"; (Sun, 23/10/84).

Speaking on Radio One about the state of football and the need to "sell it" to a wider audience, Jimmy Hill said:

"I saw a picture this week on the back page of a newspaper of a slash, two slashes on a young man's back, stitches all the way down. It would cost one million pounds to counter that one back page deterrent. That is discouraging people from going to football as strongly as you can do it. Now if you want to spend advertising money you would need one hundred million to undermine the damage that hooliganism and the publicity that is being given to hooliganism has already done to the football league"; (Frontline, 3/11/83).

A number of listeners to this phone-in programme confirmed that it was the threat of soccer violence that put them off going to football matches or allowing their children to go. A

public opinion poll carried out by Public Opinion Surveys found that 67% of men and 68% of women questioned perceived hooliganism as the cause of reduced attendances; (S Mirror, 20/9/81).

The same BBC programme also featured Peter Anderson who was then Millwall's manager, but spoke in his capacity as a trained accountant. He revealed that after scrutinising club's financial returns he found that all but a handful were technically insolvent and would have been liquidated years ago had they been trading any other form of commercial concern. Chester were reported to be losing 3,000 pounds per week in 1981, Halifax Town were on the edge of extinction in the same year; (S People, 29/11/81; Sun, 4/12/81). Bristol City came within days of total bankruptcy in 1982 - it was only because eight players tore up their lucrative contracts that allowed their survival at all. Even in 1985 the players have to pay for their cups of tea and survive partly at least on donations and good will; (D Mirror, 22/1/85). Charlton were within hours of closing down permanently in 1984; (E Standard, 7/3/84; Taylor, 1980). The fall in attendances and bad publicity given to the game because of crowd trouble was seen by England manager Bobby Robson as making international success in the 1982 World Cup especially vital; (D Mirror, 20/9/82). Thus even if hooliganism has been overplayed as a cause of the drop in attendances by clubs anxious to deflect attention away from poor facilities and dull football, no club can really afford ANY deterrent.

Yet the insolvency of such clubs as Derby County means that they are hard pressed to pay for extra policing inside the ground during local derbies or when facing especially troublesome supporters. As a result they have tried a one pound fifty "hooligan surcharge" on South Yorkshire clubs and Newcastle United; (M Telegraph, 8/12/81). Here a vicious circle emerges with less fanatical or family support discouraged.

It is not just fans who are driven away by the reality and threat of hooliganism. The Bristol City secretary Bob Twyford, a former police officer with some 25 years service, resigned after watching crowd violence between home and visiting Millwall supporters. In these incidents 297 seats were broken by home fans and hurled at the visitors. Responses by some Millwall fans to this provocation included attacking home fans with baseball bats and slashing one sixteen year old supporter across his arm, stomach and back with a Stanley Knife; (ITV, C4 News, 2/4/85). The secretary said:

"The main trouble makers were our own supporters, who went out of their way to antagonise the fans from Millwall. I have a feeling I am not cynical enough nor ruthless enough to do a job here"; (Times, 9/3/85).

The loss of experienced administrators and directors can also have a knock-on effects on the efficient running of the club and the attraction of finance from directors or sponsors.

If we look at the overall state of soccer's finances the game has never needed sound administrators more than at the present. Lotteries, sponsorship, television company payments, shrewd transfers of players - mostly on HP terms, tight financial control of costs especially players' wages, negotiations with other sports promoters for shared use of grounds, the raising of capital through loans or by floating of clubs on the stock exchange etc. are becoming vital lifelines to the majority of clubs whose attendances have halved since the forty million figure of 1950-51. As a result in 1982 it was estimated that 30 million pounds was owed by the 92 league clubs to their banks and another 17 million to other creditors. This is against total club assets of some 22 million pounds and a bill for policing games currently running at 3 million pounds per year; (Guardian, 4/2/82; D Mirror, 11/12/84). Clubs such as Darlington and Halifax lose thousands of pounds each week and totter from one month to the next on crowds of under 2,000. Not only is simply handling the present crisis - to which hooliganism both contributes and expresses - a skilled administrative job, but it requires that the people running the game are capable of planning drastic internal and external organisational changes; (S Times, 24/10/82).

S.17: FINANCIAL REPERCUSSIONS OF HOOLIGANISM.

We have already seen that one of the repercussions of soccer hooliganism lies in the cost of taking effective action against it made prohibitive by a financial crisis in the game to which hooliganism itself contributes. As a result, a national effort by the Football League to advertise its matches so as to attract more supporters was abandoned due to lack of funds; (D Mirror, 28/8/82). Another irony is that clubs efforts to attract more supporters of the "right type" by improving grounds such as providing more seats, plusher bars, restaurants, electric scoreboards etc. means that there are more facilities liable to be damaged by hooligans and hence require expensive protection. However the financial repercussions of hooliganism - partial or total ground closure, compensation, bans on supporters, all-ticket games and fines - can be more immediate than simply being a cumulative contribution to a long term trend. They can directly threaten the continued existence of "blighted" clubs such as Chelsea, Millwall and Leeds, while having a knock-on effect on those clubs they play.

Chelsea in fact are an exemplary case study of this problem's double-edged character. Chelsea supporters were banned from ten away games as a result of the trouble they caused at Derby in 1983. These games were made all ticket and compensation of 1,000 pounds was awarded to each home club who stood to lose as a result. Had the sum been any more Chelsea, who had been up to 4 million pounds in debt, could have been put out of business altogether. One of the reasons for their financial problem lay in their decision to build a new stand in an effort to provide better facilities for an up-market public.(14) Further to secure its perilous finances this club - like most others - requires sponsorship; yet because of its association with violence, no sponsor was forthcoming even when all the benefits were offered free for one year; (D Star, 26/1/82). This is despite the highly fashionable associations surrounding Chelsea, ie. the "Chelsea Set" etc. which other commercial concerns such as "Chelsea Girl" have fully exploited.

To add insult to injury after the trouble from Chelsea fans, Derby were then fined and told to spend 20,000 pounds on ground improvements - about half the sum of improvements to the seating and perimeter fencing ordered by the FA in 1985 to the various parts of Chelsea's

ground after violence in their cup-tie against Sunderland; (Times, 19/3/85). Derby themselves owed more than one million pounds and were paying out over 3,000 pounds a week just in interest. Following this trouble the FA announced that it would allow clubs in FA Cup games not to issue the normal 25% ticket allocation to rival supporters and thereby voluntarily lose their money, if they feared crowd problems; (D Mirror, 8/3/83). This amount of compensation was itself criticised by many of those who received it as totally inadequate since the effect of making their remaining ties all-ticket is to considerably reduce home support as many fans are in no position to come to the club and buy tickets before the game; (D Mirror, 18/1/82). Also "fringe supporters" who, faced with a mass of alternative pursuits decide to attend only on the day of the game, are perceived as a vital source of revenue that all-ticket games rule out.

Sheffield Wednesday were resentful that the compensation was half that ordered against them in the previous year for their supporters misbehaviour at Oldham. This club also felt that home clubs were being punished for Chelsea fans' hooliganism. Blackburn's secretary claimed that to print the tickets would itself cost five hundred pounds alone while the loss of gate money from visiting fans would amount to 2,000 pounds. Grimsby's manager George Kerr reacted angrily to the practical as well as the commercial consequences of the FA ban on Chelsea:

"With the game in its present dire financial state no club can afford to turn away fans, whoever they are. And how can we pick out a Chelsea fan who wants to buy a ticket"?

(Ibid).(15)

Faced with such opposition and court action this ban was lifted by the FA; (Guardian, 28/1/82). David Lacey of the Guardian saw this challenge as:

"The height of hypocrisy - clubs complaining about hooligans one minute and then, in the next, whinging about not being able to take their money. It was a complaint without moral foundation"; (Guardian, 23/1/83).

Coventry City are another club whose efforts to improve facilities and introduce an all-seater

stadium have left them with financial difficulties. These have been made worse by a one thousand pound fine and an order to erect perimeter fences imposed after violence spilled on to the pitch causing an 11 minute delay in their 1984 game against Leicester; (D Mail, 20/9/84).

Bans of any duration can also be imposed upon home games either by the FA under pressure from government or voluntarily by clubs and players. After the Luton trouble, 27 MPs tabled a motion advocating that those clubs with notoriously badly behaved supporters who failed "to put their house in order" should have to play their home games "behind closed doors" with expulsion from the league as a last resort; (M Telegraph, 25/3/85). In conjunction with The Sun, the Prime Minister was reported to be in favour of closing down clubs with a history of violent support; (Sun, 15/3/85). Here comparisons were made with other entertainments such as discos or pubs who do not have their licences renewed if they have become the focus of persistent rowdyism. Police Federation Chief Alan Eastwood specifically urged chief constables to revoke some club's licenses - a move that would force the clubs to shut down. He also urged that crowd misbehaviour should result in the team being relegated and banned from Cup competitions; (D Mirror, 15/3/85).

Magistrates, often the butt of police criticisms, have recently made an effort to ban fans who have been granted bail prior to their court hearing by attaching conditions that they shall not attend any more matches in Britain; (Times, 19/3/85). Also under considerable pressure following Millwall fans' rioting at Luton, Ted Croker of the FA, said that football fans could, in future, be collectively punished by ordering clubs to play to empty stadiums. This would require changes in the FA's own disciplinary code; (Times, 15/3/85). In the very face of this furore and in direct opposition to statements by the Police Federation, Mr James Anderton, Chief Constable for Greater Manchester neatly reversed the dominant perception that sees banning of fans and clubs as a suitably "tough" law-and-order response. In a report to the Department of Environment written in his capacity as Chairman of the Association of Chief Police Officers Standing Committee on football hooliganism, he stated:

"If we reach the stage in this country where people cannot go to football matches or clubs can't survive because of threats of violent outbursts, then as far as I am concerned we have

reached the end of the road"; (Times, 19/3/85, D Mirror, 15/3/85).

Thus banning is here perceived more as a final capitulation to hooliganism and implicitly contrasted to the defiant reaction to terrorism, ie. to carry on business as usual.

Bans and closure threats are not always made from the outside. Earlier after a pitch invasion and fighting at Slough Town in November 1982, Millwall's chairman Alan Thorne had threatened to close the club down unless the behaviour of their supporters improved; (Guardian, 29/11/82). If this threat was carried out it would be the sixth time since 1920 that the ground had been closed; (D Mirror, 15/3/85). In March 1985 Luton Town have also stated in no uncertain terms that they will not entertain Millwall again whatever the financial loss in terms of attendances, exit from cup competitions or loss of league points. Their Chief Executive said:

"It's time somebody made a stand. The public must come first and the football second. We feel we should not subject the people of Luton or our supporters to the kinds of incidents that happened on Wednesday, even if that means forfeiting the points; (Sun, 15/3/85).

Here the home team also threatened to withhold Millwall's share of the gate money even though this could put their continuation in the FA Cup at risk; (D Mirror, 15/3/85).

Further the players' trade union leader Gordon Taylor predicted occasions where players would themselves refuse to play against certain teams if crowd trouble was such as to threaten their personal safety. He has advocated perspex barriers, higher fences and wire meshing to prevent missile throwing at players; (D Mirror, 15/3/85, 11/12/84). This demand followed the attempted assault upon ex-Chelsea player Clive Walker by a Chelsea fan during the visit of Sunderland in March 1985. His organisation stated that they are prepared to pay the legal cost involved in a civil action in which fans who attack players and walk away from court with merely a binding over order are subsequently sued for damages:

"If that's the sort of support we can expect from the courts heaven help the game. It's time to see if we can do something before a player is seriously hurt"; (D Mirror, 6/3/85).

Despite the obvious loss in revenue, clubs themselves have banned their own supporters after they have been convicted of offences. This perceived connection between crowd trouble as the result of trouble-makers was an aspect of crowd regulation measures at the origins of the modern game - something made easier by the introduction of turnstiles, regulations on alcohol and the siting of bars in the more expensive parts of the ground; (Vamplew, 1980, p.13-14). Amid a degree of controversy and immediately after the Luton v Millwall violence of March 1985, Sheffield Wednesday took to publically broadcasting the names and addresses of permanently banned fans; (M Telegraph, 18/3/85, cf. letters to the Green 'Un, 23/3/85). Leeds also banned 24 fans for life after the 20,000 pounds worth of damage their supporters caused to Derby's ground in 1983. Chelsea and West Ham United also have a policy of banning fans.

The threat of violence and the cost of efforts to combat it has even been cited as a disincentive for clubs such as Oxford and Chesterfield for obtaining promotion to a higher division; (Times, 25/3/85). Certainly there was a rumour among Chesterfield fans during the 1981-2 season that the third division club was in no position to meet the cost of improvements required by the 1975 Safety at Sports Grounds Act. This Act currently only applies to Divisions one and two, although it is possible that this could be extended to the lower divisions as part of a package of measures under consideration in spring 1985. Clubs facing this possible disincentive could point to the example of Leicester City who have just begun to issue their supporters with computerised membership cards at a cost of some 25,000 pounds to protect the bulk of their supporters from infiltrating visiting fans; (Times, 18/9/84). Also Derby County, Chelsea and Huddersfield Town have felt obliged to introduce costly close circuit television surveillance of their terraces in an effort to identify and convict those involved in violence; (Times, 20/3/85). Even lowly York have recently begun using metal detectors to screen fans for weapons - a policy that produced a small arsenal of weapons from visiting Bradford fans; (Times, 19/3/85).

The experience of Leeds United also illustrates the scale and expense of counter-measures. Since the middle of the 1970's they have devoted considerable amounts of time and money in letters to the government campaigning for a re-introduction of corporal punishment, "talk-ins" with their supporters club, the distribution of leaflets, returned the majority of their

allocation of tickets before "sensitive games" or immediately after their supporters have caused trouble and so on, in an effort to combat and react to crowd violence; (D Mail, 2/3/83; Guardian, 25/1/83). Mr Archer, general manager of Leeds has stated:

"We spend a fortune combatting violence. Pitch fencing, crowd barriers, sealed off stands, close circuit television, 80 stewards and fifty police at every home game costing us 3,500 a throw"; (in Harrison, 1982).

Yet despite this massive outlay, their supporters were banned from their home terraces for 2 matches again in 1982 after violent scenes against visiting supporters and players at their home tie against Newcastle. Had this penalty been any more severe this club, with its then 1.6 million pound overdraft may have had to close down. These scenes followed others that season at West Bromwich Albion, Grimsby and Chelsea; (Guardian, 24/1/83). Following crowd trouble at Sheffield United in March 1985 the local MP demanded a future ban on Leeds United fans - a measure which would further disable the resources of that club as they receive a percentage of the gate money.

Chelsea have even gone to the trouble of employing private detectives to do undercover work to identify ring-leaders. James Anderton's report called for a general introduction of such measures as well as a ban upon alcohol in grounds and on buses and trains, searching all fans, better crowd control and segregation facilities and a more sophisticated intelligence system for coordinated planning. In this context it is not surprising that even critics of the amateurs who run the game demand that the government perceive a need for central funding for at least part of the massive cost of introducing computerised identity cards and the like; (M Telegraph, 18/3/85).

In March 1985 and for the purpose of comparison, I asked a number of first year Birmingham University law students to comment on the financial consequences of hooliganism. They pointed out the damage done to city and town centre trade by shops having to close early, pubs employing extra "doormen" and restricting both opening hours and entry to known locals. One publican in Derby stated that he was quite willing to lose the 800 extra pounds worth of takings that a football crowd normally brings in order to avoid possible damage from Millwall supporters; (ITV, C4, 3/4/85). Millwall's earlier visit to Rotherham immediately after the Luton trouble, also saw pubs restricting entry. Around Sheffield Wednesday's ground at Hillsborough, many of the pubs do not open at all on Saturday lunchtimes or midweek when there is a home game. When Leeds, Chelsea or Newcastle are the visitors many of the pubs and residents board up their windows. Less obvious was the perceived effect that hooliganism has on the recruitment of stewards, turnstile operators, special constables and police officers.

Apart from the direct financial cost, each and every new meeting of the standing police committee on football hooliganism, barrage of correspondence between the Sports Minister and interested parties, submission to a working party, consultation, FA investigation or inquiry, Government "Task Force", football trust conference, pressure group operation by SAFE, SSRC funded research by Leicester University, debate in the House in Commons etc. takes financial and other resources away from competing areas of policy concern.

Other indirect social costs to the community as a whole include the sheer labour involved in the processing of football fans by the police and courts - the issue of court documents, the wages of police officers appearing in court, the payment of witnesses and defendants expenses and costs, legal aid, food whilst in custody, the addition cost incurred upon attendance and detention centres and the prisons. There are also the costs involved in preventive schemes like that proposed by Sheffield City Council costing 12,000 pounds a year. This proposed scheme aims to coordinate club activities with its own projects; (Sheffield M Telegraph, 19/11/84).

The cost to British clubs and others of hooliganism does not derive just from domestic games. Following crowd trouble in Paris, Leeds were banned from lucrative European ties in 1975.(16) Tottenham too were instructed to play their next two European home matches away from White Hart Lane when their supporters had rioted in Rotterdam in 1974 during their UEFA

Cup final. Later in the seventies West Ham and Aston Villa had to stage European matches behind closed doors after trouble abroad involving their supporters. Spurs later faced an 8,000 pound fine following rioting at Rotterdam in 1983. This club feared a repeat of both the trouble and its costly consequences in the 1984-5 season, and as a result tried to set up a direct television link at their home ground at a cost of some 30,000 pounds.

Once more however, the financial crisis in the game perceived by many to be attributable partly to the threat of hooliganism, means that European clubs such as Bruges are extremely reluctant to restrict ticket sales on the day of the game or even go to the trouble of effectively segregating supporters. This was in an effort to discourage their fans from travelling to Bruges in October 1984; (Times, 19/10/84). The same non-cooperation was true of PSV Eindhoven prior to their home tie against Manchester United who alleged the home team had breached weeks of planning in which they had refused to take up their allocation of tickets; (Times, 15/9/84; D Mirror, 24/10/84). For English fans for whom non-segregation has become almost synonymous with trouble, such a response can further fuel the vicious circle of hooliganism/commercial crisis. Concerning the 1985 Bruges game, David Miller of the Times has written that:

"Spurs are committed to such a high level commercial enterprise that their team must succeed on the field... (They) are playing for such high stakes that the last thing the club needs is elimination from the competition by trouble-making supporters never mind the opposition on the pitch"; (4/4/85).

Here the host team demanded over 30,000 pounds for screening the game live at Spurs ground in an effort to dissuade travelling fans. They were even prepared to sell 10,000 tickets on the day of the game.

Another example illustrating the commercial consequences of threatened hooliganism from British fans was the loss of an opportunity for England to stage the lucrative 1988 European Championships and was widely perceived by the sports administrators to be due to the Luton violence; (Times, 14/3/85). Bert Millichip, Chairman of the FA, called these:

"Probably the worst scenes in the long catalogue that has blighted our game over the last 20 years... I may as well rip up all my papers"... "We have lost the championship. because of the conduct of our hooligans both in this country and abroad"; (D Telegraph, 15/3/85; Times, 13/3/85).

Damage to the reputation of Britain as a country was perceived by the Home Secretary, Leon Brittan. Reacting to the aftermath of this violence stated that:

"Football riots are nothing less than outbursts of savagery, they threaten the future of football, and they smear the country's good name abroad"; (Times, 16/3/85).

Britain's name and reputations overseas, tourism and export efforts cannot be helped by the association of our country's name with football hooliganism - something once described as our least welcome export. It would be difficult to imagine a flood of new tourists or business people to this country from Luxembourg after the destruction caused by Englands fans in 1981.

Yet financial considerations appear to be uppermost in the minds of those involved thus making identity cards and a ban on alcohol "impractical". Further the cost of tackling the problem has been perceived by successive governments as resting with the game itself; (S Times, 7/4/85). But the failure to take effective action is perceived as itself costly and equally impractical even on sheer financial grounds.

S.18: FOOTBALL HOOLIGANISM AS A RACIAL PROBLEM.

The aim of this section is to unfold, clarify and analyse the structure of football hooliganism insofar as it appears as a distinct problem of racism. Initially we need to suspend the commonsense "logic" that asserts that certain activities of football fans are themselves intrinsically racist. These evidence the presence of one variety of the "hooligan-type", racism is "obviously" a "bad thing", hence hooliganism is certainly a racial problem; (cf. R v Fielding, 1984, CA 5481/B/83). This suspension derives from the need to uncover and grasp the sense in which racism in soccer fans is perceived as such and at the same time, perceivable as a "bad thing". It is necessary then to unravel the essential elements signified by the term "racism", how it is ascribed to particular aspects of football hooliganism and those wider cultural definitions of what involvement in football means that may implicitly motivate, legitimate and support racist violence. Although our investigation uncovers some essential-meaning and motivational structures of hooliganism and racism themselves, their independent analysis is deliberately not followed through. Ironically the completion of the "agnostic" analysis began here nevertheless lays the foundation for any possible effective policies geared either to encourage or combat the phenomenon.

a. What Is This, This "Football Racism"?

Here we are not specifically concerned that blacks, Asians and Jews are, along with many others, threatened, abused and violently assaulted by football fans. Instead our interest lies the intelligibility of such activities as "racist". This racial character includes a whole series of activities that are not themselves intrinsically racist but become perceived as such - that is to say constituted in perception - through a CULTURAL ASCRIPTION PROCESS.

The "targets" for this process are numerous. They embrace the frequent hurling of fruit, abuse, jeers and monkey noises at black players of rival teams - plus chants of:

"Zigger, Zigger, Zigger - (Orient) got a nigger".

"There ain't no black on the

Union Jack.

Send the niggers back".

"Nazi Nazi Nazi".

"Get back to the jungle monkey...

Gas the Pakis, gas the Pakis,

gas the Pakis".

Also considered racist is the sending of hate mail, jeering and taunting of black players such as Chelsea's Canonville and Portsmouth's Blake, by their OWN "supporters". During the Under 21 international match against Denmark which saw a number of black players representing England, the National Front's well advertised presence among the crowd even penetrated the typically apolitical consciousness of sports reporters; (cf. D Mail, 23/9/82). Tony Sealy who replaced the popular Clive Allen at QPR, has admitted how "Soul destroying it is always being given bird home and away by both QPR and rival fans"; (BBC 1, 2/2/81). On at least one occasion a player has responded by violently assaulting his tormenters; (S Star, 20/5/82). Conversely, the ABSENCE of any violence in the 1982 Chesterfield v Millwall game was partly attributable to protesting Chesterfield fans abusing their OWN players and even chanting FOR Millwall; (S Star, 28/4/82). Here racist taunts and provocative chanting by Millwall fans had no effect.

Fascistic resentment of blacks are not confined to clubs from more "conservative" areas. They are frequently expressed in the so-called "Socialist Republic of South Yorkshire" by a hard core of Sheffield Wednesday, Rotherham and Sheffield United supporters as well as by visiting fans of Brentford, West Ham, Chelsea and Millwall. In fact "posher" clubs such as Fulham and Wimbledon do not appear to attract an overtly racist following. Instead there appears to be some correlation between race hatred and areas housing football clubs whose fans are suffering industrial, economic and community decay. Here traditional industries - docks, shipbuilding, mines etc. - and hence sources of local identity are declining or have died

altogether, ie. South and East London, South Yorkshire, Newcastle, Liverpool and Portsmouth; (D Telegraph, 18/2/82; Guardian, 19/10/82). Here the growing presence of blacks and Asians is seen by some as another, more tangible, sign of decline - but one which can be violently resisted.

Racism directed against players can also be indirect but still brutal - as in the killing of three members of Laurie Cunningham's family. Here police found National Front and racist graffiti sprayed on walls stating: "This is what we're going to do with all niggers". Also one Portsmouth fan involved in fascist chanting against Chesterfield players and supporters in 1980, indicated that racial resentment can have definite organisational links with far right and paramilitary groups. He told me:

"Yeah BM, National Front and all sorts nowadays go down Pompey. When I was a kid you'd never see no blacks. I didn't know what they looked like - except from films. But now they're all over Pompey. Rich bloody Arabs with fucking Rolls Royces. You can tell us by the green bomber jackets. We get trained too - even by the army through the TA. Some instructors have been in the Marines and SAS". (17)

Football therefore can be only indirectly involved with its partisan passions used for ulterior motives. These are not isolated instances as groups who see themselves as racist - National Front and British Movement - have since the 1979-80 season, widely used football games for recruitment, propaganda and display purposes; (Moonman and Bradley, CCS, 1984). In this use they have put into action a strategy devised years before; (BBC 1 Panorama, 14/11/77). In a movement that, after electoral failure, peaked in the 1980-81 season, leaflets were distributed among Leeds and other fans that blamed immigrants for poor housing, unemployment and mugging; (S Times, 12/10/81). In this a "battle was on for the hearts and minds of the nation's youth" which were perceived as in search of some identity - a search which a fascist movement was willing to supply; (Moonman, *ibid*).

Racism, as Nick Wakeling of the Young National Front has written, offers a complete way of making intelligible in simple terms urban decay, unemployment, housing shortages, street crime and economic decline. It offers: "a cause" which can be "fought for both ideologically and

physically". Like identification with a club itself, it offers a sense of "belonging" violently affirmed through the denigration of blacks, Jews and Reds. Bulldog magazine has invited football fans to "join the fight for Race and Nation" through its regular column "Football Front". In this column Carl Roberts has written: "To us whites football is a one day in the week outlet" on the other six "white youth have to put up with a multiracial nightmare". Even before the suggestion of Neil McFarland's official working party, Bulldog magazine had come up with the idea of a "League of Louts" table in which the racist exploits of fans receive recognition. Despite a severe challenge from Leeds United, Chelsea fans managed to win the "Golden Banana Award" for 1982-3. Letters from indignant fans from other clubs are printed that assert their claim to being truly racist.

West Ham and Chelsea National Front tee-shirts have been printed and put on sale; (Guardian 30/10/81). One West Ham supporter wrote to the Daily Star in 1981 claiming that: "Most football teams have a right-wing following now"; (23/10/81). This paper quoted a Chelsea spokesman as saying that around 1500 of his club's fans at the 1981 match at Cambridge were National Front supporters. Before the 1982 World Cup the "Bulldog Bobby" official mascot - itself another echo of the National Front - was distributed in north London encribed with the legend "Official Hooligan"; (Guardian, 7/5/82). There has also been organised barracking of foreign teams national anthems during international matches - something perceived by some reporters as bounded up with more dramatic and violent actions by "patriotic" England fans; (D. Wallis, Mirror, 14/10/82).

Christopher Price, writing in the Spectator compares the mild mannered and "docile" scene he was used to at Crystal Palace, and which he took to be the norm, with the "football fascism" he witnessed at West Ham in their 1981 match against Sheffield Wednesday:

"The ambiance was nauseating - a sea of dirty denim emblazened with Union Jack and swatika. Imitation Heil Hitler salutes, pounding violence in the verbal obscenities, menace in patches of the home crowd on the way home... I felt for those poor Barcelona policemen, who did not know what had hit them last autumn when the stadium seats were ripped up by the West Ham fans"; (10/1/81).

He compares the all white team playing in an area replete with National Front graffiti, with the multiracial Crystal Palace team, suggesting that racism is not confined to the terraces of West Ham. There certainly appears an unwillingness among certain chairman - including West Ham's - to disassociate their clubs in a positive way from organised race hatred; (Moonman, *ibid*). However West Ham may just be aware of the near riot which occurred when Chelsea first attempted to bring on Cannonville as a substitute - a reaction that, on this occasion prevented the substitution. Also they may have noticed the sharp drop in crowd attendances of London teams such as Orient and Palace who regularly play black players. Price goes on to say that for him, "East End fascist violence" was even more "scary" than the racial abuse and violence of England fans when they terrorised Luxembourg in 1978. Here fans who had come via Holland mistakenly shouted: "Fucking Dutch bastards" at scared - but probably confused - local policemen.

As well as players and "foreigners", managers too can come in for resentful abuse and scapegoating if their team are doing badly or, as in Millwall's case in the late 1970's, many fans felt let down by the directors selling their heroes such as O'Callagan, Towner, and Coppell for financial reasons:

"Petchey, Petchey your a Jew.

Petchey... We hate you".

Racism is frequently ascribed to crowd violence motivated by anti-semitism. Arsenal, Chelsea and West Ham fans aim anti-Jewish graffiti, abuse and chants at Spurs supporters. By the 1980-81 season some Arsenal supporters were wearing badges that proclaimed: "I hate Tottenham Yids", and a record was distributed that advocated anti-semitic violence against Tottenham supporters. (18)

In February 1981, Chelsea fans too were the target of leaflets which demanded that: "The interests of loyal Chelsea fans be put before rich Jewish property speculators". These sentiments were put on display when elements of these two sets of fans followed England in the 1982 World Cup; (Guardian, 22/6/82; Williams, 1984). One result is that one group of Spurs fans now defiantly identify themselves with chants of "SUPERYIDS".

It cannot be assumed that all the victims of racial violence are themselves anti-racist. Spurs fans - predominantly skinheads - were involved in some violent battles with local blacks in Amsterdam. The result in terms of stabbings of ninety minutes of street confrontations in the red light area, was a one all draw; (D Mirror, 17/9/82). In the 1980 Spurs v West Ham game anti-semitism roared from the terraces and according to the New Standard, inspired "sickening violence":

"The fighting was indiscriminate and bloody... the racial tension throughout the game was sickening. Most of the anti-Jewish and coloured taunts came from the West Ham fans wearing National Front or British Movement insignia; (3/12/80).

The frightening character of such violence was captured in graphic detail in a letter from a Mr M Gold from Hackney. He writes about his experience of being accidentally caught up in incidents before and during the 1982 West Ham v Spurs game:

"We made a tactical plan to get there early and go to the visiting supporters' enclosure. Suddenly this peaceful arena was invaded by West Ham supporters chanting abuse and fascist slogans - "Sieg Heil!", "Put yids back in the oven!" etc. And in a bloody onslaught they intimidated, kicked, punched and even bit anything in their way, creating absolute terror and havoc. The police were clearly not ready although they had let them into the pen. As we were cruelly crushed against a so-called safety barrier, the fear evoked was typified by the trembling terrified face of a young child struggling to hold back tears that we all should be shedding for the future of a once great game"; (Guardian, 30/12/82).

After this game the West Ham manager happily called the match "a great advertisement for football" and thought that "everyone in the crowd must have thoroughly enjoyed the entertainment".

There is however no need for the victims of football racism to have any connection with the game at all. Black and Asian workers on British Rail are especially vulnerable. Mr Uddin who in 1978 while working at Charing Cross station was:

"set upon by a gang of football hooligans who were stampeding through the station. He was hit on the head with a bottle and kicked"; (Uddin v BTH, EAT 85/80).

He was then taken to hospital and as a result of his injuries was off work for nearly six months and eventually lost his job. In April 1983, following a number of convictions for soccer violence a Mr Fielding was involved in a gang attack and looting of an Asian's electrical shop. Whilst on bail he attacked Mr Yunus a Pakistani taxi-driver. During this attack in which Mr Yunus had his nose cut, his glasses broken and his taxi-cab dented, Fielding was shouting National Front and racist abuse.

Easter bank holiday 1980 saw Millwall visit Southend and, following some abuse of black railway workers and chants of Sieg Heil, an Asian toddler holding his mother's arm was savagely kicked in the face. Here even the police looked aghast but the atmosphere of impending violence was such that no-one was willing to act as a witness. On this day a shared hostility to Asians was not enough to protect Southend supporters and visiting London skinheads wearing NF badges from "Millwall aggro". Other incidents whose victims were unconnected with football were the assaults upon local West Indians by Millwall supporters at Reading in 1982 and 1983. In 1983 a town centre confrontation took place in which iron bars were brandished, blacks insulted and beaten up before the game. Further examples have included the stoning of a packed Mosque by Chelsea fans at Luton and the desecration and petrol bombing of synagogues; (S Times, 28/12/81; 8/2/81; S Star, 30/11/83).

Predictable reactions to organised racism have followed. David Lane, when Chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality, said that: "Racist activity at soccer matches was one of the nastiest features of the winter so far". He asked for the support of pop stars and footballers in denouncing "Neo-nazism" amongst supporters; (Guardian, 2/1/81). Hastily formed groups were assembled under the wider banner of "rock against racism", ie. "Spurs against the Nazis", "Orient against the Fascists" etc. P Barclay writing in the Guardian called such hooliganism:

"A threat to the fabric of the wider community. To call it a training ground for tomorrows fascist mobs is no exaggeration. Outside the grounds wait the pasty face bover-booted vendors: the bulldog breed ply their trade... Hooligans now are apt to discard club colours, drape themselves in the union flags and spike their violence with a crude interpretation of patriotism"; (14/3/84).

Other liberal writers such as Moonman have "explained" the phenomenon in terms of "infiltrators" whose "influence" persuades "recruited" fans to do their "dirty work" for them; (ibid).

Socialists such as Taylor (1980), have (selectively) used the suffering of blacks and Asians as an occasion to further their own propaganda and to score debating points over liberal non-interventionalist accounts such as Marsh's (1978) and Whannel; (1979). Here football fascism is presented as so obviously evil and entailing socialist mobilisation and "solutions" that its very presence displaces the need for reasoned argument; (ibid, p.176). The real concerns of local working class residents, railway and transport workers is thus deployed to unmask the illiberal character of non-interventionalism. Not surprisingly the cynical effort by the Socialist Workers Party and Workers Revolutionary Party to recruit soccer fans for political violence through the use of deceptive colour football editions as "loss leaders" for the revolutionary rhetoric inside, is conveniently ignored. Another "working class" concern passed over in silence is this class's deepseated and widespread contempt for revolutionary socialism and socialists. Within the thought provoking thoughtlessness of party politics the display of Union Jacks with the name of the local NF

branch written across them when England play abroad has been seized upon by Labour MPs anxious to deflect the Law and Order lobby benefitting from football's racist violence; (Times, 2/3/84). In short racism in soccer violence has become more grist for the tired routine rhetorics of the political mill.

The reactions of gutter press's sewer element - The Sun "newspaper" - also offered no surprises. It managed to give Fascist organisation of soccer violence its familiar comic book treatment under the headline; "Hitler is their Hero!" It (apparently) interviewed one 13 year old West Ham supporter:

"A lot of my mates who go to matches fork out money for these magazines. But I think they only cause trouble. They encourage you to beat up blacks and Jews, so it's bound to start aggro in an area full of immigrants. Coloured people really have to be careful now at matches because skinheads read these magazines, see a coloured face and lay the boot in"; (17/2/81).

Yet through glorification of nationalistic violence and death during the Falklands War with the "sponsorship" of bombs and "treason" attacks on BBC journalists for their lack of racism, this very paper has been a fertile source of militarised patriotism/racism; (cf. Mirror, 8/5/82). Ironically the Sun's own "coverage" of this war was itself wittily attacked by Keith Waterhouse as "soccer-hooligan patriotism"; (10/5/82).

Apart from such sensationalisation and the contributions of D Lacey, (Guardian) and D Miller, (D Express), there has been little coverage of football fascism by the mainstream press. It is as if the policy of playing down crowd violence that has developed in television coverage has been extended to the press - but only as regards the racial overtones; (cf. Whannel, 1979). Here one must forget the jealous guarding of different provinces - news, politics, features, sport etc. - within newspapers. Specialist anti-fascist journals such as Searchlight have regularly commented upon the phenomenon; (November, 1980).

Faced with these reactions counter-groups such as "Rock Against Communism" were formed and distributed badges to football fans. It encouraged a distinctive "OI" music with a skinhead following who found none to demanding the transition back and forth from "my team right or wrong" to "patriotism" and on to outright race hatred. However racism cannot be explained

away in terms of simple "infiltration" by outsiders. Racist attitudes re-work deeply ingrained forms of crowd chauvinism that are capable of regularly drawing upon Aberfan or Munich 1958 disasters to wind up Welsh and Manchester United supporters; (Harrison, New Society, 5/9/74). The annual England v Scotland has become a focus for both fierce Scottish Nationalism and violence - it is as if centuries of resentment can become vindicated by success in battles on and off the field; (D Mirror; 19/5/82).

Also the Celtic v Rangers game in Scotland often traditionally takes on aspects of the religious intolerance and sectarian violence of Northern Ireland.(19) The Scottish Post referred to the distribution of IRA leaflets during the teams 1984 clash that advocated more shootings and bombings. Its editorial commented: "The last thing we need is to import this sort of evil"; (8/4/84). In Northern Ireland itself, violence on nationalist and sectarian lines has occurred in Shamrock v Linfield and Bohemian v Glasgow Rangers.

This flag waving patriotism/crowd violence connection has spread from football to cricket with assaults by skinhead England supporters on Australian players and subsequent crowd violence; (S Times, 14/11/82). Abroad, German Neo-nazis have organised attacks on foreign workers and used football grounds as sites for recruitment and ritual affirmation of racism; (Times, 8/12/83). These fans have been involved in violent incidents between Bayern-Munich and - perhaps ominously - FC Nuremberg; (Times, 31/10/83). In Holland also, racist banners and slogans were in evidence during the 1983 Ajax and Utrecht game; (Times, 31/8/83). All this was at a time when the deployment of race hatred against "excesses of immigrants" became an "official" election issue in France; (Guardian, 15/3/83; Times, 31/8/83).

The ascription of racism to these aspects of soccer hooliganism is thus part of a far wider ascription process. For example, the racially inspired attacks upon West Indians at Reading by Millwall fans took place in the same year as National Front gangs from London payed an unwelcome visit with similar intent; (News of the World, 5/5/82). This was itself an aspect of widescale racial violence and hooliganism during the summer of 1982; (Guardian 4/5/82). In this period Frank Hooley, MP for Sheffield, referred to the growth of "an ugly streak of Fascist thuggery" that included singling out Asian taxi drivers, restaurants, residents and homes for violent attacks; (S Star, 22/2/83; 3/16/83; 5/8/83; D Mirror, 19/8/82). In the absence of effective political responses, this racist violence has inspired a youthful

radicalism including intra-racial tensions among Asian youth; (S Star, 11/2/83; 14/2/83). While retaliation from local blacks has involved the use of razor knives; (S Star, 11/2/83; 30/7/83; M Telegraph 27/7/83). In parts of South London the racial tension is such that retaliation has involved indiscriminate axe attacks; (S London Press, 22/4/83). Some commentators have argued that the 1981 riots were a response to institutional and fascistic racism directed at blacks; (Casmore, 1982).

S.19: THE NATURE OF THE RACISM-AScription PROCESS.

The racist character of those incidents already referred to derives neither from their intrinsic nature, nor from the fact that Jews, blacks and Asians are the victims. Instead they become perceived as racist because of the assumed motivations of those who carried them out. Racism is thus a common form culturally ascribed to these diverse actions and their authors on the basis of certain interpretations made by victims and others. These interpretations clearly presuppose definite pre-understandings as to what "racism" and "racist motivation" signify. Thus the stoning of a crowded Mosque by Chelsea fans visiting Luton becomes perceived as a racist attack because it is assumed that these supporters, who also stabbed four white Luton fans, would have respected the sanctuary of say a Catholic church. Jamaican born Laurie Cunningham now playing for Real Madrid, has stated this assumption most clearly. Following the murder of three close relatives, he criticised the police's lines of investigation and the attitudes he perceived as motivating them:

"If there had been three white people killed with Black Power written on the walls, the police would have caught them by now... The trouble is there is a lot of National Front in the police".

Because racism is an outcome of a specific interpretive recipe, the plausibility of any such ascription must vary with the interpretation placed on any evidence. Given that National Front graffiti was scrawled by their killers in his family's flat, the racist character of the murder appears highly plausible. The ascription of police racism as the ONLY reason why the killers had escaped justice appears quite possible but less certain. The fact that attacks on blacks and Asians are often assumed to be non-racist by London police in the absence of quite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, reveals the ambiguity of all ascription.

The weight of any evidence suggesting racist motivations also varies with the PAST TYPIFICATIONS and PRE-UNDERSTANDINGS associated with various sets of supporters. After any incident of crowd violence in which blacks are the victims, the ascription of racist

motivations to say Chelsea, West Ham, Millwall, Newcastle and Leeds supporters, is facilitated by the racist traditions associated with these fans. Here even the weakest of evidence can be taken by common sense as confirming "what everyone knows" about these fans. For example, at the 1982 Wimbledon v Millwall game a local shop was stripped and looted. An empty drinks crate was then thrown through the window when the Asian owner protested. A few minutes later one fan, in an exaggerated tone of mock sympathy, said to her:

"Oh no! what's happened here then? That's a real shame that.

Must have expensive to. Who was it? Go on tell us.

We'll catch them for you... Fuck off home Paki-shit".

Looting of shops - especially sports shops - is hardly an uncommon aspect of football hooliganism activity; (Salter, Anticipation and the Presence of Football hooliganism, Youth and Policy, 1985, forthcoming). Yet the relish of most of those involved in this particular incident - some of whom also participated in the earlier racial violence at Reading - suggested to me that this was indeed racist. However some Asian shopkeepers I've interviewed around Chelsea perceive such incidents not as racism but as simple hooliganism; (Salter, 1985, ibid). By contrast, evidence of similar assaults attributed to "soft" Wimbledon, Norwich or Fulham supporters, may require far more substantive evidence before this ascription of racism could become convincing. In fact many rival fans would require a great deal of convincing that it really was THESE supporters who carried out the attacks in the first place. The basis of these past typifications cannot assumed to be constant. Given a successful black player can displace racist chanting at least as far as he is concerned. Thus the sheer skill of Chelsea's Cannonville, Leeds' Connor or Millwall's Fashanu - who was carried off the pitch shoulder high by supporters after the 1985 defeat of first division Leicester - has altered the blanket hostility towards blacks of many of these fans.(20) Yet even if this change persists - in Leeds' case the departure of Connor saw a revival of racist chanting - it will take years for this to filter through to the wider soccer culture and consciousness of other fans.

Any serious discussion of soccer violence and racism is already circumscribed by entrenched

typifications and strategic ideological concerns which blindly construct an "obvious reality" which we are instructed to "face upto"; (cf. Taylor, 1980, *ibid*; Moonman, 1984, *ibid*). Thus another key variable IN ITS OWN RIGHT, is the entrenched convictions, concerns and pre-understandings of the interpreter's of soccer who participate in the wider ascription process. For example, some socialists appear to have real difficulty in comprehending any police actions towards blacks in terms that do NOT suggest implicit racism. However, such convictions make evidence suggesting ingrained racism among equally "proletarian" football supporters a rather difficult pill to swallow. By virtue of their "ideology" socialists are more willing to interpret football hooliganism as a resistance movement to the "bourgeois" take over of a "working class" game; (Taylor, 1971; Clarke, 1978). Conversely those members of the Law and Order lobby most willing to perceive and play on fears over "uncontrolled immigration", "thuggery" and "hooliganism" already widespread among working people, appear far LESS willing to consider evidence of INSTITUTIONAL RACISM by police alleged by Cunningham and others; (Guardian, 15/3/83; M Telegraph, 14/3/83; Times 19/4/83). Thus both the presence AND absence of racism among working class football fans can, depending upon ideological convictions, be seen as a "racial problem". We cannot therefore simply treat racism as an "obvious reality" without carefully trying to uncover and see how this "obviousness" is constructed as an exemplification of a prior meaning-structure - within both soccer and wider cultural ascription processes - on the basis of entrenched convictions.

Throughout all factual variations, the racist character of any fan-racism exhibits a common essential-meaning-structure. No hooliganism COULD BE perceived as racist if it did not single out on purely or predominantly racial grounds some people, buildings, businesses, shopkeepers or places of worship for PARTICULAR victimisation. Thus the very factual variability of the range of activities embraced by the ascription, the ideological willingness to ascribe racism to these activities, and the political, administrative and media reactions towards football fans perceived as racist ARE INSTANTIATING ELEMENTS OF A ESSENTIAL MEANING-STRUCTURE. This structure is governed by LAWS OF COMPOSSIBILITY that determine the hooligan character of any hooliganism, the racist nature of any soccer racism, the perceptual character of the activities perceived as racist, the ideological character of ideological manipulation and strategic reaction etc. The task of investigating these structures and their interrelations

within a totalising cultural ascription and temporalising process is that of a foundational criminology. Under present social and intellectual conditions this task will more than likely remain merely an unseen promise as criminological accounts of hooliganism and crime in general continue to gloss over their possibility-conditions.

Nevertheless ANY ascription of racism to a group of supporters that discards ITS OWN character of singling out, on the basis of various pre-understandings, assumed motivations and ideological convictions, amounts to a MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE ESSENTIALLY DISCRIMINATORY CHARACTER OF ALL ASCRIPTION/PERCEPTION. Thus the failure to even begin foundational explorations of the perceptual character of all activities perceived as hooliganism/racist as part of an investigation into cultural ascription per se, has definite consequences. Such a misunderstanding can result in a form of dogmatism identical to that which informs, motivates and sustains racism itself. In this SHARED DOGMATISM the projected inferiority of those who are racially different from "white male patriots", or from the "norm" of "solid party member" is embedded into the VERY NATURE of these persons/fans and their motivations. Thus through "commonsense" the ascribed status displaces awareness of participation in an ascription process that instantiates the essential meaning structure of perception itself and its interrelation with anticipation, recollection, imagination and signification. However it is only THROUGH this complex process that the mere presence of Blacks, Jews and Asians, or "racist crowd violence" become constituted as "a problem-to-be-stamped-out". Obviousness thus feeds on thoughtlessness.

One way into foundational structures is to examine a more surface, that is constituted structure of hooliganism - the series of lived-relations that re-affirm the identity of "us" through the denigration of the hallmarks of "them"; (cf. Murray, 1977). Thus commitment to Millwall can be affirmed through the denigration of Portsmouth, West Ham, northerners, effeminacy and all deviations from the assertive masculinity of the white working class; (Pratt and Salter, 1984). Such sentiments are hallmarks of the local identity in South London - as Peter Tatchell could confirm!; (BBC, Nationwide, 23/2/83). Elements of this localism/patriotism/racist violence frequently intermingle in a SINGLE AFFIRMATION of what some supporters see as their defining hallmarks, ie. when English teams and the national team travel abroad; (Williams, 1984). This combination of chauvinisms appeared in February 1985,

when a contingent of Hull supporters - "the black and gold army" - taunted the Rotherham fans with chants of:

"Sieg Heil", "Rule Britannia",

"Arthur Scargill is a wanker".

"Where were YOU in Luxembourg?"

In the absence of black players to mock, Hull supporters also singled out a solitary black police officer. To the barely restrained amusement of a number of his colleagues - who had also approved of the Scargill references - they sang:

"He's a wog a wog,

Blacker than you or me,

It's all too plain to see,

He's a wog a wog".

There appears an implicit surface connection and mediation between the footballing accomplishment of local/regional/national pride and identity for supporters, and soccer hooliganism. These require further exploration.

5.20: LOCALISM, REGIONAL PRIDE, PATRIOTISM AND SOCCER VIOLENCE - ACCIDENTAL CONNECTIONS?

We have seen that in order to avoid seriously thinking about football hooliganism and racism, it is easy to participate in the common sense logic that "explains" the phenomenon through the presence of the hooligan-type at football matches; (Taylor, 1980, p.160). So typified, the explanation becomes confined to the realms of psychology or psychiatry. The social construction of what is meant by hooliganism, nationalism, racism and violence is ignored. Acknowledged or not this type is culturally projected as the mirror image of the "normal fan" whose partisan commitment nevertheless remains sporting, who arrives in numbers but never in "gangs", who is attracted by the "atmosphere", but who does not join the hooligan-type with any "threatening, abusive or insulting words or conduct" and who dutifully invests total passion while always retaining self-control.

Rather than explaining anything, such mutually defining but contradictory commonsense typifications are themselves in need of explanation as part of a more general typification process in which appropriate local and regional identities are culturally accomplished through a denigration process of their apparent opposites. This will be examined below.

a. Hooliganism and Local Identity.

The 1984/85 miners' strike became a subject to "wind up" and taunt Yorkshire and Welsh supporters. Repeated and triumphant chants were directed at Rotherham fans by visiting Derby supporters:

"Get to work you lazy bastards", "Go back down your dirty pits", "Derbyshire Working Miners" and "Scab scab superscabs".

After this attack on local identity, a bus containing Derby fans (and myself!) was attacked with bricks and other missiles as it left Rotherham. Associations of Yorkshire clubs with the miners strike occurred in Chelsea's 1984 and 1985 clashes with Sheffield Wednesday, where policemen segregating Chelsea fans responded to the by now standard reference to King Arthur's

masturbation with the comment:

"Whose singing that? The police?... Whose Scargill anyway? Doesn't he play centre half?".

Here however the stunning play of Chelsea's Cannonville quietened the racist chanting from both sets of supporters. One Chelsea fan who had been chanting "Sieg Heil" commented: "It's a joke now - who says there's no black on the Union Jack!". The provocation involved in such regional and racial chauvinism also selectively appropriated football as its source for recognition at Wednesday's expense in that Chelsea fans chanted: "We went up as champions" to remind the Sheffield fans of the order of rank among the teams promoted in 1983-4. The response was:

"He's only a poor little cockney,
His face is all tattered and torn,
He made me feel sick,
So I hit with a brick,
and now he don't sing any more".

This regional/footballing linkage of the mutual taunting created an violent atmosphere in which the subsequent fighting in the seats, the firing of a rocket into the Wednesday stand and the slashing of one Sheffield fan's face with a stanley knife seemed almost "normal".

This particular fixture had previously in January 1981, seen Chelsea supporters wearing Nazi armbands stewarding skinhead gangs who were giving fascist salutes and chanting racist slogans to intimidate local supporters in the South Stand

However the region/nation linkage in soccer violence can be quite unstable and open to fragile identities as well as differences. The playing of the national anthem in the 1981 FA Cup final was barracked by both sets of supporters whose chanting suggested the dominance of regional over national chauvinism. Regional rivalry between say, Yorkshire and Lancashire or Northern and Southern clubs can increase confrontations and inspire reinforcements from other local clubs, ie. Sheffield United fans joined forces with Wednesday against Chelsea fans.

However rivalry to be recognised on and off the pitch as "the only club in Yorkshire" means that a shared enemy is no basis for permanent allegiances.(21)

Even a "friendly" between Sheffield United and Leeds in 1981 resulted in violent confrontations after the game. The 1984 Chelsea v West Ham violence was also partly intelligible in terms of the desire to be recognised as challengers to Millwall for the title of "the hardest in London". Thus fan violence can be club oriented without any specific footballing conflict - as when fans of first division West Ham wait for those of third division Millwall outside railways stations such as Waterloo or Euston. 1984 also saw West Ham fans due to support their team at Aston Villa play a far from friendly call upon Millwall fans supporting their team at Walsall. This rivalry for the "top name" in London goes back decades and surfaced in the their 1978 meeting when some supporters went armed with lumps of wood with nails sticking out. It still persists. In 1982 one Millwall fan told me:

"You ought to come with us in London - that's where the best fighting is, especially with West Ham. On Friday we had this West Ham crew in the pub. Knocked this fucker through the window. Magic. Blood everywhere!".

Equally the visit of second division Leeds to Charlton in 1984 inspired some Millwall fans to "make an appearance" otherwise "word could get round that Leeds had the run of South London - our patch".

This form of localism is not simply about footballing success and the team being the best in the immediate locality; it taps into an emotive vein in which the fans themselves feel personally vindicated for all there years of ever hopeful support, disappointment, humiliation etc. Consider the following letter to the Sheffield Stars Green 'Un:

"I suggest it is time to salute "Norman's Conquerors" - in other words Norman Hunter's Barnsley who are now set to become South Yorkshire's top team... Never mind you Rotherham fans you can always come to Oakwell and watch South Yorkshire's number one team".

It is also instructive to compare the press coverage and the violent imagery of "battles" and

"gutsy performances" of the "same" match by the local papers of rival teams; (cf. Portsmouth News, 7/2/83 and South London Press, 7/2/83). Therefore sentiments linking team, club, supporters and "authentic" regional representatives are by no means the monopoly of the "hooligan-mentality" - they are part of what supporting a team has always meant. The hooligan phenomenon thus takes over an existing dramatic and militarised vocabulary of domination and being dominated and acts it out. This vocabulary is officially sanctioned and even used to sell the game as a live spectacle replete with "atmosphere". It also informs local press coverage. Commenting on the same game as the above letter the Morning Telegraph wrote:

"Millmoor will today become a red hot cauldron of South Yorkshire rivalry as Rotherham and Barnsley do battle... For Norman Hunter's men it is a chance to enhance their rapidly growing reputation... while for Emelyn Hughes troops it will be a chance to put one over their successful neighbours. The fans too will be just as keyed up... for what promises to be a real thriller"; (14/11/81).

There then followed a review of past "battles", both teams immediate history and a claim that Barnsley would "be there for the taking". Leeds supporters regularly chant Yorkshire and Yorkshire's number one especially if they are playing another Yorkshire club. At the same time this "Yorkshire pride" is attacked by chants that draw upon anything unpleasant about this county. For example, in an effort to "wind up" Leeds supporters during the early 1980's many rival fans would sing:

"There's only one Yorkshire Ripper", and

"We hope the Ripper gets your mum".

It is informative to compare this with the personal pride a devoted Leeds fan - now studying law - felt for the hooligan reputation Leeds fans have:

"Since 1974 Leeds have hardly done anything on the pitch. It's like the only league we can come top of is the other one! It's strange, some people kind of cling on to that. I know I

did. It's as if being a Leeds fan gives you something, people take notice".

Localism also operates on a North/South basis. When Millwall visited Barnsley in 1980 a local fan was "bottled" before the game and an involuntary identification parade then took place on the terraces. Nevertheless some of their fans sang: "You dirty Northern Bastards". While a visit to Hull in the same year saw the following abuse aimed at self-affirmation through denigration, poured on local youths and their perceived sources of identity:

"Just look at the way you're dressed, you northern scum. Call those clothes? You stink up here, stink of fish slime. All dressed in rags. On the dole I suppose?"

"Cockneys here,

Cockneys there,

Cockneys every fucking where!".

Millwall boys we are here,

Millwall boys we are here,

Millwall boys we are here, Shag your women and drink your beer".

"Maybe it's because I'm a Londoner that I love London Town".

Such chants would clearly be inappropriate as a way of winding up rival fans in a London derby. Sheffield Wednesday fans visiting London reciprocate with cries of "Your only cockney wankers".

Again this chauvinism does not have its roots in hooligan sub-culture or even in the world of football itself; it is found in the wider localism of sport in general.⁽²²⁾ Editorials in local papers celebrate "their city" being "placed on the map" and "Sheffield pride" by hosting snooker championships and having Wednesday in the semi-finals of the 1983 FA Cup; (S Star, 25/4/83; 29/4/83). The local paper even referred to Sheffield being "a city on the move" not

because of the players trip but through the exodus of some 27,000 supporters on "a glory trail". The "great involvement" of clubs and the region they represent is ritually affirmed by success but rarely after sporting failure; (S Star, 29/8/83). Awareness of the connection between this assertion of localised chauvinism and that of fighting supporters appears scarce. Following the glorification of local pride, the same editorial even wished the fans a "safe and trouble free day"; (S Star, 15/3/83). Localism is such a strong sentiment that it crosses particular sports - as when Barnsley "honoured" local sporting personalities "in recognition of their services"; (S Star, 9/4/83).

The real depth of "healthy" localism fully appears when a club faces being wound up or worse still, merged with a local rival as in the proposal in 1983 for an Oxford Reading merger. Robert Maxwell was aiming to "revolutionise football" by abolishing the local town/city connection and, like hypermarkets, setting up "Superclubs" for mobile consumers out of town. Part of the rhetoric used to justify this severance was crowd violence: "No local authorities want us there. We are a nuisance"; (Guardian, 23/4/83). However the precedents for this "rationalisation" of packaged leisure, were not encouraging. Bradford Park Avenue supporters had preferred to see the club perish than combine with Bradford City. The merger of Brighton and Palace was defeated by strong opposition, so was a proposed marriage between Palace and Wimbledon; (Guardian, 19/4/83).

Marsh's work reveals the deep local rivalry between some of these teams more violent supporters with each being "fair game" as targets for attack. Again this depth of feeling was in no way confined to a distinct hooligan mentality but appeared throughout the massive opposition to the merger. Consider some of the sentiments expressed in the Oxford Mail's letter page:

"I feel that Mr Maxwell has missed the crux of the way League football is played in the country. It is all about your local side, trying to do their best for their own local patch, and the local community getting behind their side for the same aims. Therefore how can I or any fellow Oxford supporter follow this new set up, which will have no roots or connection with the new town?"; (27/4/83). (23)

Such views - highly perceptive in my view - were repeated for weeks on local phone ins, letters to clubs, demonstrations etc. Threats to give up support or switch it to a "truly local" amateur team were widely voiced. Protests were replete with references to the "distinctive local identities of the two clubs" and the unwillingness of either set of supporters to be represented by a team sited in the other's home town. Nor did any compromise find favour with local people or politicians concerned about "being invaded by thousands of football fans"; (Guardian, 23/4/83).

Sentiment in Reading was hardly more favourable with the local paper receiving over a 1000 protest letters - "the biggest reader response on a single issue"; (Reading Weekly Post, 26/4/83; 29/4/83). Policemen wrote letters, local and national celebrities joined in a "campaign" involving street demonstrations and sit-ins that was featured on Grandstand and even BBC 2's Newsnight. The character of this campaign, evidenced by letters to the local paper, was to affirm the "organic" relation between the clubs and their town and re-affirm mutual chauvinism:

"Reading is MY team, Elm Park is MY ground where I choose to watch MY football".

"Reading fans won't stand the thought of Oxford fans sharing the Southbank. For the last couple of years there has been an unfriendly atmosphere between these clubs in the crowd. It's bad enough having Oxford coming to our town once or twice a season let alone once a month"; (Reading Evening Post, 26/4/83).

Thus even among "respectable" sources chauvinism and the threat of crowd violence was strategically deployed to resist the merger idea. The possibility of trouble at a forthcoming game between the two teams was even used by a PLAYER in his weekly column; (ibid, 10/4/83).

Also the visit of Millwall to Reading and the threat of a repeat of the 1982 violence, was put to good effect during the height of this campaign. It was skilfully used as the club appealed to fans to still turn up to the game and thus show that they REALLY did want to keep their club. Despite common cause with Oxford in resisting the merger, local chauvinism surfaced in an effort to "out demonstrate" Oxford United supporters and thus show themselves

to be "true supporters"; (Reading Evening Post 18/4/83). Thus sit-ins on the pitch itself was "going too far", as was the daubing of obscene and violent slogans threatening to burn down Oxford United; (Reading Evening Post, 30/4/83). Other forms of denigration that attacked the reputation and recognition of their rivals was projected as permissible, ie. "Who ARE Oxford United?". It was as if to say that when facing national publicity, and Millwall, demonstrating fans had to prove that they were "normal fans" as distinct from "hooligans" to justify their case. Finally the merger was called off as gut-localism - motivated by a need to preserve "local heritage and identity" - beat off economic "rationalisation" of peoples' sense of belonging.

As we have already seen, success on the pitch in intra-regional, London derbies and international games may partially satisfy the will to recognition among some violent fans; its absence can place greater direct and indirect pressure to "satisfy honour" and "grab" the headlines in other ways. This may even involve the switch from one level of chauvinism to another. This has occurred dramatically when England fans travelling abroad rediscover their club loyalties so that bloody fights on a West Ham/Chelsea basis have broken out. It has also occurred when Wales supporters violently re-discover the Swansea/Cardiff rivalry after an indifferent national performance.(24)

Similar crowd confrontations were seen in the 1984 Sheffield United v Cardiff game came after joint singing of "N.U.M." had broke down into chants by the Welsh supporters of "Yorkshire scabs". This change in levels of chauvinism can even occur among supporters of the same team. For example, in the fighting between Cardiff fans from Barry, Rhondda and Cardiff, and also when the "Battersea boys" developed a separate identity among the Chelsea shed in the mid-1970's; (Pratt, 1980, p.48).

Again similar sentiments are expressed within official soccer culture where regional partisanship extends to different regional editions of the sports pages of daily newspapers, which themselves publish "biased" statements by managers and fans complaining of a southern "bias"; (D Mirror, 8/4/83; Observer, 25/4/82).

"I realise that northern teams have to perform supremely well to please the southern press"; (Green 'Un, 25/9/82).

Complementing the regional rivalry among supporters to be the top representatives is that among city politicians. There is for example, a degree of resentment in South Yorkshire that Yorkshire Cricket Club is based in Leeds and not Sheffield. Such resentment extends sufficiently to overcome more localised rivalries so that an alliance of South Yorkshire councils has been formed on the issue; (S Star, 15/4/82). On a similar note the use of Sheffield United's ground for a form of sometimes fatal fighting that IS deemed to be a "sport" - boxing was thought of as bringing prestige to Sheffield and a humiliation for London which normally stages world championship bouts; (S Star, 24/5/83).

b. Sporting Patriotism and the Militarisation of Soccer Consciousness.

A tendency encouraged but not created by the politics of the "Falklands Spirit", is the merger of overt racism with patriotism when English teams and the national team travel abroad; (Williams, 1984). Although occurring in a context of media references to travelling supporters and their teams as "armies", "taskforces" who deploy "strategies", "fire-rockets" in the "bombardment of defences" and where defeat means "dying a thousand deaths"; (S Star, 6/7/82), this association is not purely a "media invention". After all the 1982 World Cup began with teams representing England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Argentina battling for "national pride" on the pitch; while soldiers from these countries killed one another in the South Atlantic "for the sake of their country" and "the honour of their regiments".

The patriotic militarisation of football's language - and therefore its consciousness - reaches right across the game. It is as if football is perceived as warfare carried out by other means. Sports writers lamenting national failure not only draw upon a militarised language - "World Beating Britons", "Polishing off the English" - but draw direct comparisons between sporting battles and the activities of the Paras and the SAS; (Observer, 5/12/82, 6/3/83; D Mail, 8/3/83). (25)

Like so many other things, the incitement to patriotism/racism appeared in its crudest form in Australia. Here there was a "TV hate campaign" aimed to whip up crowd rivalry in order to sell a "cricket circus", broadcast by Kerry Packer's own television channel. Even before the game, a degree of disquiet over such tactics was expressed by the secretary of the Australian Cricket Board: "Some of the comments made about our team could stir people up in the wrong way". English players echoed this worry; (D Mirror, 12/11/82). Anti-English sentiment was even expressed by massive banners draped over the side of an Australian warship; (S Times, 14/11/82). Violence on and off the pitch in which skinheads with a union jack invaded the pitch and assaulted a player before themselves being attacked by "patriotic" Australians, was widely felt to be attributable to this prior incitement; (Sunday Journal, 14/11/82).

Nevertheless self-consciousness that this militarised and chauvinistic language is giving, a definite message to supporters as to what "authentic involvement" in football entails, is

somewhat sparse. While manager of Leeds Allan Clarke insisted on "players who will die for this club" while at the same time demanding public birching for Leeds supporters who launched carefully organised assaults on rival fans. Also during the 1982 Worlds Cup Jimmy Hill referred to one Argentinian defeat: "As a night when Europe came out on top against South America". This coincidence of footballing and military success against France and Argentina inspired this commentator to refer to: "A time when pride and patriotism in this country is just re-awakening". However the specifically footballing character of such international confrontations - complete with appreciation of sheer footballing virtuosity - remained largely irreducible to a simple political nationalism; (Lewis and Clarke, 1982).

The militarisation of soccer consciousness reaches the very top. Bobby Robson - the same manager who, in 1978 advocated the use of flame-throwers against Millwall fans after their "fighting display" for media recognition against "his" Ipswich supporters - positively encouraged militaristic connection in a national context. Speaking as England manager he has referred to the need for England to become a "top footballing nation" represented by the combative masculinity of young men inspired by "the attitude of our Falkland Island Task Force":

"When the Task Force left everyone knew there would only be one winner - us. That's the feeling of confidence I want to give the English public... Our people know about winning. We don't lose wars do we? In a way playing for your country is like fighting for it - only the best will do"... We must provide players with a bite and appetite of the men in the Task Force. Playing for England gives them glory and prestige"; (S.Star, 20/9/82; D.Mirror, 20/9/82).

Also prior to this competition, Mrs Thatcher asked English fans to be as "good representatives of England as those on the Task Force". Perhaps she should have supplied them with Exocets!

Some England players also affirmed the same connection between warfare and sport. Here however it appeared in the initial "moral" reluctance of certain players to be seen as playing sport with the Argentinians, who were dismissed as "being 100% in the wrong", while the war was still in progress; (Guardian, 7/5/82). Trevor Brooking said: "We shall be supporting the

nation - who are out there fighting for us". Ironically this very outrage at Argentinian state-hooliganism was reported in suitably violent language: "World Cup Knock Out!"; (D Mirror, 6/5/82).

Even sports reporters and club managers - not people normally famous for their political or moral sophistication - felt justified in making patriotic noises and similar "moral stands" over the Falklands issue; (D Mirror, 12/5/82). Such "stands" went so far as warning off any Argentinian sportsmen; (D Mirror, 6/5/82). Fears were expressed of football supporters taking a cue from their heroes, governments, military and culture and extending the war on to the streets of Spain. In case the connection had somehow been missed, this front page story had the following headline indented within it: "Navy blows up Junta ship - see pages 2 and 3"; (D Mirror, 12/5/82).

The militarisation process in soccer culture can be strangely reciprocal. ITV's World Cup reporters wanted to investigate the "depression" of the Argentine team following news of their military defeat and its likely effect on their footballing battle against European sides. Like the later taunts of English fans, the BBC singled out Spurs' Argentinian player Ardilles for special attention. While ITV encouraged this in a "sporting" reading of war that involved interviewing an English soldier who had just come from the South Atlantic to support England in a different context; (cf. Lewis and Clarke, *ibid*, p.14).

Such cultural connection of sport, nationalism and warfare were however well entrenched prior to the cultural construction of patriotism around the World Cup. In the 1970 qualifying rounds, the violent confrontations between Honduras and El Salvador developed into a military war; (Taylor, 1980, p.153). Guerilla warfare involving ETA took the disruption of the 1982 games as one of its tactics; (M Telegraph, 21/4/82). Two of the El Salvador squad had been killed before the games even started in the civil war and the Poland v Soviet Union took on the air of Solidarity v KGB; (Observer, 18/2/82; G Nowell-Smith, Screen 19 (4) 1978/9). References to "hot bloodied Latins" and the repressed individuality of "Eastern Bloc" become common sense typifications and "instant" explanations for contrasting styles of football. Here internal and external political differences and competing national/continental symbols and "stereotypes" become resources selectively drawn upon by newspaper, television, players and also the crowd to project football as "more than just a game"; (cf. A Tudor, Football on

Television, BFI Monograph 1975).

Combined with the militarised language, patriotic tendencies surfaced in the BBC television coverage where French fouls and mock injuries were perceived as "dirty" and "cynical" as distinct from the occasional "over enthusiasm" of England's honest battlers.(26) More generally, any successes or "giant killing" endeavours by the Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland teams became perceived as "British successes"; while defeat on the other hand, means "humiliation for the Scots" etc. This was most noticeable in the World Cup when Northern Ireland's footballing triumphs temporarily stopped them being perceived as part of the "Irish problem" - a problem that can itself be illustrated through its effects on previously non-sectarian footballing teams; (BBC1, Old Scores, 16/8/83). In February 1985, the IRA - perhaps resenting the competing publicity - exploded a bomb immediately after the country's defeat by England to "discourage visits from English sportsmen. In this game the presence of John Barnes in the England team inspired frequent jeering and the throwing of fruit and other missiles from Irish supporters, as if to say: "At least WE have no blacks representing us".

Therefore in this overall context there appears a strange paradox in the BBC's condemnation of England fans "who drunkenly rally to the Union Jack" unfurled among the rival fans' home end"; (BBC News, 23/9/82). The fighting and "reinforcement" that this incited appears to some as the footballing equivalent of the recapture of Port Stanley. Thus during the period of the "Falkland Spirit", some members of Chelsea, Millwall and Portsmouth fighting gangs proudly displayed tee-shirts that claimed: "Made in Britain. Tested in the Falklands"; while a group of Millwall fans sang: "We ought to bomb Argentina". Thus this "Falklands spirit" contributed to part of their repertoire of songs. It took its place alongside one other that celebrates the "mysterious" death of black children in a fire at Deptford: "We all agree, niggers burn better than petrol".

As well as providing a sound basis and target for emotive law and order campaigns; (Guardian, 14/3/84) - backed by some of the people who support sporting links with South Africa and the deportation of black offenders; (Observer, 20/2/83) - hooliganism and the sentiments it encourages, can surface in attacks on anti-racist political demonstrations and demonstrators. For example some Millwall fans claimed to have been involved in National Front attacks upon "Commies" at Lewisham in 1981, while others: "just joined in the fighting against

the police and anyone - great it was!". Also some West Ham/British Movement graffiti in London claims: "Marx, Lenin, Trotsky - Communism is Jewish". Thus soccer violence gives direct active support to the political right in providing an area of crowd control policing. Draconian laws begun in Scotland banning alcohol consumption even on the way to games, by-laws allowing frisking, other searches, a generalised, wide-ranging bail/binding over conditions and undoubtedly popular target for law and order rhetoric. These rhetorics advocate "merciless retribution", imprisonment, stiff fines and the introduction of identity cards from a apparently non-political - and therefore more convincing source; (UEFA 29/12/71; Rothmans Year Book, 1981-2; S Mirror, 10/9/81).

Consider the following law and order logic from Dennis Fellows addressing hooliganism in FA News 18/11/72:

"Serious situations demand drastic remedies and in desperate cases the innocent have to suffer for the guilty, the many for the sins of the few. Could we not try (a ban) for a time to see how it works?".

Draconian retribution becomes seen as "a life or death matter" necessitating civil as well as criminal controls; (A Hardacker, 10/8/71). Crowd misbehaviour and actual deaths also allow otherwise obscure public figures to make speeches against a "public enemy" knowing these will receive national coverage. Here the "enemy within" - yet another symbol of the disastrous consequences of the "permissive society" - can be disassociated from the "real supporters" or the club who then are affirmed as the "authentic representatives" of their areas; (cf. reaction to the 24/5/72 Rangers violence in "Rothmans 1972-3 Year Book; D Dougan, On The Spot, p.11).

Ironically although regarded as "our least welcome export", Britain's greater experience of hooliganism can be deployed in magisterial fashion by our Sports Minister in telling foreigners how they should really police football crowds. Not only did we give the rest of the world the game but apparently we can still show them a thing or two about "treatment for the disease"; (Guardian, 2/4/83).

By contrast, socialists and anti-apartheid liberals have suffered a degree of damage on Law

and Order and sporting issues. Certainly the Sheffield City Council lost votes following its veto of their club's proposed sports complex, criticism of Bomber Graham's South African links and efforts to use fans' rates to subject them to Labour party propaganda; (S Star, 12/5/83, 13/8/83). By contrast the National Front cashes in on hooliganism AND the Law and Order ticket.

S.21: HOOLIGANISM AS A PROBLEM FOR THE COURTS.

Although football hooliganism is always pre-interpreted by victims, witnesses, police officers, prosecuting departments, football clubs, the news media and lawyers, the courts subsequent interpretations have a greater definitiveness. They are the final target of the earlier interpretations and the place where authoritative vindication can occur and be seen to occur. What is said in court can filter back down to the interpretive frameworks of lower courts, sentencing conferences, legal journalists, academics, magistrates, court officials, prosecuting departments, lawyers, government and parliament. They can even result in changes in arrest strategies if some charges are made "easier to stick" or if a "loophole" appears following an overly technical interpretation of a statute or principle. This is known to the judiciary whose deliberations can sometimes be geared to a possible "knock on" effect. For example the higher courts whose sentences upon football supporters often contain strong criticism of "wholly inadequate" sentences passed by magistrates; (R v Dunphy (1981) 3 Cr App R (S) 159). Alternatively magistrates can be reprimanded by the High Court for their interpretation of what constitutes the offence in the first place; (Mail v Mc Dowell (1980) QB 35, 79.

Since a large proportion of "news" has its origins in court reporting, judicial pronouncements also have an extremely wide indirect audience. This includes members of fighting gangs who actively seek media recognition and notoriety and, following violence, scan the local and national press for any coverage.(27) There appears to be an awareness of this when judges and magistrates speak beyond the accused to football fans at large; (cf. R v Bruce (1977) 65 Cr App R 148). What follows is an investigation of judicial understandings of football hooliganism expressed, sometimes only implicitly, in their judgements. It examines the construction - within judicial pronouncements - of "hooliganism" as a common sense interpretation of certain activities, their character as a particular problem caused by a certain type of person and the perceived need for adequate statutory interpretations and sentencing.

a. COMPONENTS OF THE HOOLIGANISM TYPIFICATION PROCESS.

Although football hooliganism is not a crime in its own right, the expression is used frequently in court and in official reports as well as media accounts of trials. Before any discussion of the case's details, the judge in Dunphy began his judgement with the words: "This is a case of football hooliganism"; while in Valentine "the offence of hooliganism" was mentioned as shorthand for "threatening behavior" under the 1936 Public Order Act; (R v Valentine (1981) 3 Cr App R (S) 309). Compared with the impressive legal clarification of the contractual character of any contract, little intellectual labour has been invested in the explication of this term's meaning. In fact the common sense criteria of "ordinary sensible folk" has been positively evoked by none other than the most productive source of refined legal principle - the Court of Appeal.

Thus whereas the contractuality of a document is clearly understood to be a creature of law's prior conceptual framework, hooliganism is projected to be all too obvious and real. The term's use lacks the self-consciousness of being the outcome of a definite interpretive schema; (cf. Valentine, *ibid*). It is used as part of "what everyone knows" about certain football games, clubs and supporters, and which is only ritually confirmed by trials interpreted upon the basis of this "common sense"; (cf. Caulfield J in Cawley v Frost (1976) QB 64; Glavin, Woods and Japp, (1978) CLR 470). In court as elsewhere, Football and hooliganism are associated as easily as fish is linked with chips or law with order. The expression's frequent deployment by prosecutors and the judiciary in hearing and sentencing soccer fans is thus part of the routine reproduction of "the obvious". However, "obviousness" is at the expense of clarity or self-consciousness of being an active participant in the reproduction of a specific culture.

In the absence of any explicit or formal definition we can only examine the practical application of implicit definitions. The following actions have been judged to constitute hooliganism in the cases examined below: looking aggressive, jeering, shouting, jumping up and down, waving fists in the air, running in groups, issuing blood curdling and obscene threats with baseball bats; invading the pitch; wrecking motorway service stations; taking a

supporting crutch from its unfortunate owner and using it as a club; fighting with fists, kicking rival fans who are on the ground, smashing their faces up with hammers, robbing them of their valuables and clothes; ripping up terracing; "stampeding" around and outside railway stations with the effect of scattering the public, obstructing the road, denting car bonnets and roofs; after a match vandalising and overturning local peoples' cars, assaulting local residents with iron bars and wooden clubs; "shouting National Front and racist abuse", racially inspired hospitalising and disabling attacks with bottles and fists on British Rail employees, Pakistani taxi drivers and shopkeepers; and throwing missiles at each other, local people, oncoming cars and the police. Through this classification these cases served to re-affirm prior pre-understanding; (cf. Glavin, Woods and Japp, 1978, CLR; Motley, *ibid*, at 278).

Such anti-social actions are themselves exemplifications of hooliganism-in-general. Within the judiciary's conceptual framework this includes: driving away play-leaders and gutting communal areas in council flats; (Liverpool CC v Irvin (1975) 3 All ER 659), removing warning lights from builders skips; (PGM Ltd v Kensington LBC (1982) RTR 107). Young children swearing; (Irving v Irving, Unreported, judgement of CA (Crim Div) of 13/1/81). "Pouncing on" elderly strangers; (R v Khan, Unreported judgement of CA (Crim Div) of 3/6/80). Juvenile gangs constructing petrol bombs; (R v May (1979) 1 Cr App R (S) 9). Smashing windows and throwing litter in gardens in respectable areas; (Hauptfuhrer v Thompson (Valuation Officer) (1977) 21 RRC 177). Shouting a "four letter word" at a police constable trying to prevent a breach of the peace; (Simcock v Rhodes (1977) 65 Cr App R 192). Trying to "rescue" a person arrested during a riot in which police officers were "bottled" and assaulted; (R v Baker (1966) 50 Cr App R 74). Student demonstrations that: "leave a hooligan trail of wreckage, injury and terrified women"; (R v Caird et al (1970) 54 Cr App R 499). Trespass and arson; (McGee v Hackney LBC (1969) RVR 342 (QBD)). Smashing up bathing huts, vandalising builders' property, and building sites; (Lilley v BICC Co Ltd (1968) 67 LGR 224 (CA)); Walwin and Partners v Baird, (Valuation Officer) (1968) 14 RRC 265).

Here hooliganism is not seen as simply one form of activity occasionally carried out by some people in certain circumstances.(28) Instead, it is a master-stigma that is attributed not to the quality of certain acts but to the VERY IDENTITY of the person who carries them out. Depending upon the circumstances, positive or negative secondary attributes may be:

grafted on to this primary identity; yet their absence will not effect the projected validity of the primary identity. Thus even apparently trivial activities such as swearing, become constituted as hooliganism if they are carried out by a certain type of person; (cf. Mail v Mc Dowell (1980) QB 35).

Conversely, even quite severe violence directed not towards other fans but against officials can be treated relatively leniently once the offender successfully resists being classified as a hooligan; (R v Squibbs, Unreported, judgement of CA (Crim Div) (1982) 1907/B1/B2). Defence lawyers have this resistance as their major task if the accused pleads guilty. For example, in February 1985 after a riot by Newcastle fans at Woodall M1 service station, a defence solicitor freely admitted that his client was a thief who "took advantage of the mayhem" - but asserted that he was not a hooligan. Unlike the drunken types on the coaches he had "entered the service station quite properly in a transit van because he wanted to buy some food". Fortunately for him the Rotherham magistrates did not appear to be aware that those most intent on violence travel in hired vans in order to pass through police searches and segregation. Therefore he was treated as a common thief and merely fined fifty pounds.

Others have not been so lucky in resisting this classification. Another thieving fan who swallowed his loot unlawfully WAS regarded as a hooligan since his "meal" was a gold chain that he defiantly refused to return (directly) to a Gainsborough Jeweller!.(29) The solicitor representing a Portsmouth fan who punched another after the game claimed: "The assault was not a case of football hooliganism but of failure to repay a debt owed to his mother". In spite of being interpreted as "unusual", this was still hooliganism - he was therefore jailed for 60 days.(30) Another Portsmouth fan managed to employ his broken and bloodied nose to resist the suggestion that he was "a football yob". As a result the court granted the "leniency" of a 150 pound fine for his "obscene gesture" directed towards his assailants from Southampton.(31) Resistance even appears from parents of accused fans. One mother of an England fan jailed following "rampaging through Luxembourg" is quoted as saying: "Of course football violence is abominable, but that does not make it right to assume that everyone involved is a hooligan".(32)

Once the primary identity has been ascribed, these other matters become constituted as

secondary additions that determine the SORT of hooligan the offender is. The Portsmouth magistrates placed the crutch-wielding hooligan as "the worse case which has come to us from Fratton Park".(33) Thus within this overall ascription process, the hooligan has a variety of sub-species. These are the armed-hooligan, leader-hooligan, led-hooligan, robber-hooligan, willing-hooligan and onlooker-hooligan implicated by "having an aggressive manner"; (See Glavin, Woods and Japp, (1978) Crim LR 470; R v Fielding, supra). New varieties are also emerging as police begin to perceive fighting, missile throwing, provocative and obscene gestures on the pitch as player-hooliganism.(34)

Essentially any hooligan-type is projected as being quite unaffected by the presence or absence of a good work record, previous convictions, period of time since previous conviction, stable home background, favourable report by prison governor, recommendations by probation officers, degree of provocation, display of repentance while awaiting trial or appeal, age and so on; (R v Motley (1978) 66 Cr App 274, 277-B; Glavin, Woods and Japp, (1978) Crim LR 470; R v Valentine (1981) 3 Cr App R (S) 159; R v Fielding, Unreported, judgement of CA (Crim Div) of 27/3/84; R v Baker and Hawkins (1966) 51 Cr App R 74). In this way an interesting anthropological entity has been constituted - the multi-varied hooligan-type; (cf. Valentine, *ibid*).

Such typification provides a common sense explanation for the unpleasantly diverse activities mentioned above - they are the work of a distinctive type of person who attends football matches. His activities are seen as symptomatic of a way of being-a-person who acts out of a certain pre-given and deeply entrenched "disposition" that characterises the hooligan-mentality; (R v Motley (1978) 66 Cr App R 274, 277; Cawley v Frost (1976) QB 64; R v Baker and Hawkins (1966) 51 Cr App R 74). This disposition is fundamentally unconnected with the motivations of "normal" supporters who are only interested in the match on the pitch. By contrast, even when the game itself is postponed, the hooligan is "determined to cause trouble" to the annoyance of unprovocative peace loving - and therefore "normal" - rival fans; (See, eg, R v Dunphy (1981) 3 Cr App R (S) 159).

Not only is there a contrast here, there is a construction of the hooligan-type ON THE BASIS OF A SPECIFIC PRE-UNDERSTANDING OF NORMALITY OF THE REASONABLE PUBLIC. In Baker; (*ibid*) the judge stated unambiguously:

"The public is sick and tired of people like you, the public is sick and tired of having its entertainment broken up by hooligans, and absolutely appalled at the mentality which produces the bottle and the boot".

As a result the hooligan-type becomes the mirror image of the normal-type, and thus always available as a measure with which to gauge the degree of unreason present in general conduct. Thus two car drivers who exchanged blows following an accident "behaved like a couple of hooligans"; (R v Wimbledon et al, Unreported, judgement of CA (Crim Div) of 21/9/82). Such an ascription was possible only by reference to "two sober, just and proper people sitting down, exchanging their names, registration and insurance numbers"; (ibid).

It must not be thought that ANY deviation from the normality of the normal person or fan constitutes hooliganism. It has been held that Jews, Communists and CND supporters who disrupt political meetings by Nazi sympathizers are not necessarily "a body of hooligans". However their hooligan character can be usefully "assumed" in deciding whether Nazi speeches addressing a sector of the audience as "Red rabble" are "insulting" under the 1936 Public Order Act; (Jordan v Burgoyne (1963) 2 All ER 225). Violent acts may also be intelligible as the "overreaction" of an otherwise normal person. Thus in Sparkes a straightforward "fisticuffs" by a defendant who, being highly incensed at someone he thought had damaged his property, could not be sentenced as if he was "a hooligan and a bully"; (R v Sparkes, Unreported, judgement of CA (Crim Div) of 2/6/81). Nor, on appeal, was the assault carried out in the pursuit of a long-running "private domestic" dispute between Pakistanis interpreted as hooliganism; R v Khan, Unreported, judgement of CA (Crim Div) of 3/6/80). Conversely, the ABSENCE of a private element in the seizure of a ship by a de facto Spanish government, prevented this from being the "act of a hooligan"; Pesquerias and Secaderos De Racalao de Espana SA v Peer, (1946) 79 LIR 417). Also damage caused by unauthorised sub-tenants was interpreted as hooliganism; (re Metropolitan Film Studios v Twickenham Film Studios (1962) 3 All ER 508).

Represented in the hooliganism within the specific context of football crowds, is "the defiant type". Even after arrest this type: "shows little remorse for his offence" and glibly

expects non-custodial sentence or a light custodial sentence; (R v Bruce, (1977) 65 Cr App R 148). Once graduated through "soft" sentences such as fines, attendance centre orders and community service orders, the hooligan re-offends within months of being released from prison.

Another feature of the projected hooligan is its being a herd animal who "act in concert" with others of similar "dispositions". To this overall group, expressions normally reserved for animals, such as "stampede" become applicable; (Dunphy, ibid; Uddin v BTH, EAT 85/80). Thus when 3 of a coach load of young supporters, faced with the prospect of detention at Colchester Police station, admit to having thrown a beer can and other objects at passing cars, the hooligan and thus "malevolent" nature of the WHOLE coachload is assumed. On this basis, evidence that the accused was not sitting in the back seat from which the missiles were thrown from could now be judged immaterial. Hooligans apparently are interchangeable within the shifting character of overall pack. Thus whether or not the accused was involved the overall behaviour of visiting fans before and after an alleged incident can become relevant to both the ascription of guilt and appropriate sentencing; (Mail v Mc Dowell, ibid; re the "Garden House case", HMSO, 1974 Cmnd 6068, p.108; but also Mannheim, 1965, 655). In Dunphy the herd habits of the robber-hooligan were used as a basis for making ominous comments about the naivety of believing that fans with no previous record had not in fact "indulged in the past". After all once "set loose" from their coaches the police can only arrest a minority of those involved in mass chanting or fighting.

Not only are hooligans projected as a "gang" of interchangeable pack animals with collective guilt, but their presence constitutes a NATIONAL problem. Drawing necessarily upon common sense knowledge, J. Lawton refers to: "their widespread presence in many parts of the country during most Saturdays of the football season" and thus "the problems which arise... mostly during and after matches but sometimes before" is part of what "all of us are well aware; (Motley, ibid, at 277). Part of this problem was seen in Mail v Mc Dowell as its effects on football as a "family game". In this case the judge referred to "the context of a football match where violence is rife and is known to be rife". In Johnson the Court of Appeal asserted that football crowd vandalism and violence directed against the police had: "become so common that it is almost impossible to travel or walk in certain parts of London without risk of personal injury"; (ibid).

b. CONSEQUENCE OF THE TYPIFICATION PROCESS.

Such typification is by no means an academic exercise; it has real consequences that include:

1. The conduct of the trial process.
2. Policy oriented interpretations of what constitutes a "public place" and "threatening behaviour under the 1936 Act.
3. Deterrent sentencing directives.

1. THE TRIAL PROCESS.

A number consequences for the trial of football fans now become intelligible on the specific basis of the hooligan-typification and ascription process. First there is the perceived need for retribution to follow swiftly and be seen to do so. Unlike the political demonstrator, the hooligan mentality is projected as one which, after a few days, may have real difficulties associating crime with punishment. However it would also be consistent with other judicial comments to see this feature in a wider national context of "social defence" in which the courts want to be seen as "doing something about the problem". Perhaps it is felt that the same Sunday and Monday newspapers that carry sensationalised coverage of crowd trouble should also carry dramatic reports of the judicial response. Thus special courts can even be arranged in advance of particular games such as *Barnsley v Leeds*, *Portsmouth v Millwall*, *Chelsea v Manchester United* and so on.

Secondly, when the accused himself supplies graphic - and out of ignorance - possibly strategically exaggerated firsthand accounts of other fans behaviour and overall "mood", then this can be used against him to justify an immediate custodial sentence; (Motley, *ibid*, 275, 277). This is especially effective when combined with that of his victim. Standing out against the abstractions necessarily involved in determining the public character of a public place or the threatening character of any threatening words or conduct, both these accounts create a sense of striking immediacy. One example, taken from Bruce, will suffice:

"I saw (Bruce) get out of the car and make towards me... and I sensed he was going to attack me... as I swung my arm to hit him I saw he was swinging his right arm above his head and he had hold of a hammer... with the claw part missing... I was hit in the mouth with the hammer. I reeled under this blow... and could feel blood running and that my mouth was split. I could also feel bits of broken teeth in my mouth... I was then kicked around my legs and back. I finally fell over on to the ground and the chaps were still kicking me".

Drama and immediacy thus legitimate dramatic and immediate retribution.

2. POLICY ORIENTED STATUTORY INTERPRETATION.

1. How Public is a Private Place?

Since the mere presence of the hooligan-type, is itself a threat to the spirit and purpose of the 1936 Public Order Act, its interpretation must be adequate to this threat. Such policy interests were explicitly stated by the Lord Chief Justice as "having an influence on its proper interpretation". Caulfield also stated that to do otherwise when faced with the possibility of a highly technical definition of a "public place" would be "absurd" in its policy consequences; it could mean that: "those who are disposed to be hooligans in Halifax during a football match can delight themselves by insulting each other to the annoyance of the public providing they restrict their arguments to the speedway track that surrounds the football pitch".

This act defines a "public place" as including "any highway or any other premises or place to which at the material time the public have or are permitted to have access...". Thus in Cooper v Shield the "quite disgraceful" behaviour by a "gang of young hooligans" on a railway station was judged not to have occurred in a public place; (1971 2 All ER 917). However in Cawley's case, fenced parts of a football ground that an already segregated public were prohibited from entering and which were patrolled by stewards and police with dogs, were still judged to be "public places". This followed Brutus v Cozens (1973 A.C.854), where a violation by one of the unsegregated, unfenced and virtually unpoliced spectators of the number 2 tennis

court at Wimbledon had previously been judged to have occurred in a "public place".

However this decision was possible only because the tennis court was interpreted as "an open space". It was thus quite unlike the substantial and permanently fenced off speedway track that surrounded Halifax Town's ground where the Cawley was alleged to have used threatening behaviour. What is more it was conceded in Cawley's case that SOME parts of grounds were conceivably not "public places" even though they were situated within a total complex to which the public were admitted. For example an unguarded, unpatrolled, insubstantial and ambiguous barrier within a stadium.

2. Threatening Behaviour With No-one Threatened?

The sort of actions by football fans that can be seen as "threatening" was recently considered in Mail v Mc Dowell. Here the habitual chanting of Northampton supporters, accompanied by jumping up and down and fist waving, was initially interpreted by local magistrates as non-threatening. On appeal, the High Court judge clearly could not comprehend either this crowd behaviour or this interpretation of it in the context of "what everyone knows" about violence at football matches:

"How the Magistrates could think that a man who, in the company of others is waving his fists in the air and is jumping up and down saying "Hit them on the head with a baseball bat" and "We are going to kick your fucking heads in" was other than behaving in a threatening manner passes my comprehension".

Not only has the place where "threatening behaviour" can constitute an offence been extended on policy grounds, but so to has the context of the behaviour "likely to occasion a breach of the peace" itself. This has been done by interpreting any "intolerable" behaviour as within the scope WHETHER OR NOT IT IS POSSIBLE - LET ALONE "LIKELY" FOR ANY BREACH OF THE PEACE TO ACTUALLY OCCUR; (Mail v Mc Dowell, *ibid*). L J Donaldson was in no mood to allow the technical niceties of statutory interpretation words such as "likely to occasion" prevent him coming to a "right" result about what is "permissible":

"I am, quite frankly, appalled at the suggestion that threatening conduct which would be likely to create a breach of the peace but for the presence of a "Berlin type wall" is permissible because of the fencing placed between the two rival groups: it must be wrong. Behaviour of this sort is intolerable and because it is intolerable it is highly likely to cause a breach of the peace".

Thus the presence of an effective segregation which possibly encourages threatening words and gestures by providing a perfect excuse for confined fans not having to carry out their threats, was judged irrelevant.

So where local magistrates appear to have lost their sense of outrage over obscene and threatening chanting, and simply "appreciate" it as the accepted habits of certain groups of supporters, then they can expect a firm rebuke from the High Court. Similarly to be avoided by local magistrates is undue familiarity with, and relativistic tolerance for, the vocabulary and chanting of the hooligan-type ie. "crowd favourites sung at every home game": "The fact that Northampton Town supporters habitually behave in a threatening manner is no excuse". Failure to do this can result in magistrates having their decisions judged by the Divisional Court to be "perverse and contrary to the evidence"; (cf. Mail v Mc Dowell, ibid).

This case also implicitly suggested that a physical presence among a crowd who were chanting threats and rattling segregating fencing could, when combined with being "aware of what is going on", amount to "threatening behavior". When there is a "non-accidental presence", combined with "ample opportunity of dissociating from the group", this has been explicitly interpreted as "encouraging" or "lending support" to the group misbehaviour; (Allan, (1965) 1 Q.B 130). Such a presence is sufficient involvement in the "special case" of a cohesive crowd of rioting football fans, for a Section Five charge to be made out; (Parrish v Garfitt, 1 W.L.R. 913). Therefore the absence of "individual identification" for each of the various riotous acts of the total group need not be fatal to the prosecution case. In the most recent case of Allen v Ireland it was held that even though there was no evidence the defendant had personally taken part in the threatening behaviour of the football crowd, his voluntary presence "raised a prima facie case against him"; (1984 1 W.L.R. 903). What is

more, following the arrest of one member of a disorderly crowd of fans, the argument "why pick on me?" has been clearly held to "carry no weight" as to initial guilt or sentencing;

(Johnson, Crim L R 1975, 470).

The present position concerning what constitutes a "voluntary presence" has been partly clarified by the Civil Law. Here the onus is placed firmly on the police to establish that those people they cosh on the head with truncheons are in fact members of "a riotously determined host of hooligans" as distinct from "those irresistably borne forward by the throng"; (Connor v Chief Constable of Cambridge, T.L.R. 11/4/84). In such a case failure to make this distinction between voluntary and involuntary presence can result in an award of damages for assault. It is thus possible that - following police herding and segregation of supporters - a plausible assertion of non-voluntary presence is a more likely defence than non-involvement within a disorderly crowd.

C. SPECIAL SENTENCING DIRECTIVES?

The seriousness of an offence involving group violence appears to be assessed not just by simply the degree of participation but according to the TOTAL OUTCOME. Thus those who ARE arrested carry the responsibility for those who got away. So in Glavin et al, the fact that a fan almost died from injuries itself made the contribution of the two who were arrested a very serious matter. The level of their involvement was not even an issue once it was accepted that there was SOME involvement. In fact prior to the appeal, an onlooker to this brutal assault who, in a situation of general crowd fighting, adopted "an aggressive manner" was treated identically as those who actually delivered the kicks. In Mail v Mc Dowell the High Court ruled:

"Where football hooliganism is established the degree of involvement should be reflected in the penalty which is imposed. It should never justify a dismissal of a summons for threatening behaviour where the evidence indicates some degree of participation in that conduct".

Trivazas's research, although qualitatively ungrounded because of its second-order and positivistic projection and subsequent conceptualisation of hooliganism-as-something-truly-mathematical, is nevertheless illuminating. It implies that the judiciary take a more serious view of football hooliganism than other comparative forms of public disorder; (1980, B.J.Crim, vol.21 no.4). Through a comparison of sentences it confirms that stiffer sentences are passed for football fans compared with "similarly classified" offences occurring in other contexts. In the non-crowd offence and the political crowd groups, more absolute and conditional discharges were given 20.6% and 22% as distinct from 7.7% among football fans. Concerning fines, the research produced a similar difference - 66.7% and 67% as distinct from 81%. What is more the levels of fines of football fans was consistently high across a range of offences - 49.6% higher than for political crowd offences and 34.5% for non-crowd offences. He therefore concluded that Sir Robert Mark was confirmed in his belief that:

"Conduct that would provoke widespread condemnation in a football hooligan is condoned by the magistrates in a political demonstrator"; (1974, p.109).

By contrast our account suggests that there is no "discrepancy" here, unless one thoughtlessly projects in advance the qualitative meaning-structure of these offences as mathematically uniform and temporally frozen; and metaphysically assert that "objective" science, truth and justice are the imposed outcome of an abstract uniformity that is obtained through the elimination of "subjective distortion". Instead, the foundational task attempted here is to RENDER INTELLIGIBLE the intersubjective and temporal process of differentiation, operating in judicial discourse, from which the quantifiable "objective facts" are necessarily derived; (Heidegger, 1927/80, s.3). This means that the foundational recipes employed to perceive the threatening and violent acts of football fans as actually and potentially more serious than those of other groups are the PRIMARY object of research. This does not mean that we must violate the phenomenon of football hooliganism with a relativistic projection of it as "simple qualitative difference" in which "one man's hooligans are another's heroes". Instead, it is to uncover the process of differentiating WITHIN PRE-GIVEN IDENTITIES OF THE FOLLOWING ESSENTIAL MEANING-STRUCTURES: THE HOOLIGAN NATURE OF ANY HOOLIGANISM, THE FOOTBALLING CHARACTER OF ANY FOOTBALL HOOLIGANISM, THE PUBLIC NATURE OF ANY PUBLIC PLACE AND THE THREATENING CHARACTER OF ANY THREATENING BEHAVIOUR. Only after such foundational work do we understand what it is that is available to the tired recipes of standard quantitative research.

On the basis of the common sense judicial logic and differentiations employed above, deterrent sentencing is called for which are adequate to the character of the projected problem and the type of person who is perceived as causing it. There is after all not much point in having policy oriented statutory interpretation if the only outcome is that more fans are processed to no special effect. During the second half of the 1970's there appeared a marked determination on the part of the Court of Appeal and the High Court to impose exemplary deterrent sentences. Initially this appeared only to apply for physical violence or incitements to group violence. For instance in Johnson, a three year sentence was seen in

1975 to be "not a day too long" for a fan, with no previous offences of this type and a good home/work background. He had incited other fans to kill a policeman who was arresting him; (ibid). Here the judge stated:

"Football violence must be dealt with quite severely both as a punishment and as a deterrent to others".

Two years later in Bruce, immediate custodial sentences were held to be generally appropriate for offences of football violence. Park J expressed its consequences most clearly:

"Young persons who commit offences of violence on the occasion of football matches should have realised long ago that the courts are liable to impose custodial sentences; however good their characters may be".

This stern view was extended later in 1977 in Motley irrespective of the the age of the defendant so that 14-17 year old fans using personal violence must face custodial sentences in all but the most exceptional "mitigating circumstances". Lawton L.J:

"If they use violence to other people the probabilities are that they will not be returning to their homes for some time. We are confident that if the courts impose a penalty of this kind for the rest of this season, there may be an improvement next year".

More than this though, imprisonment was also held to be necessary for football fans of any age who CAUSE PROPERTY DAMAGE. In Motley the judges' consideration of appropriate sentencing drew upon recent history to create a sense of inevitability to this tide of retribution. He noted that in the 1977 Criminal Law Act, the government had raised the upper limit for fines. This was interpreted not as part of a law and order policy reacting against the "permissive" liberalism of the late 1960's and early 1970's, but because during the previous two or three years "the problem of order at and around football matches has had to be considered". He

charts the variety of non-custodial sentences that have been used and concludes:

"It is manifest now that that kind of sentence has not deterred the hooligans who go to football matches intent on causing disorder. Something has got to be done to make sure that this kind of conduct comes to an end".

So by 1977 the juvenile-vandal-hooligan was, in theory at least, facing a sentence that a decade earlier was tentatively imposed as a deterrence to rioting and gang assaults on the police by adults using weapons; (Baker, *ibid*). Thus a year later, a year in borstal was given to a young fan who "adopted an aggressive stance" while others around him kicked a rival fan who had "acted in a provocative manner" after a goal had been scored. Two of the fans who had participated in the kicking were imprisoned for three years; (Glavin et al, *ibid*).

Similar considerations of deterrence that set aside all mitigating factors "in the public interest", and even the same word for word justifications, were still informing general sentencing of football fans in the 1980's; (Dunphy, *ibid*; cf. Mail v Mc Dowell, *ibid*). For example, in Valentine (1981) a fan previously convicted of "an offence of hooliganism" and then of "mugging" an old man received three years imprisonment. On appeal this was held to be "within the proper range for this type of man"; (*ibid*). Also the racist element of the violent and abusive attacks on the Manchester shopkeeper and taxi driver in Fielding was interpreted as especially serious and warranting a sentence "intended to deter other young men from making racist attacks". On appeal the knowledge of the local judge concerning the frequency of this form of violence was seen as relevant to the justification of his exceptional sentence. Conversely, Squibb's use of hospitalising violence to a linesman was treated leniently - 3 months imprisonment - once the defendant managed to establish that he himself was not a hooligan-type.

4. DISOBEDIENT MAGISTRATES?

There is the perennial danger in legal analysis of concentrating on reported cases of the higher courts when most peoples' everyday encounters and awareness concern the cases tried in magistrates' courts. It is thus important to see how, if at all, interpretive and sentencing directives of the higher courts have been taken up by the magistrates.

My doctoral research based on observation work carried out at Magistrates Courts in Barnsley, Rotherham, Doncaster, Sheffield, Portsmouth, Bristol, Birmingham and Coventry between 1979 and 1985 suggests two things: the lead given by the higher courts concerning football hooliganism as to its typification and statutory interpretation is being widely followed; while the lead on the imposition of deterrent sentencing - necessarily sending the accused up to the Crown Court for final sentencing - is not.

Certainly the Mail v Mc Dowell interpretation of the wide nature of threatening behaviour does appear to be followed. One Bristol fan who in 1985 merely shouted "wanker" at a group of segregated rival fans, received an attendance centre order of 24 hours. In another case in Birmingham in January 1985, a beckoning sign directed towards visiting, but well policed, Arsenal fans attracted a 400 pound fine. Here the prosecutor indicated to the bench that the police would be most aggrieved if the particular defendant was seen to "get off" a Section Five charge. At Coventry in the same year, Mail v Mc Dowell was also referred to concerning the threatening nature of even the most apparently trivial abuse in the context of a football match. More tales of "terrified women" were cited as a consequence of the presence and violent actions of a leader-hooligan. In this context the standard defence of mis-identification as a result of poor visibility and the indistinguishable clothing of the fan proved unproductive.

Once typified as a hooligan-type one form of mitigation - previous "summary justice" - appear useless. In 1981 the bench in Doncaster appeared to totally discount the "summary justice" that had left a clear imprint of a police officer's boot on one defendant's face. This fan was claimed to have a troublesome character and to have been involved in anti-police hooliganism during the 1981 summer riots. He was remanded in custody for simply shouting abuse at fans. Questions and statements by Doncaster magistrates were informed by the idea

that the hooligan-type do not appear "to be interested in the game at all". Also on the issue of "voluntary presence" one fan was told: "There are plenty of places you can stand in the ground IF you really did not want to be involved in any trouble". While in January 1985 a Birmingham Crown Court judge asked a fan what the final score was as a "hooligan-test". He also refuted the fans claim that he was "just hanging around waiting for a bus to do some shopping" - by reminding the accused that the day of the alleged offence had been a public holiday so all the shops were closed! Again here the concern seems to focus more on the perceived "type" of the offender than the offence. In Doncaster too, conditions that prohibited attendance at football matches were also attached to bail granted following not guilty pleas. Thus the miner's belief that they are being given special treatment in this matter appears mis-informed.

One trial in Coventry concretely exemplifies the force of the overall typification process that appears in the higher courts. It also shows the very real difficulty in resisting it. Here an effort was made to refute both the general hooligan classification and the police evidence that he was a specifically a leader-hooligan who cried out to the others: "Come on let's get them!". It was claimed that his desire to AVOID trouble that motivated the fan to leave his seat and thus only apparently run at home supporters. This argument faltered when the police claim his "escape attempt" resulted in him returning to his seat two or three times. The fan's own evidence initially suggests some understanding of the ascription process. While hiding his tattooed hands he asserts that he is a bona fide supporter of Sheffield Wednesday and has been since a very young child. This assertion collapses when he fails the hooligan-test by not being able to recall which team won! Later he foolishly admits to supporting Sheffield United and only going for a day out with his mates.

As a fall back argument the defence solicitor tried to suggest that his client IF a hooligan, is really only a led-hooligan since the fighting had already started. Also he was by himself and therefore mis-identified as a leader-hooligan. This also falters in the face of police evidence and in response, the defence solicitor unsuccessfully claims, in the face of an exasperated bench, a mistake of fact or identity.

Such typification is by no means the monopoly of the judiciary, solicitors or fans. For example, in 1985 a Coventry policeman, a sergeant, stated during the trial of a football fan:

"I've been in the force for fifteen years and I can spot a trouble maker at a mile away". While the court usher commented: "Once you've seen one football hooligan you've seen them all. They all SEEM plausible". Also the prosecuting lawyer at Rotherham magistrates gave the following summary of hooligan-type, sentencing and the magistracy:

"This bench make up their minds in general and simply alter the fine up or down of between 200 and 250 pounds depending upon the offence, circumstances and previous record. There's a black Chelsea fan up today pleading not guilty. He probably thinks this is a "progressive bench" and he'll get off. I think he'll be disappointed! Even if he does he'll have to pay all his costs. This bench never give costs for Section Five cases. Such lower class offenders only think in HP terms. They'd rather have a 2000 pound fine at one pound a week, than 200 pounds at five pounds a week! Trouble will carry on while magistrates go on fining them until they show the courage to imprison, but then the Home Office would be whining about "overcrowded prisons". They don't need "treatment" because this crime is not a disease. Prison is there to deter and to keep them out of the way for a while. It has to be unpleasant".

Here we see confirmed the common sense logic exemplified in Motley to "stamp out this sort of conduct"; (cf. Baker, ibid; Wimbledon, ibid). Thus a general typification process appears to be at work in which hooliganism is seen as explicable through the presence of hooligans of various types.

Although guilty verdicts are now possibly becoming easier, deterrent sentencing is quite another matter. In 1982 imprisonment was threatened but finally community service orders imposed upon Chelsea fans who had been "trying to incite trouble" and launch gang assaults on Barnsley fans.(35) Such threats were repeated but not carried out on a robber-vandal-hooligan who ended up with 25 hours at an attendance centre.(36) Fines of between 100 and 350 pounds were imposed for Section five offences connected with the 1982 Sheffield Wednesday v Leeds and QPR v Sheffield Wednesday games.(37) Here a fan who indecently exposed himself "with the intent to insult a female" received a fine of only 35 pounds. Fines in Doncaster in 1982 for fans with previous public order convictions were as low as 100 pounds. This is in spite of repeated rhetorical flourishes by Yorkshire magistrates concerning "the disease of football

hooliganism spreading through the community" that needs "stamping out".(38)

Violence is not attracting immediate custodial sentences. In 1981 a Millwall fan who, infiltrating Doncaster supporter's bar, used "wild violence" against both local fans and police alike so that it finally took five police officers to arrest him, only received a 200 pound fine. The same court, in an "action replay" of the Glavin et al situation - kicking a rival fan who was on the ground - had to deal with a fan whose previous record included firearm offences, burglary and a previous fine for soccer violence. He too did not receive an immediate custodial sentence, while two others only received 100 and 200 pound fines. Two Doncaster fans with previous convictions who with four others, had attacked a police officer after chanting "Kill Kill Kill" left the court with 150 and 200 hundred pound fines. A similar offence in Bristol in which a policeman was alleged to have been assaulted in 1985 only attracted a 175 pound fine and a "ticking off" for the "silly" fan.

Contrary to Bruce and Motley, quite unexceptional mitigation pleas are also still being taken extremely seriously. Following a conviction for threatening words and then a dramatic plea by the defendants custodian, a 75 pound fine was imposed upon a Doncaster fan in 1981. In Bristol four years later, smart dress and the presence of a conventional looking parent plus standard "sincere apologies" etc. appears still to cut a great deal of ice. For example, one missile throwing fan only received 175 pound fine, while another 24 hours at an attendance centre. This was greeted with amazed laughter from friends of the accused in the gallery. Such a lenient sentence was imposed despite a prosecutor's stress on the frequency of this behaviour which the court itself called "very serious". One drunken unemployed fan who had abused the police after throwing a bottle, but was accompanied by a parent, was fined a 175 pounds and told by Bristol magistrates:

"This leniency is due to your financial position and does not reflect this court's harsh disapproval".

By contrast, a 36 hour attendance centre order was imposed upon a scruffy, defiant fan appearing without the presence of his parents who pleaded guilty to merely swearing at the police officer who was arresting his brother. This defendant was also threatened with

imprisonment if he re-offended.

S.22: WHEN HOOLIGANISM IS MEANT AS A PROBLEM OF X, Y AND Z, WHAT IS THE STRUCTURE OF THIS

MEANING?

The wording of the above title is not accidental; it raises the question not of what is signified by "football hooliganism", but what is the meaningful character of its various meanings and interrelations of meaning? In other words there are two things intended when we talk about "the problem of football hooliganism": football hooliganism as a problem in the sense of X, Y and Z for example, and the structure of these meanings themselves on whose basis it is possible to speak meaningfully at all; (Husserl, 1907/64, p.17-18).

At this level we can ask: how can the character of these meanings which common sense consciousness lives through unreflectively, be disclosed? What is the relation between real acts of consciousness, ie. anticipating, perceiving, judging, recalling etc. and the real events in and around football matches that are anticipated, perceived, judged, and recalled as "hooliganism"? Are the meanings of football hooliganism themselves "real", "unreal" or neither? Do we mean the "same" thing when each of us sees an incident from differing physical and cognitive perspectives? Further, how is it that we can understand two incidents occurring at different times and involving different sets of supporters as "more of the same"? If the meaning of hooliganism is so general, then how is it possible for me to still refer to, and be understood by others as referring to this-here-now unique experience of mine as one of hooliganism? At the other pole of generality, what in this context is the relation between the concrete meaning-components and those universal essential-meaning-structures which they exemplify but not exhaust, ie. the violent character of hooliganism as a problem of soccer violence and so on?

Such questions may offend the "sound common sense" of law and order politicians and the infinite thoughtlessness of positivist criminology, yet if their knee-jerk reaction is to be intelligible to others or themselves it can only be so on the basis of the structures which are here under scrutiny. Such outrage tells us something the character of the consciousness/meaning/reality interrelation; namely that the meaning of hooliganism does not itself explicitly appear in our everyday common sense perceptions, judgements, anticipations and recollections of it. It is not the meaning which is perceived or judged, nor is the

character of perceiving or the judging made evident; (Husserl, 1907/64, p.13).

In this attitude there is no awareness that it is only through our pre-understanding of this meaning that we are aware of something intelligibly perceived, judged, anticipated or recalled. Instead both the specific meaning and its structure as a meaning are lived through but glossed over; (Husserl, 1913, s.88). Thus when The Sun perceived rampaging Millwall fans as "packs of lunatic animals" at Luton in March 1985, this was presented as a direct "receipt" of "what happened" in the reality which it merely reported upon; (15/3/85). The directedness of this common sense perception passes through the intelligible character of any "rampage", what constitutes the mental health of any animal, the animality of football fans on to that which is meant by these meanings, or the distinctive modes through which these meanings are presented. Here common sense manages to dispense with any concern for that which is indispensable - even for self-awareness of its own thoughtlessness; (Husserl, 1907/64, p.9, p.27).

Regardless of this lack of self-consciousness, every perception, perceptual judgement, judgement etc. about football hooliganism presents it as something meant as X, Y and Z to the consciousness of the person who perceives, judges and so forth; (Husserl, 1931, s.90). Glossed over or not, the meaning remains a component phase of any possible real experience of football hooliganism. It is an inescapable aspect of its meaningful reality for the person who experiences crowd trouble. The perceptual meaning of soccer violence parallels the structure of our perceiving events as "soccer violence"; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.128). Thus our making sense out of the sometimes chaotic events around football grounds by perceiving them as "hooliganism" rather than say "high spirits", is an exact correlate to the sense which is made. Without this meaning-content the experience would be totally indeterminate, ie, of "something or other". In order to even grasp the meanings at all we must reverse this self-oblivion of common sense consciousness by making consciousness "turn back upon itself". In other words consciousness needs to address our experience of perceiving some events as "football hooliganism", to address our experience of judging these events "appalling", "outrageous", "sickening" etc. and ask "how is such an experience possible?". Here consciousness of crime becomes truly concrete by reflecting upon its own operations; (Husserl, 1929, s.150). We have already seen above that in order to avoid the common sense "glossing

over" of meaning in favour of that which is meant, we must "bracket out" our continual projection of the "obvious reality" of "hooligans" as part of the furniture of the physical world. The meaning here still survives. More than just "survive", the very sense in which hooliganism exists as a cultural residue, now comes into focus in its own right; (Husserl, 1953, s.150; 1907/64, p.3, p.5; see 5.2 above).

If I want to comprehend the sense in which soccer violence exists, I cannot do so all at once. This inability is not due to any stupidity on my part but because this determination is made up of a series of phases. In fact it is itself a "core" within a complex of phases on which further phases can build; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.90). This core prescribes just one "conception" of soccer hooliganism, the "sense" it has for us when we conceive it. Each meant object, ie. a fan's scar, can be prescribed by more than one core. The complete meaning necessarily embraces, but is not exhausted by this core. Other components are derived from the mode through which the meaning appears. While my anticipation, perception and recollection of the soccer violence at Reading in 1983 presented an identical core-sense of "racist violence", other components of the overall meaning bore the hallmarks of their presentational acts. Here anticipated "racist violence" appeared in an unfilled outline form; perception presented the same core sense but with an embodied outline partially "filled" with sensory contents; the same sense was presented - or rather re-presented - by my later recollection but without the barrage of sensory contents directly impinging upon my senses; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.91, s.99, s.117; 1929/69, s.107c). Each different presentational mode thus leaves its distinctive stamp upon non-core aspects of the one total meaning it "entertains".

Other non-core components bestowed on an incident prescribed by its "core" include varying degrees of attention, evidential clarity, modes of belief, temporal position and spatial subject-relatedness; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.103). For example, while perceiving the violence at Luton I was particularly concerned with the racial features, while the victim's friends were more concerned with his physical safety and wellbeing. Attention is directed on the basis of these pre-given concerns so that different aspects "stand out" accordingly.

We can also illustrate the belief-component concretely. On the basis of several years experience of travelling with Millwall fans, I initially saw the above incident as "certainly racist". However, others may well have perceived: possible, supposed, conjectured,

questionable and fictional and doubted "racist violence". Each and every degree of belief grades itself by that which it points towards - the possibility of complete certainty. Hence this component of the sense of football hooliganism is a position-taking vis a vis its degree of evident truth. Differences in the evidential weight of such determinations are always subject to conscious revision within this truth-orientation. This conscious activity always take place upon the basis of a passively believing-consciousness - a simple pre-judicative "having" of an already constituted sense of "what happened" - that is subsequently revised. It also requires cognitive interest evidenced by attentional concern for the meaning's complete determination, ie. its truth; (Husserl, 1948, s.7).

Such attention necessitates consciousness maintaining or placing other passively pre-given determinations in the evidential "background" so as to focus in upon one aspect of "what happened". If this trader subsequently checked up upon the strong racist following of Millwall, he could then have revised the "weight" given to the racial aspect of his assault. Equally later attacks upon white residents by the same "crew" resulted in my sense of "what happened" to the trader changing to "probable racist violence". Another non-core component was the spatial subject-relatedness of the incident, ie. as itself "near", "too close for comfort", "not near enough to see whether he was still alive" etc. This aspect of the total sense of hooliganism also appears related to its evidential weight and subjective concerns for the clarity and fullness of its perceptual self-evidence.

By virtue of this core we are presented with that incident just and only just as it actually appears with all its specific determinations and meant properties, ie. "inter-racial", appearing in a certain mode, ie. as recalled, perceived etc., and from a definite "subjective" perspective, ie. "law and order", "criminological" etc. Thus if we return to the example of the Asian in Luton battered by a West Indian Millwall fan (see S.12 above), my perception of "what happened" in this incident, that of the Asian's friends and other Millwall fans could well have had different "cores" derived from our varied physical and cognitive interests. The core sense for me was "inter-racial-violence-as-good-research-material" and not "the-violation-of-a-friend". Also two of his friends, one perceiving the incident through a smashed upstairs window, another from inside the pool room would by virtue of their different physical positions, have grasped a "core" with different features, even though they

both perceived "a-friend's-violation". If all parties recalled exactly their perceptions of "what happened" then the recalled core would be identical to the perceived core but other aspects of the total meaning would have changed due to the difference in their modes of presentation.

Yet by characterising this incident by the total meaning, all parties could refer to the "same" perceived incident. Furthermore I could compare this attack with other racist violence by Millwall fans at Wimbledon in 1982 and Reading in 1983. Here there is a joining together at a higher level of generality so that the Luton violence appeared as "more of the same". Also if I anticipate more racist violence, the sense here is a proposition that is directed towards a generalised "state of affairs" with a propositional structure; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.94). This is not the same sense present in the Asian's anticipation of once again being beaten up next time Millwall pay an unwelcome visit to Luton. His sense is merely directed towards one possible incident.

We must not confuse the total sense in which hooliganism exists with an essential meaning-structure. Activation of these more general structures within a particular consciousness of soccer hooliganism determines the violent character of any soccer violence, the criminality of any crime committed by a football fan and so forth. To grasp this essential-structure requires a distinct form of intuition involving the disciplined variation of possible meanings before a entirely reflective consciousness. This reveals the invariant structure and its structuring laws. Another crucial distinction is that while the violent character of any soccer violence can have particulars beneath it, ie. "murderer", "psychopathic murderer" etc., the determination "hooliganism" has component parts or "moments" but not lower level particulars. The vandal-hooligan is neither a lower nor higher level exemplification than "killer-hooligan". Clearly the meaning of hooliganism exemplifies these wider sense-structures but it does not exhaust any one of them. There can be no meaningful experience without activation of a universal essential meaning-structure; while no such structure can materialise itself outside of a particular meaning - we can never directly perceive "football hooliganism as such"; (Adorno, 1982, p.109-14).

While a witness to the events at Luton may have perceived fans charging around, kicking one another, smashing property, brandishing weapons and so forth as part of the unpleasant reality

of "football hooliganism", this total meaning is not itself real. It certainly is directed towards these actual activities, but it cannot itself be charged at, kicked, smashed or threatened. The meaning of hooliganism further distinguishes itself from the events meant as hooliganism since the one event can have quite different meanings depending on peoples' perspectives and concerns. At the same time its presence to the flowing consciousness of a witness is a real subjective event. A sense of imminent trouble appears through specific imaginings, anticipations and other acts of consciousness that "harbour" this sense. These subjective events are the real contents of potential victims' consciousness; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.88). So despite being correlates of real subjective events, their contribution to the total meaning remains "irreal"; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.99; see below).

The meaning of football hooliganism although not itself real, is nonetheless bound to experienced reality on both the "objective" and "subjective" poles. At the objective pole we must distinguish the meaning of hooliganism from the activities and events meant as hooliganism. The real activities and events present to our experience a stubborn, independent and transcendent reality that can in no way be thought or willed away. A policeman kicked unconscious by fans does not experience the incident's termination; instead he experiences the fading out of his awareness of its further quite independent continuation. Likewise whether a scar on a fan's face is perceived as a "disfigurement-to-be-concealed" or a "combat-wound-to-be-proud-of", the size, colour and prominence of the actual scar intended by both interpretations, defiantly persists according to its own causal style. Thus the real activities, events and consequences meant as hooliganism do not have the stamp of mind - either individual or cultural.

However we can be conscious of the real activities and consequences of football hooliganism only upon the basis of a pre-understood sense of what these activities signify. Here the intelligibility of such actions and consequences is prescribed by this pre-understanding which is entertained by consciousness. Further the intelligibility for our consciousness of this "independence", "transcendence" and "causal style" is itself pre-constituted by a historically specific culture and reconstituted by individual consciousness. THAT the existence of these activities and events are transcendent of individual or collective consciousness is undeniable; HOW this transcendence appears and is constituted as such within its appearing to

and through culture is extremely problematic. Thus our assertion of the independent reality of perceived hooliganism refers us to back to perceptual experience through which this reality presents itself as it is, ie. independent etc; (Husserl, 1907/64, p.6, p.11, p.32). From such "subjective" processes the sense in which the real activities perceived as hooliganism exist is constituted. Here constituted intelligibility is itself possible only because consciousness itself is essentially directed towards the objective reality that embodies/houses it, provides the basis from which it starts and mediates its aim. This direction is essentially through presentational acts and the mediation of pre-given meanings that these acts entertain. Thus to concretely make evident the transcendence of these events with respect to the consciousness and pre-given meanings of any witness or victim, necessarily involves an analysis of those very acts and meanings through which this transcendence defiantly presents itself.

Such analysis "goes against the grain". This directedness of consciousness in its common sense attitude towards transcendent reality, accounts for its remarkable self-oblivion - and thus the continuing incomprehension of foundational concerns and analysis even within academia.

After such negative distinctions, we can now characterise the form of football hooliganism's meaning as being "irreal". Because of the naive realism of common sense - bolstered further by the "materialism" of positivist criminology - the very idea of "irreality" is difficult to grasp. Concretely it signifies that unlike the real events that are meant, the meaning of hooliganism does not fill time and space, it has no chemical or material composition, nor is it governed by causal connections. Its determinations are not visible because they have no real properties; (Husserl, 1948, s.64). As cultural constructs they necessarily bear the stamp of social consciousness. The irreal existence of this sense does not though necessarily entail the real existence of the prescribed hooligans. Nor does it imply a one-to-one correlation of meanings with that which they intend. If football hooliganism stopped tomorrow its meaning would endure allowing us to re-identify any revival.

Thus concrete experience resists both the reduction of the objective pole to that of the level of cultural meanings and any contact with the reality of hooliganism that is not thoroughly mediated by cultural significations. Therefore the idea of a "materialist approach" to the significant existence of crime is quite absurd - like trying to weigh a number. In short I could perceive hooliganism at Luton only because my perceptual consciousness was already directed towards my surrounding world, already "armed" with a singular pre-understanding of its irreal meaning. This meaning itself prescribed a certain range of meant realities as its "target" while remaining distinct from these realities themselves.

Conversely as objective, that is to say intersubjective, irrealities, this level of signification cannot be reduced to the "subjective" pole ie. a flux of private, psychic events. Meaning is not personally invented by an individual subject out of nothing with each and every perception or anticipation of football hooliganism. Nor does it "die out" when our attention switches to other events - it remains abstract to such concrete flux. Meaning may not be real in the sense of having material being, but it is more enduring than fleeting acts

of consciousness or the changing events actually meant; (Husserl, 1907/64, p.9). Throughout the streaming of consciousness and acts of perception, perceptual judgement, recollection, anticipation, imagining and linguistic expression that entertain hooliganism, this sense retains an objective integrity and identity; (Husserl, 1907/64, p.25).

The reduction to psychic flux is further refuted by our experience of communicating meaning to others who find it intelligible on the basis of their own pre-understandings of what football hooliganism signifies. Even though not a witness to soccer violence these others can still, by virtue of the ideality of meaning, honestly say "I know what you mean". Non-intuitive linguistic expression are then possible because of the abstract objectivity of meaning; (Hegel, 1807/49, p.431). Undoubtedly these are re-affirmed or negated through their selection or non-deployment in expressions of individual consciousness and cultural expression. Yet their prior availability is not due to any one person's "invention" because individualised meaning is already intersubjective. Thus every determination of crowd activities as "football hooliganism" is a selective interpretation that re-constitutes a pre-given sense. This sense is itself drawn from already objectively constituted meanings.

This constituted/constituting relation can be shown concretely. At Luton in March 1985 mentioned earlier, I saw the repeated clubbing of an Asian trader who was already unconscious while another West Indian Millwall fan jumped up and down on his head. I perceived this as "brutal", as "over the top", as "inter-racial violence" as "good research material" and so on. Yet these pre-given meanings were already determined and pre-understood as part of my cultural heritage and tradition. They were present to my individual consciousness but their meaning was never "in" my consciousness in the same way that an arrested supporter was "in" a police van; (Husserl, 1907/64, p.25). Perceiving this incident as "brutal" does not mean that my consciousness engulfs or absorbs a sense of "brutality" so that it is brought in from outside. Intersubjective culture cannot have an "outside" or "inside" because consciousness is essentially non-spatial; (Hegel, 1807/49, preface). "Brutality" as a determination of culture was no more "in" my consciousness than the violence itself was; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.97). There is no leap from a boxed-in "subject" to a subjectless external "object" followed by an instant return journey. Therefore although present to perceptual consciousness, the meaning of football hooliganism cannot be reduced to the contingent psychic real events of conscious

life.

Because it is intrinsically related to both "subjective" and "objective" realities, our sense of hooliganism maintains a relation to subjectively lived-through time, as well as the objective time clocks measure. All the modes of consciousness that present hooliganism as something-continually-meant-as-the-same-in-coinciding-recollections necessarily take place over lived-time. Each act has a definite duration of lived-time, however short. This duration is comprised of a series of "now-points" each connected to others in a stream of consciousness that preserves the temporal position of each act's phase; (Husserl, 1907/64, p.9).

The possibility of enduring-as-the-same is an aspect of what hooliganism as a real series of activities means; (Husserl, 1928, p.461). Consciousness of this endurance is founded upon the duration of consciousness itself insofar as each perception of an incident sinks back in consciousness from being "now" to a "retained-just-now" to a retained-retention etc. Their coincidence unifies phases of the "same" incident involving the "same" fans. Each presentational act involves a re-identification of a pre-given meaning ie. "racism", "violence", "hooliganism etc. and thus a "drawing upon" the retained past to constitute the present sense of "what is now happening"; (Husserl, 1907/64, p.9).

Thus an exact repeat of a violent assault by football fans upon a trader does not appear as a simple "duplication" of the first assault's significance for him. Instead even as the kicks crack his rib cage, the significance of what is now happening to him is determined upon the basis of sedimentations of sense from the earlier attack. ie. perhaps as "the last straw", as "yet more trouble from Millwall fans" etc. Here sedimentations of sense can have different layers with intricate and typically passive associations between them. As a result an assault by fans can be determined as a distinct footballing phenomenon or as one exemplification of a more general "wave of violence". Insofar as the re-constitution of this repeat assault involves a passive re-activation of past determinations, we can refer to a "genetic constitution" of "what happened"; (Husserl, 1929/69, p.184).

Also consciousness of hooliganism involves a projecting ahead of the present definite predelineations that anticipate actual contents. Part of this phenomenon's present meaning is this continual moving towards its own predelineated outline form which is then either "filled"

or left as an unfulfilled "empty" anticipation of crowd trouble. At any one time our sense of crowd trouble from soccer fans contains indeterminacies, ie. elements of its meaning lacking total determination, certainty and evidential clarity. Yet our consciousness is directed towards these within an overarching truth-orientation. This orientation projects unfulfilled elements as "deficiencies-to-be-fulfilled". The form of sense-fulfilment is prescribed by its presentational mode. Thus when I perceived the possible death of the Asian trader at Luton, fulfilment would have had to have been perceptual - fortunately its annulment later took place; judgements about the causes of such soccer violence require fulfilment of its "aim" in concrete perceptual judgements and so forth.

Fulfilment is never total since there always remains a surplus of possible sense over actual presence. Ever new horizons and horizons of horizons continually open up because each fulfilling determination is never itself fully determinate. Further fulfilment has certain social pre-conditions. Within our present era of institutionalised positivism which is characterised by the slow death of God and traditions of meaning, there has been a progressive devaluation of the sense in which we - as the subjects of any possible experience - exist. Hence truth as fully evidenced meaning has been systematically put into reverse; (Husserl, 1936/70, Luckmann, 1973). We saw above that the absurd attempt to relativise the crime experience, and therefore itself, by reference to differing meanings - itself a symptom of our current crisis - is undermined by the teleological truth orientation of these very same meanings. Further at both the institutional and cognitive levels there is absolutely no necessity for the unfulfilled elements to be even seen as such let alone truly realised. After all as possibilities for a meaningful life they cannot be baptised as positive-facts-for-scientific-truth; (see S.8 above).

The presence of hooliganism is then a "spreading" with references to its retained past and anticipated future phases that centre around the flow of a present "now-point". There is a complex interplay within this temporal horizon between fans' past "reputations" reactivated in the present in order to explicitly anticipate future trouble. Here the past reputation is experienced as being ahead of the present, yet setting standards to which their present levels of violence can "live up to". Thus part of the meaning of the violence at Luton was its simultaneous re-activation, confirmation and further projection of Millwall's reputation for

crowd trouble that dates back as far as 1920. So while not itself temporal, its enduring presence to consciousness is possible only through our consciousness "holding-fast" over lived-time to this theme. The events which are "held-fast" to - and thus meant by consciousness as hooliganism - themselves take place over and occupy calculable slices of clock-time with a definite before, during and after position.

It follows that the sense in which football hooliganism exists stands midway between subjective and objective realities and their respective modes of temporality. This double temporal relatedness does not negate the fundamentally atemporal irreality of this sense. What it signifies is that the presence of hooliganism to intersubjective culture cannot be accounted for outside a horizon of both "subjective" time-consciousness and consciousness of "objective" temporality. Here both the SECONDARY CONSTITUTION in individual consciousness and the prior cultural construction, can be systematically de-constructed and their sense-history in consciousness re-covered by reflective self-consciousness oriented towards their originating source; (Husserl, 1929/69, p.215).

The interweaving complexities involved in this correlation are as remarkable as they are opaque, ie. present anticipations of recalled hooliganism, past recollections of anticipated hooliganism etc. all founded upon the temporal structure of consciousness itself. The total meaning of football hooliganism appears in the present, but its presence includes continual modifications and gradations of an anticipated future and a retained just-past. The presence of these determinations which spread between the subjective and objective temporal realities that jointly "harbour" them, cannot, contrary to positivism, be reduced to that which is merely factually present. Instead, the factually present needs to be grasped in terms of presence.

In short, this analysis has tried to undercut common sense by reflecting upon the meaning of soccer hooliganism as a meaning-form and as a prelude to the investigation of its contents. A strict correlation between presentational acts of consciousness and the meaning of hooliganism they presented was discovered. This meaning presented itself as made up of core and non-core components, that related respectively to the exact particulars of what is meant for certain subjects and the stamp of their presentational acts. The non-core component including its attentional focus, belief-factor, spatial subject-relatedness and temporal

position appeared vital to the evidential character of experienced hooliganism. Only by virtue of their combination in a total meaning were exchanges of perspectives upon events perceived as the "same" possible. Yet the meaning of hooliganism did not present itself as an essential meaning-structure because it had no particulars beneath its singularity and required no reflective variation of particulars to distil its essential core.

The total meaning must also be distinguished from the temporal flux of both fans' objectively real activities and our psychological acts and events that bestow the pre-understood meaning of football hooliganism upon these events. This meaning can be positively characterised as "irreal" insofar as it is doubly bound to subjective and objective poles of experienced hooliganism without being reducible to either. Irreality implies ideal rather than real properties, a definite enduring identity and a cultural objectivity across a whole series of specific temporal activities and psychological acts and events. Also implied is a temporal relatedness to both objective clock time and lived time whose horizons provide the possibility conditions for its presence - yet what is presented remains irreducible to either form of temporality. The identity of sense is an outcome of temporal unification involving a drawing upon the retained present, tradition and a projected unfulfilled future. Cognition and constitution of sense showed itself as always incomplete re-cognition and re-constitution.

The full determination of meaning promised by the truth-orientation of its presence is neither assured nor likely under present social conditions of institutionalised positivism. Yet in principle both the initial and secondary construction of this meaning by intersubjective culture and culturally embedded individual consciousness can be fully re-traced and re-covered. Here what is re-traced is a series of many layered sedimentations of sense founded upon any originating institution of sense, subsequently "buried" by the historical sedimentation process.

PART TWO

NOETIC ANALYSIS

CHAPTER THREE: NOETIC ANALYSIS

5.23: THE NEED TO TRANSCEND NOEMATIC ANALYSIS.

This text began with an extended methodological discussion followed by a concrete application of noematic analysis, ie. sense-explication. This explication aimed at overcoming the contradiction between our abstract analysis and its own notion of truth as complete determination and concrete mediation. So far so good but is this enough? We have already found that foundational research cannot accept at a theoretical level the idea of validity as a mere duplication of established sense. Yet for apparently sound theoretical reasons we have gone on to explicate the established sense of hooliganism as a problem. Surely this invalidates either the theorising or the explication or both!

This objection would be true if truth was itself static, a matter of accurate propositions. But it is not; it is a process involving the disclosure, disowning and supersession of contradictions in a totalising process of evermore concrete determination. Thus for reasons which are only now really clear, the explication of constituted meaning appears as both necessary and insufficient.

The perceptive and reflective reader will have already noted an escalating tension between the explicated meaning of hooliganism's already constituted-sense and its implication of a constituting process; (Husserl, 1925/77, p.21). This process continually (re)constitutes its cultural presence as so constituted by acts of meaning-bestowal. This implication is not an external determination of hooliganism read gratuitously into it; rather it is an aspect of its very sense as a sense. Primordial implication is thus a clue present to any reflective consciousness of constituted meaning, that reflects upon its structure AS a constituted-sense. Therefore this pointing beyond itself is more primordial than the meaning-contents explicated above.

The presence of implicit primordiality requires foundational research to go one stage further. We are like explorers who, after painstakingly removing various sedimentations, have discovered the top (or perhaps bottom) of some indeterminate structure that points towards its full determination and truth. Our task now is to explicate the presentational acts

through which the presence of the above meanings are made-present by consciousness to consciousness. Below we examine hooliganism as anticipated, as perceived and as recollected. Again we do not try to be totally comprehensive and have not considered in their own right hooliganism as imagined, as judged or as signified by language. These are crucial realms of future enquiry - ones left to future researchers.

In fact linguistic signification of hooliganism is absolutely central to its continuing cultural presence. This is because the ideality of hooliganism's meaning is possible only by way of such signification. Yet language itself requires a phenomenal grounding in terms of its presence/presencing to consciousness. Further, truth has already appeared not as language expressing its linguistic character, but as self-consciousness of temporal constitution and thus time.

Therefore we have selected those presentational acts which comprise the immediate temporal horizon of hooliganism's presence - its presence as emerging towards the present via anticipation, as itself present in the present via perception and present as past via recollection. By contrast linguistic expression is a symbolic non-intuitive presence fulfilled only through imagination. Compare perceiving the sex-act in the first person with reading about it! Hooliganism as imagined is itself a neutralised presence that presents events and activities "as if" they were being perceived. It thus presupposes a neutralised perceived sense. Similarly judgements about hooliganism - its value-predicates, true nature, consequences, causes etc. - presuppose an already constituted pre-predicative sense, ie. that which is being judged as X, Y and Z; (Husserl, 1948). Our selectivity is not therefore arbitrary but is founded upon the structure of that which is being selected.

Following our earlier analysis of the noematic structure of soccer violence's meaning (S.22), we will examine the noetic character of hooliganism's presence. In other words, the noetic character of any noetic act.

S.24: THE ACT CHARACTER OF NOETIC ACTS.

"Noesis" stems from Greece; it means the constructing activity of consciousness. For our purposes it signifies all acts of consciousness that present to consciousness hooliganism as something meant. In this sense noetic acts "bestow"/"constitute" meaning. These acts are not to be confused with the real actions and events seen as hooliganism. These are presentable in principle to consciousness through acts, yet they display a stubborn and irreducible transcendence to consciousness. Real crowd activities and events appear to consciousness as correlates of acts and convergent processes of consciousness that retain their integrity as identical units. They occupy objective time and space, while the acts that present them take place over lived-time and have no spatial character whatsoever.

Does this mean that noetic analysis is about psychological motivations? Definitely not. However much our perceptions, anticipations and judgements about soccer violence may vary with contingent subjective interests, concerns and practical commitments; their perceptual, anticipatory, judgemental and subject-related character are non-contingent and can be studied in their universality. Noetic analysis addresses the nature of various modes, the judgemental character of any legal judgement, the role of perception in perceptual judgements, the relation between founding perceptions and judgments, the connection and interconnection of acts in rational theorising etc. Noetic analysis thus concerns itself not with constituted sense, but with the MODES through which it appears, the stamp they leave upon the non-core element of sense, their evidential importance, their relation and interrelation with one another within complex manifolds and act-horizons.

The non-existence of any particular crowd activity or event is no obstacle to its being prescribed by a meaning intended by various acts. Thus we can envisage the worst possible sort of soccer violence without implying the reality of that which is envisaged. However an unknown incident that is quite indeterminate can never appear as such other than as potentially knowable and determinable.

We have already seen that the noema was irreducible to particular acts that presented it to consciousness. Also we found that our sense of hooliganism can appear as the same through

different modes, ie. as perceived, recollected etc. (S.22). However even within one mode such as judgement, the same sense can be presented differently. For example a soccer fan can be found guilty of using "threatening words and behaviour" by three magistrates on quite different grounds, ie. on the basis of the evidence alone, because he "looks the type" or because of his "defiant manner" of addressing the court.(1) Thus a noetic diversity can yield a noematic unity.

In one sense the meaning of hooliganism can be said to depend upon presentational acts in that hooliganism is what it is experienced to be only through systematic groupings of acts. Hooliganism exists as something meant with that specific sense with which it presents itself through, or which is bestowed upon it by, these groups of acts; (Husserl, 1933/77, p.21, p.37). Hooliganism has just those determinations and qualities with which it presents itself through actual and possible acts having an experiential and presentational function with respect to it.

For our purposes, noetic analysis is an investigation into the constitution / presentation of the sense in and through which hooliganism exists for us. The acts of consciousness that are reflected upon are reducible to neither real transcendent events nor to ideal intersubjective meanings. They are always the acts of a specific subject, yet their essential character is not determined by the contingent psychology of the individual subject.

Acts can include emotional qualities such as wishing, desiring, hating, rejoicing and liking. Other non-cognitive affective matter are need and habitual actions / responses. Such affective matters appear to be more primordial than cognitive elements of questioning, supposing, deducing etc. They are also more opaque, diffuse and shadowy to reflective consciousness and leave room for indefinite possibilities for self-questioning and interpretation. Despite such vagueness, their indeterminate structure - like all immanent data - purports determinability. Further, their intentional structure itself is only completed upon this determination. For example, the operation of the will to recognition / power is intentional insofar as there is a strict correlation between the recognising of fans' reputations and that which is recognised; yet this structure's operation is not transparent, nor is there any evidence that it is already completely performed prior to be evidenced in

reflection.

However opaque, indeterminate or affective, all acts are the acts of a subject who performs them. The subject is that which anticipates in all anticipations of soccer violence, who does the perceiving, recollecting, expressing etc. Co-present here is an implicit "I have, I can, I can do otherwise" selfconsciousness. In other words, the willing of a wilful subject. Such willing in mundane consciousness can never be "free" in the sense of a totally unrestrained choice resting entirely upon itself. Even the spontaneity of imagined hooliganism is bounded by both the given/giving structure of imagining itself and the operation of primordial, unchosen and opaque desire, need, habitual concerns and interests. Even in phenomenological reflection upon this primordial level, I am never free of my pre-cognitive self. Contrary to existentialist melodramas, noetic analysis is by no means a simple disclosure/celebration of "freedom" (cf. Sartre, 1946); it is embodied consciousness thinking, as best it can, its own real limits.

Further the belief factor, ie. certainty/doubt, addressed earlier (S.12) as part of the meaning also appears as a non-independent element of the act, ie. holding-to-be-certain / doubtful. Doubting can represent a mode of transition to a negating annulment of a previously posited sense of "what is happening". Equally it can be an enduring state in which various possibilities are each in turn compared with the intuitive evidence. Thus at Luton in 1985, I found myself between two sets of indeterminate supporters who were hurling missiles at each other. As I perceived each group I was trying to connect recollections of Millwall fans with those which I perceived. In each case it is not the perceivedness of the evidence that was doubted nor that of the determination "us" and "them", but whether that which I (certainly) perceived as (certainly) either us or them were in fact Millwall fans. Neither group ruled itself out due to clothing, regional accents, behaviour and so on.

Doubting here was an oscillation between possibilities driven by the indeterminacy of evidence vis a vis a posited determination. In this oscillation perceptions of each group as "us" and "them" overlapped and interpenetrated with one another with neither confirmed nor denied, and each possessing a certain degree of (evidential) "weight". The perception of one group as "us" had superimposed upon it another as "them", yet both positings were founded upon the "same" complex and core of sense-data. This core was bifurcated by my doubting that added

a reciprocal displacement.

Each conflicting (positing) perception had anticipatory references to the other possibility. These prevented my consciousness from "settling" with either possible perception, or from accepting both of them. While one positing oriented towards the common core as "them" was displaced, it was not annulled so much as forced into the background as I saw the nearest group as (possible) Millwall fans. It was thus still retentively available for the subsequent displacement of this positing. Its retentional presence was still sufficient so as to "obstruct" the fulfilment of the evidence as "us".

Further obstructed was my cognitive interest in harmonious confirmation and perceptual order. This interest was itself determined by my overriding concern not to get hurt - least of all by Millwall fans. Here the cognitive "pull" from one positing to another was accompanied by a sense of both (founded) cognitive and (founding) physical insecurity. I perceived myself as passively being pulled, of suffering from the results of my own doubting, as being acted upon. This was despite the fact that the doubting itself, in contrast to "normal" perceiving, was accompanied by experienced ego-activity. Prior to my doubting, the scene on the street had taken shape without any (self)consciousness of ego-activity, ie. a wilful construction of the scene as "a dark road", etc.

Thus we can distinguish acts which merely present a sense of dread - say to a local resident at Luton when Millwall are playing there - from those which affirm the dreadfulness of some Millwall fans. Here the presentational function is not a separate act; it is a component of any act. Each and every act is individualised by its distinctive manner of directedness towards particular (real or non-real) themes through specific (irreal) meanings. Thus my perception of events at Luton as undoubtedly hooliganism of a most serious kind, is individualised by its perceptuality, the sense it presented, and the specific reality it perceived. There are an infinite number of possible combinations here. Such contingent individualisation is non-individual - part of the act character of any act; (Husserl, 1929/69, p.120, p.153).

Contingency also relates to the contents but not presence of sensations. These are an essential element of perceived hooliganism that distinguishes this mode from linguistic significations in the press. For essential reasons there can be no contingent sensations in

such signification; whereas there can be no perception without them. Through perception, perspectives upon the incident itself are directly presented to consciousness; in signification a non-intuitive presence occurs indirectly via a sign that re-presents a possible perception. Sensations may still be present in signification but as quite arbitrary "stand-ins". Unlike those of perception, the sound-sensations of the word "hooliganism" bear a necessary relation neither to the events that were heard AS hooliganism, nor to the presented sense of hooliganism. It is thus not the presentation per se but the WAY that a sense is presented, that distinguishes the various acts from one another.

Before we deepen our analysis by investigating sense-constitution, a summary of the character of noetic analysis and the presentational acts it investigates may be useful. Noetic analysis is necessary because hooliganism as a constituted sense implies a process of constituting as an aspect of its very sense that cannot be unfolded by the noematic analysis that discloses this implication. We need to account for the fact that a specific and temporal sensuous complex is presented and transformed into a significant whole referring beyond itself by subjectively real acts of consciousness which act as bearers of non-specific, atemporal and unreal meaning.

Each act has both its own (real or ideal) target, ie. violent events in and around soccer grounds, and a meaning that proscribes the intelligibility of that target as "hooliganism". Acts exhibit a class-structure as acts which are irreducible to psychological contingency. Different classes of act can have the same meaning, while different meanings can refer to the one incident. Even within one class of act, an identical meaning can be intended in different manners. What individualises various acts is their distinctive manner of presenting meaning to consciousness.

Acts contain and are motivated by (founding) non-cognitive, as well as (founded) cognitive matter. Also there are non-cognitive acts in their own right such as desiring, willing and fearing, whose character and operation are by no means translucent. All acts are willed acts of a performing subject and in this sense self-referring; yet, as shown by the concrete experience of doubting, willing need be neither "free" nor fully conscious. Thus constitution can be and frequently is a semi-automatic affair with virtually no (self)consciousness of ego-activity.

After this summary we can now turn away from the character of acts to their functioning in sense-constitution. Sense-constitution is a complex affair. What is constituted is clearly not the event as a spatio-temporal occurrence in its material existence; nor is it the sensuous perceptual data through which it shows itself to our various senses. Thus - for those so eager to see foundational research in the superseded terms of an idealist v materialist dichotomy - neither the events perceived as soccer violence, nor the factual materiality associated with their self-showing, are the gifts of consciousness. It is the sense in and through which hooliganism exists-for-our-consciousness that consciousness

constitutes through its acts. In short, only the unreal layer of cultural significations that animate all cultural and natural objects and events are constituted in their existence; the materiality that "supports" this animation is constituted not in its (transcendent) existence, but in its presence by consciousness to consciousness.

Hooliganism is always already culturally pre-constituted and pre-given as such. Its constitution in my consciousness is thus a re-cognition, based upon a fore-having and pre-understanding of this already-constituted meaning. Thus as far as the sense itself is concerned, my constitution is a re-constitution; yet as far as I am concerned as an individual subject, my first experience of hooliganism at Aldershot in 1967, was quite "original"/originating.

Further the constitution of this attack upon juvenile Brentford supporters as hooliganism, occurred as follows. Each relevant, real anticipation, perception and recollection were directed towards a real sensible state of affairs through a sense of "soccer violence". At the level of unreal sense, a unification was achieved across all these acts which raised the meaning "soccer violence" above the temporality and particularity of these acts. Although standing over and against this multiplicity is one sense, a multitude of senses refer through a passive synthesis of unification to an identical game of football, ie. a promotion battle, local derby, source of local pride, dull match, Aldershot as a dump of a ground, their supporters as skinheads reinforced by frustrated squadies etc. Here the unreal meanings mediated between subjective and objective poles of real experience. Each sense is unified across a multitude of acts, while the meant real game was unified for my consciousness, across a series of senses that referred to it.

Thus in their presence for consciousness we are once again faced with a double-constitution since both the sense and the event's presence-for-consciousness were constituted through synthesis by noetic acts and meanings respectively. Altogether we are dealing with three levels with the following and respective degrees of primordiality:

1. Originating sense-constitution by culture of X, Y and Z as hooliganism.
2. Re-constitution through act-synthesis of that (pre-understood) sense by a social subject embedded within that culture. Here not only is the cultural sense affirmed/reproduced but so is the entire cultural horizon of which it is a part, ie. law and order, breakdown of

parental/teacher/social discipline.

3. The constitution of a real cultural or natural event as the "same" incident of hooliganism and as "more of the same" through a synthesis of different (re-constituted) meanings.

Thus perceptual and other acts animated non-intentional elements with pre-understood sense within a manifold of acts and senses to constitute the events at Aldershot as "my first taste of soccer violence". The details of this constituting operation will be investigated when we later consider hooliganism as perceived. We also cannot at this stage investigate the originating cultural constitution of sense because this presupposes the fundamentally intersubjective/temporal character of individual subjectivity. A presupposition that will be unfolded when we move from noetic to egological considerations.

My subsequent theorising about that incident's significance - whether it motivated this research etc. - can be said to be "active constitution" insofar as the outcome bears the distinctive stamp of my conscious acts of reflection. The recalled presence to my theorising consciousness of those boots, fireworks, explosions and fist-fights nevertheless remain "passively" constituted insofar as they, unlike my "theory", first appeared as a passive receipt of something ready-made; (Husserl, 1933/77, s.38). Here each one-sided, perspectival appearance intended and referred to the same real violence. They themselves coincided and closed up to synthesise a unified presence. This presence was always implicitly pointed towards by each perspective from the start. Such material entities are then given to receptive consciousness as pre-given products with no stamp of my authorship. Their sense is animated by a reactivated cultural sense in a process of virtually automatic association in which no ego-activity appears. My subsequent reflective concern for their materiality as such, their hooligan character as such etc, certainly explicates their passive constitution; yet however much I productively reflect upon this constitution, the constituted events themselves never appear as actively produced by any act of my consciousness. Thus active constitution in willed and conscious creative thinking in no way transforms the passive constitution of that which is thought.

The weight of football's surrounding world, its brute, factual presence continually projected by the natural attitude, is a clear example of passive constitution. Each and every

event passively or actively determined as "hooliganism", is so determined upon the basis of a world-constituting experience. This is a cultural "flow" in which we are always already engulfed. In no sense is its enduring presence for us "invented"; it is rather the ever-present backdrop for each and every invention. All my theoretical and practical orientations, all my valuations, willing, thinking, desiring and so on towards the world of football, violence, criminology and so forth, presuppose the prior constitution of an over-arching "world" which is already "there" for my orientating. This substrate is the ground for all that we call "experience" and "having an experience". It is "there" not as the result of predication, but as a pre-predicative accomplishment of "operative intentionality". By virtue of this operation we have and are had by a culture as a medium for all our physical and mental activities. However the continual accomplishment of this realm is quite opaque - concepts such as "socialisation" merely state but not solve the problem. This totalising totality is comprised of and mediated by, a multitude of given sub-worlds. It is the on-going temporal/temporalising "order" that soccer violence disrupts, that which grants it its "disorderliness".

Earlier it was asserted that my sense of soccer violence was first perceptually constituted or realised for me at that Aldershot game; yet only on the basis of a cultural pre-understanding of soccer violence was my experience intelligible as hooliganism. This raises the question of the subsequent re-activation of this (fulfilled) sense each and every time since I originally perceived this violence as hooliganism. Here a form of constitution occurs that involves de-sedimentation of an already sedimented sense so that my current experience is always already grasped in the horizon of each and every such experience I have had. Further this de-sedimentation is itself subject to later depositing/sedimentation and subsequent reactivation/withdrawal.

Thus constitution of hooliganism is both a drawing upon and contribution to, an inherited but continuing, temporal and cultural process of determination. Here we can refer to "genetic constitution" with its reflective explication termed "genealogy". Not all genetic constitution of "soccer violence" is passive - otherwise genealogy would be an impossible project. However all passive constitution via quasi-automatic association, eg. this sensible perception of a firework exploding just above my head, with my sense of hooliganism, must be

genetic and implicate both cultural tradition and time-consciousness.

S.25: METHOD AND GOAL OF NOETIC ANALYSIS.

Within the natural attitude, noetic acts and despite being constantly lived through, their sense-constituting activities are submerged one level below meanings. Hence this noetic investigation necessarily requires an "unnatural attitude" antecedent to the various suspensions and noematic analysis; (Husserl, 1936/70. s.52; Merleau-Ponty, 1946, p.58). Retracing experience from hooliganism as real activities to hooliganism meant as X, Y and Z, from so constituted to their being constituted, is like backing into a beam of light towards its source so that that the ray itself appears. This is very much to go against the grain of mundane consciousness' tendency to transcend itself towards what it objectifies and intends; (Husserl, 1901/70, 10ff.; 1913/31, s.87). After suspension a form of consciousness working upon its many-levelled self is entailed; (Husserl, 1901/70, p.11, p.12, p.390). As this "spectator" consciousness we can ask of our experience: "How does an act look when it appears?" "What is the perceptual character of perceived hooliganism, the anticipatory nature of anticipated hooliganism etc?" What can be further unfolded by descriptive explication of its intuitive presence? Each investigation contributes to a:

"Universal typology of thinking life pursued in its universal yet intuitive descriptions"; (Husserl, 1925/77, p.21).

The layers investigated cross many levels, embrace a number of acts, act-horizons and interconnections within an over-arching matrix and cultural horizons. These call for a systematically progressing teleological analysis that moves from simpler to more complex layers of acts and their interconnections. As its total target, this embraces the multiplicities of consciousness that pertain essentially to the cognitive becoming aware or being able to become aware, of objectivities of every type. These designate an index for a methodic regularity of any possible subjective / intersubjective life, every possible cultural / natural world, a regularity of possible intersubjective culture. We are thus reflecting upon and making known (rational), the cultural construction of that which we experience

through the constituted significations of this culture, ie. self-consciousness of reason.

Description here aims to faithfully capture, analyse and conceptually express the essentiality of each act in both its particularity and generality. In other words the pure, unprejudiced expression of the seen in its moments as they are intuitively unfolded. This description is constantly trying to hold on to its theme within a stream of consciousness, while swimming against its tide. Further the expression of what is found has for its tool only the language of the natural attitude, a language attuned to common sense interests. Extreme difficulties are therefore inevitable.

Reflection upon an act of perceiving hooliganism (X) is itself an act (Y). The reflective act is not however grasped by another act (Z) and made in its theme. The reflecting act (Y) is instead experienced with a non-reflective attitude. This does not entail an infinite regress. Instead, egological analysis is produced by the reflective act (Z) as this deals with the structure of the subject performing the perceiving and reflecting. This thematising does not construct the existence of its theme; it discloses it as-existing-prior-to-reflection-and-existing-in-a-certain-manner. Reflection enables the reflecting subject to engage with, disclose and disentangle what is involved in its own and others' conscious life.

Descriptions are confirmed to the extent that they reawaken, clarify and make distinct previously unthought and unarticulated layers of others' and one's own experience. Once explicit knowledge, these layers now appear "obvious" to others who would previously have been totally unable to characterise their implicit awareness of that which they now regard as so "obvious". If these descriptions are valid they must universal, that is to say, be valid for any reflecting subject performing, repeating and expressing the same reflection upon that act. Each possible evidence is thus evidence for a communication community of others united in a common pursuit of truth through collaboration, mutual aid, constructive criticism and so forth; (Apel, 1980). The mutual realisation and disowning of inadequacies within an overarching truth orientation is thus a means to a purification process in both the subject matter and the community that thematises it as such. Reflection is possible then only as cultural critique of ready-made culture, oriented towards the rationality of both.

Evidence acquired makes a difference. Once evidence is understood as the unity between actual "flesh and blood" presence in consciousness of the phenomenon and its rational

explication, then analysis shepherds in enlarging truths. The fulfilment of rational anticipations and the negation of rational ones contributes to a "rational consciousness" of ourselves and our surrounding lived-in world. A rational consciousness would be one that strives to make increasingly evident the realities and possibilities of our social, theoretical and natural worlds with decreasing degrees of vagueness, hidden horizons, and unfounded prejudgements including those of an ideological character.

Evidence then is a critical yardstick. It is not just about fulfilment of anticipation but the "explosion" (Husserl, 1913/31, s.138) of contradictory intentions, with "cancellation" of earlier perceptions together with their meaning. Husserl;

"How under certain circumstances the whole perception EXPLODES, so to speak and breaks up into "CONFLICTING APPREHENSIONS OF THE THING", into SUPPOSITIONS; how the theses of these suppositions annul one another, and in such annulling are modified in a peculiar way; or how the one thesis, remains unmodified, "conditions cancelling of the "contrary thesis", and other contingencies of the same kind"; (ibid, ss.138). Evidence participates in the jostling for position of various reality-claims, with the enhancement of some with greater "weight", "fullness" and "clarity", while others lose out through increasing doubt, internal incompatibilities and so become "outweighed" by their rivals and eventually "abandoned".

Since all noema and noetic acts interweave together within regions, ie. "politics", "economics", "society", "nature", "history", and these regions combine together themselves, then even the most specific phenomenological investigation carried through successfully contributes to the growth of reason.

Mediate evidence does have itself a limited validity where an intended meaning is mediately related. Within a synthetic connection that is self-evident at every link, to grounds that are immediately self-evident. Here we have a derived mediate self evidence that essentially emerges only with the last link of a system of positions. These start from those that are immediately self-evident, eg. the fleeting object, and take different forms as its course proceeds with every step in advance being itself grounded in immediate self-evidence. These self-evidences are partly immediate, partly mediate, partly original, partly derived, eg. the sense in which a hooligan exists is only partly given in itself by the experience of a single

incident;

"Our task here is to study, from the side both of the noesis and the noema, the general and the special events of the essential order of REASON IN MEDIATE SUPPORTINGS, PROVINGS of every kind and form, and in all thetic spheres whatsoever; to refer to their phenomenological origins the different principles of such proof... and to make these principles intelligible through this ultimate evidence, taking into account all the phenomenological strata involved"; (Husserl, 1913/31, ss.141).

Phenomenology aims then to bring out and enhance the rationality of its topic along with the display of a rational form of life itself - one founded on actual and possible evidences. The rationality in question is a 'character of rightness' (Husserl, *ibid*, ss.139), of the noetic act which belongs to it essentially rather than by chance. Equally the noema has its rationality belonging to it in its actual and possible disclosure by standing before the rational consciousness with the noematic character of 'rightness' and of 'belonging to the truth'. Here the object appears as the manner of 'truly appearing' as distinct from possibly true, doubtful etc. Making evident this mode itself contributes to rationality and truth as critical yardsticks. While this occurs necessarily at the level of theoretical reason there is necessarily a practical correlate (Husserl, *ibid*, ss.139) which is outlined below and which reintroduces phenomenology with policy and practical questions.

The object of desire is not just 'neutrally' desired with indifferences to its possession. This purposive aiming at satisfaction is a specific mode of attention directed towards fulfilment of the empirical structure of purpose-satisfaction pre-supposes the increased phenomenological structure of intention-fulfilment.

The act of supposal as to whether there are blacks involved in racist soccer violence aims at its confirmation by empirical evidence. Doubting this supposal aims at resolution, judging at verification etc. Seeing the front side of a weapon arouses intentions which demand fulfilment through perceptions of the other sides presently turned away from me. The same applies whatever the nature of the object perceived.

Different acts clearly vary concerning the sort of experience which would fulfil the initial act. The fulfilment of a judgement *ie.* is a different form from that of desire. Also

the specific relationship which obtains between the initial act and that its "target" aims varies as well. Nevertheless there runs a common thread through all of them in the pattern of act-fulfilment.

Some acts initially empty, aim at fulfilment as when the initial act is an example of "symbolic thinking" where fulfilment approximates the pattern of filling in an empty outline or form with intuitive content. Fulfilment resembles the "honouring" of the intentional act much like a cheque is "honoured" by its being paid and not "bounced".

There are also acts which by themselves fulfil prior and other intentions but which also press for, demand and aim at fresh experiences which could complete them, carry them forward towards satisfaction. IN this, it is not so much a matter of filling in an empty form with intuitive content as of following a pre-delineated tendency towards intuitive completion. Here we see the essential incompleteness and self overtaking of all fulfilling experience so that there is always a dissatisfaction, a transcendence, a pre-delineated horizon beyond there is always a surplus, a more in our intentions over their fulfilment. Together they show that a complete coincidence of the subject and object of experience and knowledge is an ideal, never to be reached but always aimed at; (Adorno, 1968; Husserl, 1901). A completely empty intention and a completely fulfilled intuitive act which harbours no partial empty within itself - both are ideal limits. Actual intentional life moves between these extremes and two limits.

Where there is fulfilment sufficiently advanced towards the ideal limiting case of complete coincidence we experience the act of knowledge as a dynamic and phased identification. Here the worth of an intuitive experience is to be measured by the intention which it seeks to fulfil, the presence being measured by the sense, in which the validity of the intention is "seen".

The ability of consciousness to go beyond current fulfilment through fresh fulfilment and the positing of impossible possibilities like round triangles or utopian harmony means that consciousness "existence" precisely cannot be characterised as JUST "being-in-the-world" and its facticity; (Contra Heidegger, 1926).

*POTENTIALITY in existence is just as important as ACTUALITY and potentiality is not an empty

possibility. Every cogito ie. an external perception or recollection, etc. carries in itself a potentiality immanent to it and capable of being disclosed. It is a potentiality for possible experiences referring to the same intentional object, experiences which the ego can actualise"; (Husserl, 1929/77, p.18).

In short, whenever a signification passes into an intuitive act we can speak of recognition. The unity that arises here through fusion is a "unity of knowing". This synthesis between two acts comes about via a "transitional" experience. Thus the unity comes about through a new mediating act, which connects the signification with the intuition. It is this synthetic act of "identifying coincidence" (Husserl, 1901, .II, p.35, p.50, p.148,), in which one and the same object of meaning and intuiting appears. This synthesis is continuous not static. If this unity passes into an EXPLICIT act of identification in which the knowing act itself is grasped, a "categorical object" or "eidetic singularity" appears.

SOCCER HOOLIGANISM AS PERCEIVED.

S.26: INTRODUCTION:

The varying reactions to the crowd violence at Luton v Millwall in March 1985, provides us with an insight into the character of perceived crime exemplified through the example of football hooliganism. These common sense reactions were clearly relative to specific pre-understandings within an overall moral and conceptual framework operating within perception. Different pre-understandings are arranged in a hierarchy of generality ranging from "this isolated incident", to a "legitimacy crisis of law and order in Western Society"; (D.Telegraph, 15/3/85). Throughout this range, different levels interconnect so that violence and an authority crisis on the terraces can become perceived as associated with the same crisis on the pitch, prevalent in the media, schools and society as a whole.(2) Nevertheless the perceived appalling, mindless and senseless character of the violence and property damage were presented as "obvious" characteristics of the fans and events themselves. Here the ascribed attributes of the "hooligan-mentality" swamped awareness of the ascription process (apperception) that constituted its sub-human animality on the basis of pre-given interpretive "recipes".

Within such a common sense attitude, apperception can promote its own oblivion. Thus competing common sense perceptions of what soccer violence "obviously" signifies can, in all sincerity, be accounted for in terms of "a failure to face up to reality". Such escalating thoughtlessness is the hallmark of politics and its debased rhetorics over crime - a hallmark often used to gauge the "value" of academic research and academics themselves; (Wilson, 1975).

Participation in some form of cultural ascription process is inevitable. We can however place some cognitive distance between our reflective and participating consciousness. In this way we can re-cover, describe and analyse the recipes implicitly deployed within apperception to accomplish the hooligan character of any hooliganism and the perceptual character of perceived hooliganism.

Unlike recollection or judgements about soccer hooliganism, perception presents the phenomenon directly to the consciousness of the perceiver; (Husserl, 1913/31, p.324). Our

task is to see how. Already we have claimed that perception is the founding act for recollected, signified and imagined soccer violence. The presence of soccer violence through perception is different from its presence appearing through acts of judgement. Acts of perception present hooliganism in the form of a singular meaning of a specific event that can be expressed in terms of "this particular incident". By contrast, judgements are necessarily expressed in general propositions such as "hooliganism is a social problem whose origins lie outside the game"; (Husserl, 1913/31, p.324). Perception of the sense in and through which hooliganism exists for intersubjectivity, is the foundation for judgements about the phenomenon that is being judged. Failure at the level of judgement need not invalidate the pre-predicative understanding of what hooliganism is; yet misunderstanding at the pre-predicative level of sense-perception and intuition, necessarily invalidates judgements founded upon it. Such judgements quite literally, do not know WHAT IT IS that they are expressing in their many membered complex of sense; (Husserl, 1929/69, p.133).

Obviously this is not to deny the intermingling of judgements and perceptions. In fact within the natural attitude of common sense the majority of perceptions of hooliganism are already perceptual judgements containing valuations; (Husserl, 1913/31, p.326). Here valuations are intermingled with other meaning elements. For example, it is "mindless hooliganism" and "wanton thuggery", rather than non-hooligan activities, that are treated as problematic, as an issue and "social problem" to be accounted for. Conversely, within fighting gangs and to a lesser extent among youths at the "home" end, what is devalued is any "loss of bottle" or "shitting out" which results in a potential confrontation failing to occur because of the reticence of one side. In both cases value properties / attributes are experienced as part of the intrinsic meaning-content of hooliganism. Also, hooliganism is determined not in and for itself but in relation to certain acts of valuing and willing; (Husserl, 1948, p.265). We must therefore carefully try to uncover the structure of apperception and the way it ascribes to this incident the determination "hooliganism" and hooliganism having various attributes.

Perceived hooliganism is best positively defined as the direct intuition of an immanent meaning content, ie. "hooliganism" as something meant. What appears through perception is its own outcome, a singular meaning-content - this here and now meant incident. Certain

previously "raw" sensations (hyle) of sound, sight, touch etc. appear already animated with meaning. Thus at any one time perceived hooliganism appears to be both immediately real and, mediately upon reflection, a synthesis of a given meaning with specific hyletic data. There are thus three components, specific but indeterminate sensations of an incident, a pre-understood generalised sense of "hooliganism" and an apperceptive process through which the former are animated with the latter.

Before seeing an event as an incident of hooliganism, this meaning must have already achieved some level of intelligibility for that witness. In other words, the perception of a real incident as one of hooliganism, is essentially founded upon a pre-understanding OF hooliganism as an unreal meaning. Without this pre-given intelligibility the witness would not be able to perceive any looting, fighting, missile throwing and stabbings as "football hooliganism". Also this pre-understanding is itself a cultural outcome constituted out of a specific historical tradition. Therefore different social traditions can entail say police officers seeing purposeful but "threatening behaviour", whereas others perceive either a fullscale, mindless riot or alternatively, mere youthful exuberant rebellion against "social deprivation".(3,4) Next our analysis has the task of disclosing the character and effects of apperception.

s.27; THE CHARACTER AND EFFECT OF APPERCEPTION.

What is the structure of apperception, this "seeing-as" process? In apperception the immanent meaning-content is received into a new "mode of consciousness" ie. the "something or other" is interpreted as another incidence of soccer violence. In contrast with the initial presence of sensation the interpreted incident is a quite different form of consciousness. The "apperception" of sense-data "endows" and "ensouls" them with intersubjective meaning. It interprets them as the data OF something which only then appears as meaningful. It is this apperception that gives ANIMATED FORM to a whole barrage of sensations, ie. colour, tone, pain, smell, sound, fear etc. Here a constant interplay occurs between the "real" sensory "contents" and the "ideal" meaning-contents. As a result of this interpretive animation we live through the experience of these sensations as sensations of something meant. On this basis we see not just fleeting images of merely physical objects in collision with one another, but "crowd violence" between "rival supporters" that is "a cause for concern" etc. In other words, what we perceive are physical objects already endowed with a definite mental significance for an intersubjective culture that embraces the perceiver. This significance appears in every shape of their perceived form and in every non-spatial sensible form. We can characterise the raw stuff of sensations as "hyle" and see that although it is a component of the act of perception it is not itself intentional and so in this sense, is neither conscious nor reflexive. I can have an immediate awareness of myself as perceiving a football match without the sensations themselves appearing in my experience. However, latter awareness may be achieved through an act of reflection upon the imagery of hooliganism's images, the noise of chanting, the disabling spreading of anxiety. These can be made thematic in the same way that the "unconscious" or "pre-conscious" can be made conscious.

Hyle is given form and contents by the meaning bestowing act of apperception. Without the contribution of hyletic data, and its being "sensed", the experience would be of "the meaning of hooliganism in general". It would no longer be the concrete determinate experience of two particular sets of fans, fighting in a specific way to a definite outcome that it is perceived to be. The complicity and interplay of hyle and meaning-content in apperception means that

there appears no more unformed hyle than there is formless matter, ie. an isolated and free-floating "hooliganism in general". Also hyle is perceived as a sensuous symbol in apperceptions of fans' acts of willing a definite outcome to actual violence, in the other sides desire for police intervention / protection, in the instinctive impulse to run when being chased and in acts of expression.

The objectification of sensations by apperception into a meaningful experience of football hooliganism is a completely new dimension of perception as compared with pure sensations. What makes this clear is that different meanings can appear for the same perceived contents. This was graphically illustrated in 1981 when the "reinforcements" of visiting "Pompey" supporters turned out to be infiltrators from "Millwall" in disguise. The reverse also occurs as when those Millwall supporters who had penetrated into Chelsea's seats in 1984 were "joined" by another group walking towards them from a contingent of Chelsea supporters.

This perceptual experience leads us on to consider "breaches of agreement" between a series of perceptions; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.88). Here the sense of what is being seen "explodes" and is forced to undertake a more or less radical "correction" of content. On one occasion a partial change became a total one. After a number of Millwall fans attacked police at Stamford Bridge in 1984, local police ambushed Millwall fans at the return fixture at Millwall's ground. A small group of police patrolled a set area. When they were attacked by a larger group of Millwall fans who saw these police as "outnumbered", reinforcements burst out of unmarked police vans parked nearby and battered the fans with truncheons. Here, the meaning of the situation for the fans dramatically changed from being their ambush of police to that of being ambushed by the police.

Whether the explosion of identity is total or partial an earlier determination is reversed even though the self-same physical objects or situation is seen as "the same". Without this continued perceptual unification I could not see the later perception of the patrolling police as "corrections" of an earlier "mis-perception" of the "same" object. There is however no need for any mis-perception to become exposed while a genuine perception can also be doubted. For example before the Chelsea v Millwall game mentioned earlier, there was a large gathering of supporters around the "away" supporters end, many of whom were trying to look out for possible infiltrators from Chelsea fans. One large fan turned and looked at me and said

ominously: "We don't know whose who... there's a load of slippery cunts in here".

The actual experience of mis-perception remains a perceptual experience in which we continue to experience a situation as one and the same. At the same time we undergo a change of mind about one or more of its abiding attributes such as supporters' loyalties, intentions etc. This experience tells us that a definite relation must hold between the core meaning-elements of perceived hooliganism across the different acts that presents it. It also reveals the considerable autonomy that apperception has vis a vis any particular series of hyletic data. What is more, sensations can change constantly, as they do for example at the Chelsea game when I perceived supporters walking towards me outside a ground. When a supporter walked past me, the visual sensations of size, shape, front, side and back of him all undergo constant changes until finally he is no longer visible at all. Yet throughout all these changes I continue to perceive "the same supporter"; (Husserl, *ibid* p.382).

Apperception is not therefore opposed to perception because every perception of soccer violence comes about through an apperception of sensations. The result of this "objectifying interpretation" is that "objective events" appear to consciousness. Apperception therefore performs the role of sense-giving to otherwise meaningless sensations, or rather, making sense out of diverse and continuously changing experiences. The sensations are apprehended in a particular "sense". This performance or achievement of consciousness can be further illustrated if we imagine a consciousness that has sensations but cannot apperceive them.

Husserl:

"It may well have the same SENSATIONS as we have. But it will contact no things and no events pertaining to things; it will perceive no trees and no houses, its sensations MEAN nothing to consciousness, they do not COUNT AS SIGNS of the properties of an object or the object itself. They are merely lived through, without an objectifying interpretation derived from experience"; (1901/70, p.75).

There is a striking analogy between apperception and signitive acts where the meaningless content is animated by an act and thereby receives a "mental" side. The physical sound of a threatening chant functions only as a "vehicle" for a new act directed entirely to signified event. In perception the sensation is simply the vehicle that gets its sense through apperception. This content is "informed" through an interpretive act, and in the process hooliganism as an intentional object or theme is assembled. As in the case of signitive acts there is a certain "asymmetry", for in perception we are directed entirely toward the perceived object. Husserl;

"Sensations"... and the acts "interpreting" them or apperceiving them, are alike experienced BUT THEY DO NOT APPEAR AS OBJECTS: they are not seen, heard or perceived by any sense. OBJECTS on the other hand, appear and are perceived but they are not EXPERIENCED". (1901/70, p.385).

Like the interpretation of sounds in language, apperception is ultimately learned / ingrained through cultural experience. A very young child could not yet apperceive hooliganism - perhaps just "people fighting".

Sense-bestowal and making is not then the monopoly of signitive acts but extends to apperception (Husserl 1913/31, p.107, p.256), and its generation of "perceptual sense". Further there are important differences between these two types of act. In perception there is an intrinsic bond between the sensation and the sense constituted via the apperception of noise, movement, anxiety and other such sensations. The "sense" is not arbitrary as is the sign "hooliganism" in our language. Following on from this, perception can both found and "fulfil" a signitive meaning, for in perception an object, event or activity is constituted. This, through its presence, makes "present" the merely signitively meant incident. The movement here is from knowing about hooliganism to knowing hooliganism itself.

S.28: THE SYNTHESIS OF SENSE AND ATTRIBUTES WITHIN APPERCEPTION.

Above we saw that perceptual acts consisted of hyletic phases as well as the intentional element of all other noetic acts. In apperception the formless data of the hyletic phase are unified in an interplay with a content-less form of the intentional phase; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.85). This interplay involved the animation of hyle with sense in a form giving process we called apperception. Here we will successively examine:

1. The character of hyletic data; (S.29).
2. The animation of hyle by the constituted sense so as to synthesise an "incident"; (S.30).
3. The predication of this sense with attributes; (S.31).

S.29: THE CHARACTER OF HYLETIC DATA.

Sensations as phases of perceptual experience, are neither what the reifying gaze of psychology calls "sensory data"; nor are they real properties or material features of actual incidents and actions themselves. Hyletic data are completely different from the colour, shape, warmth etc. of the fans which are perceived as hooligans; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.42). Instead they are the sheer bodily "feel" that manifests itself as a lived aspect of a subject's situation that appears from a definite perspective; (Husserl, 1913/31, p.261). For instance, in relation to a kick - the initial numb shock followed immediately by a searing throb that spreads its disabling presence through the entire body, whose attention it totally captures. Other examples would be the shivery spread of anxiety that commutes up one's spine when a group of rival fans corner you, or the brute sensation of feeling one's skin being torn by a knife.

Hyle must not be confused with the full sense of soccer violence. This has a sort of achieved unity in contrast with the large diversity of sensations which constitute the experience of that sense. For example I saw the bloody aftermath of a fight in a pub at Huddersfield in 1982 in which broken glasses were used as weapons. Here, a Millwall supporter's bleeding and lacerated thumb was seen as unchanged in colour even though variations of perspective, light and shade altered the sensory colour. The alignment of this unified percept out of a plurality of a hyletic data is due to the act of apperception we examined above, ie. seeing the different tones of red AS the same "blood red" throughout.

Hyle therefore means some unformed matter or "pure sense-data operating within a distinctive realm, which goes into every perceptual experience of soccer violence. Hyle is that which is given form and animated contents by the meaning bestowing act of apperception. This hyletic data is the "raw stuff" - totally lacking in form, internal connection or meaning - that makes perceived hooliganism directly impinge upon our senses. Here hyle, animated by meaning, presses upon us in a way that an identical incident's presence through imagination or recollection totally lacks; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.85, s.97; 1929/69, 107c). Although not "objective" in the sense of being transcendent to all subjectivity, hyletic data nevertheless

have their own character and being; (Husserl, 1925/77, s.29).

Perception is intentional only through the constant correlation of noema with noesis, with perceptual meaning with acts of perceiving-as hooliganism. Therefore however much we parade under the flag of "controlled objective observation" of sensory data, we can never by-pass constituted sense, nor sense-constitution. The receipt of this barrage of undifferentiated sensations is not itself an act of perceiving or sensing anything whatsoever. Not even the physical sensible properties of an incident - the colours of scarves or the shape of a knife - could be determined AS say "red and white", or AS a triangular blade of a Stanley-knife; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.36). We never perceive "pure" colours, shapes etc. free from apperceptive interpretation and their perspectival appearance. In other words on its own such experience, however it is aggregated, it is quite incapable of being about, or being the experience of any thing or quality; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.97). Only through the continual animation of hyle with pre-constituted sense in apperception can anything appear and endure with the determined sense of "hooliganism". In short, there is no unmediated contact with hyle, no non-interpretive perception of hooliganism.

Conversely, every act of consciousness through which the meaning of hooliganism appears presupposes a (modified) hyletic content. These contents are not themselves perspectives but an essential component of any perceptual perspectives upon an incident, or any spatial object within it. Without the contribution of hyletic data and its being "sensed", the experience would be of "the meaning of hooliganism in general". It would no longer be the concrete determinate experience of two particular sets of fans, fighting in a specific way to a definite outcome that it is perceived to be. Even theoretical judgements about hooliganism's causes pre-suppose the presence to intuition of the phenomenon itself.

Across various acts this content may function differently in relation to the meaning-content. Every intentional experience is a sort of transformation of this purely non-intention stratum of sensations, ie. the perceived, judged, imagined etc., into an intentional experience, ie. perceived-as, judged-as, imagined-as etc. Each such interpretation results in a necessarily perspectival presence that tells us as much about the standpoint of the interpreter as the events which are interpreted. Later we shall examine apperception as a clue to the concerns, interests and practical comportments of the perceiving subject.

It would however be wrong to characterise hyletic data as necessarily a perpetual flux through which the identity of an incident and those involved is accomplished through synthesis. If we consider the sense-data of the space in which an incident occurs it appears as the invariable, stable, and total form that is occupied by the perceived participants. Such data is the enduring bearer of the visual sense of "what is happening" in the incident, it is thus the "bearer" of these apperceptions. Tactile sense-data also operate as bearers within a unified tactile field. Simultaneously the person behind me and next to me in a crowd of supporters leaving the 1981 Portsmouth v Millwall game are given tactilely to my perception. This holds good even though I fix my attention only upon the one immediately in front of me whose physical presence may involuntarily shield me from any missiles or seizure by the police.

Through physical contacts, the tactile presence of the others remains there for my consciousness irrespective of my attention or concern for them. As a result I have a unitary field of perception unified within a tactile field. This field is experienced along the visual one as self contained. As sensations they cannot be "mixed" with the visual field in which retreating columns of Portsmouth riot police are being stoned, attacked and kicked. Their attackers are the crowd of Millwall fans I experience as "around me" continuing their assault as the police hang desperately on to their riot shields. As the rioting continues, a broken gate-post carelessly thrown by supporters from behind brushes past me. It then becomes the centre of my visual concern as I see the nails sticking out of it and imagine with an involuntary shudder the tactile sensation of it ripping into my neck.

The tactile field is thus experienced "within" visual sensations, but never as united within them to make up one single or combined field of sensations. Their combination is the work of apperception and a perceptual synthesis of unification that together make sense of the tactile, acoustic and visual sensations as experiences of the "same" gate-post/missile within the "same 1981 Portsmouth Riot". In this relationship otherwise blind sensations of an otherwise meaningless set of sensations are endowed with a definite sense; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.36). Nevertheless, within an apperception of the total riot, we can still abstract, distinguish and focus in upon different sensations - purely the sound of broken windows, missiles hitting riot shields - and then go on to attend to the tactile sensations.

Although not itself an interpretation, hyle is nonetheless "subjective" in that it presupposes a living subjectivity and perceptual consciousness that "has" the indeterminate sensation as its own. The animation of hyle to give evidence, does not occur in the hyletic phase, nor in the pre-given and pre-understood meaning harboured within each act; it occurs exclusively in the non-sensory, noetic component. Nevertheless through its perceptual presence, the material and physical aspect of soccer violence "fills out" the generalised meaning-content and thus becomes intelligible as a specific example of a general phenomenon. Again this contrasts with the "unfilled" presence of hooliganism which appears in judgements, causal theories and written or spoken accounts. Here the hyletic phase in a perception gives intuitive evidential support to appropriate parts of the intentional phase. What the transformation of hyle does is to add a completely new dimension to both the hyle and the "unfilled" pre-understanding it "fills".

No fulfilling evidence completely fulfils. The positing of possible determinateness is forever ahead of actual determinateness. There are always indeterminacies left over within the horizon embracing the determined incident, is the victim dead?, if not how serious are the injuries?, will he live?, what is it that is injured?, which weapon or blow caused which injury?, what characterised his attackers? etc. Perceptions of violence thus carry and give vital but necessarily incomplete intuitive evidence of that which they posit as hooliganism; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.44).

S.30: THE ANIMATION OF HYLE WITH THE CONSTITUTED SENSE OF HOOLIGANISM

Taking the already-constituted sense of hooliganism, we find a multitude of sins embraced which in another context could be perceived quite differently. These include an infinitely variable combination of obscene chanting, drunkenness, evading train fares, looting, smashing up trains, kicking rival fans and police officers, vandalism and throwing missiles. For hooliganism to be perceived it is not necessary for each element to be present - most are dispensable. Yet some core elements such as actual or threatened physical violence or vandalism are privileged in that they constitute the hooligan character of any football hooliganism. Although by themselves some elements such as drunkenness or simple obscenity are insufficient; yet when combined with say a threatening chant or in proximity with other crowd misbehaviour, the mixture can cross the threshold and themselves evidence "drunken-obscene-hooliganism". (5ab)

Having clarified this sense, our next consideration is the bestowal of this determinate sense upon indeterminate sensations. Although grasping the intelligibility of hooliganism is a necessary condition for perceptual evidence, it is not sufficient since the pre-understanding of what hooliganism / threatening behaviour etc. mean, is not itself real - it is only a word. Yet by animating hyletic data, they present the bruised and often bloody physical reality of soccer violence through an ideal cultural layer of achieved signification. What presents itself to perceptual consciousness is a physical, objective realm that transcends the consciousness of the perceiver. However only in perceptual consciousness can "horrific injuries", "cracked skulls" and so on become intelligible as such and as "independent", "transcendent" and "real". Thus there is a two-way relationship between the incident WHICH is perceived and our perceptual consciousness of it AS "hooliganism".

We have already seen that the question of the evidential sufficiency of raw hyle as a present "fact" independent of its animation by pre-understandings is abstract. Sensations of anxiety, fear, fright, pain and shock experienced during this violence, never appeared in a totally "raw" uninterpreted state. There was no consciousness of "sound sensations" - but the smash and tinkle of breaking glass pre-understood as "mindless vandalism"; (Husserl, 1901/70, p. 75). Thus even the disorientating shock suffered by a commuter I saw being punched in the eye by Millwall fans at Luton station, was already intelligible as "a disruption", "an unpleasant surprise", a "cause for vengeance" and so on.

With this realisation that perceived hooliganism - even in its immediacy - is already a synthesised product, we are now in a better position to grasp the truly remarkable nature of our perceptual synthesis of unification. It is possible to retrace the process that issues in the determination of a unified incident and in its significance. Unification is quite essential if a unified incident, however brief, is to appear at all. This is because each and every act of perceiving soccer violence present an essentially incomplete and one-sided presentation of the incident itself and its sensible qualities. This presentation is always circumscribed in its manners of appearance and exhibition by the physical perspective of the perceiver, ie. as near / far, and under specific conditions of light, shade and sound. At any one time, only some aspects of soccer violence can appear - the bloodied face of a victim; other sides such as his back, are then necessarily absent; (Husserl, 1933/77, s.43). While such perceived qualities are sensible; others, such as the cultural significance of the attack for others and the victim, its "brutality" and "appalling" character are essentially non-observable from any perspective.

Those sides that do show themselves always do so in relation to a horizon of others implicitly given as a background. What appears necessarily incomplete here is not the violence itself but our experience of it. The violence presents itself to our implicit awareness as being itself fully fledged although showing itself on in partial aspects, manners and exhibitions. We, as subjects who "live" in the perceiving, remain implicitly aware of the partiality and inadequacy of every present aspect / manner of appearance of hooliganism. Also implied is a reference to the possibility of other more complete aspects / manners of appearance that appear to harmonise with it from other perspectives and under other

conditions; (Husserl, 1936/70, s.45). Thus we do not grasp it as exhausting all perceptual possibilities; nor do we confuse it with the totality of that which is presentable; (see below). Instead, each perceptual act appears as one of a phase, and each perceived content appear as bound to its phase; both as parts to a organised, whole and unitary process. Conversely, however limited the appearance, perspective and conditions of perceiving soccer violence there is always some degree of determinacy to each and every presentation, ie. by fans not players, here not there etc.

No quality is itself determined by the hyletic phase alone, only in combination with the intention phases of perceptual acts are these determined as the qualities of this incident. The outcome of this combination is that which appears to immediate perceptual consciousness, ie. a sensory AND intentional phase. Each such phase further combines with others; yet on reflection we can de-construct and analyse this construction. During the violence at Luton v Millwall, that which I touched, heard and saw were quite different experiences; yet their unification in perceptual synthesis perfectly confirmed one another as distinct aspects of the "same" phenomenon of hooliganism. A multiplicity of perceptions passed into one another presenting the one incident from different aspects, exhibiting different sides and qualities; yet always as different aspects of the one incident as an identical unit.

Considering just visual perception, the sight of Asians unsuccessfully trying to defend themselves and their shops with iron bars and clubs united with the sight of indeterminate fans squaring up to one another and hurling police no-parking signs at one another; this in turn was perceptually integrated and unified with the attacks on the police and local residents. Each image was itself unifiable because part of its very meaning was to point beyond itself to a totalising sense of "what is happening". Within perceptual consciousness, their overall unison as aspects of the "same" crowd violence thus held together - even with each phase - a mass of quite distinct images. These were lacking any intrinsic connection outside our pre-understanding of what football hooliganism truly signifies.

Further, the degree of flux within changing images itself varies. For example, as blows and kicks rained down upon an Asian manager with one large West Indian Millwall fan jumping up and down on his body, the visual sensations of space "framing" these attacks remained constant. Unification manages to adjust and allow for these differences. Unification does

not dissolve away differences in form into one "mix". Thus what is seen in visual perceptions, heard in auditory perception and felt in tactile perceptions continue to occupy distinct fields alongside one another. As the crowd around me at Luton surged towards the police, I could still switch my conscious attention to each in turn and then compare these distinct fields while perceiving them as aspects of the "same riot".

Sensations animated so as to determine a sense of an incident as "brutal", can themselves motivate internal hyletic data which, once unified, I perceived as signifying disgust, shock, shock at being so appalled etc. These sensations also have a definite "feel" that contributed to my overall sense of being both cognitively interested but emotionally repelled by the sheer brutality of these racist attacks. In these situations expressions such as 'sickening violence' can be acute descriptions of perceptual experience. There is thus an opaque bodily intentionality that can contribute to unification in a way that proves quite elusive. Although rarely "willed" these bodily reactions still provide further clues to the interests, values, concerns and comportments of the perceiving subject.

In each of the different aspects, these incidents appeared as an identical pole towards which each element of a phase and the phases themselves, were oriented from the start. This unification effects a connectedness that makes possible (constitutes) the unity of one consciousness perceiving "one" incident in all its different aspects and phases. Thus what is unified is both a series of perceptual acts that harmoniously cohere, confirm and continue one another; and their correlates - a series of perceived contents mutually corroborating each other.

Apperception of hyletic data, derived from real events and incidents of soccer violence, embraces both passive and an active synthesis by which various meanings coalesce to make reference to one identical perceived "incident" possible. In the production of abstract entities like this or that "theory" about hooliganism founded upon statistical analysis or other such inference structures, apperception certainly appears as active and volitional. Abstract theories about the "causes" of soccer violence in terms of say, the "alienation" of working class supporters from "their" club; (Taylor, 1971), are produced in a sense which accords with the usual meaning of "production" - by conscious, willed and largely creative acts of collecting, counting and inferring by the subject. These acts can reveal and display

the consciousness of an "author". Such theories are themselves given to consciousness as products with the character of irreality in relation to the reality of the experienced events they try to theorise about.

However even such conscious active constitutions nevertheless presupposes and requires that some other lower order meaning-systems be pre-given. These are the the real events, persons and objects exemplifying football hooliganism which confront us as already-there and ready made. However, the "constitution" of the sense in and through which these pre-given things confront our perceptual consciousness as ready made, exhibit a more passive assembly. An investigation into the "sense" of their "physical character", "reality" etc. brings to light their constitution in perceptual consciousness as virtually self-constitution. If this constitution was not passive the sense of physical objects used as weapons would not appear as ready-made in the form in which they appear to consciousness. They would not appear as simply intuited. Such objects are the outcome of a passive synthesis of its various perspectives with each being directed towards the same weapon with each cohering together. The unity of the "same" weapon is realised through an endless series of appearances. Yet even before their fulfilment each perspective intends this unity. Therefore passive synthesis is intrinsically bound up with intentionality in general and is capable of being brought to evidence.

By means of accumulated perceptual experience, those aspects of an incident which are currently still indeterminate can receive further progressive meaning-determinations, ie. as racially inspired, as a "grudge" confrontation, as a result of poor policing etc. Such determination occurs by way of perceptual synthesis through an interplay of passive and active constitution.

The synthesising function which results in the unity of the perceived hooliganism belongs to the noetic sphere as one of its most crucial elements. This function consists in confronting the witnesses, victims and participants with senses, ideal unities of meaning, to which, as identical ones, the subject is free to revert an indefinite number of times. No sooner than this elementary structure of the objectivating function has been established problems may be touched as to higher "structures" of intentionality among these are; the syntheses by means of which particular perceptual senses of soccer violence are united in systems which are the real perceptual things; syntactical operations by which more and more

complicated meanings and significations are constructed from simpler ones; (Husserl, 1901/70, VI, s.3). In soccer violence the specific meanings also participate in non-specific meanings relating to "violence", "misbehaviour", "football", "combative masculinity in sport", "hooliganism" and so on.

The objectivating function of perceived soccer violence belongs to a perceptual act but not taken in itself and as isolated from other mental states. On the contrary, this function is possessed by an act even when it has the distinctive character of evidence or self presentation, on account of its being inserted into the whole of experiencing life and only with regard to this whole; (Husserl, 1929/69, s.23). Not only is the subject free to revert to the resulting objective meaning of an incident on innumerable occasions but also in other modes of awareness such as imagination; (Husserl, 1929/69, p.139). This holds good for judgements and theories about soccer violence as well as its real outbreaks. In short, this consciousness of identity therefore is conversed by the experience of mutual confirmation and corroboration of the multiple perceptions forming the systems in question.

Synthesising the identity of one perceived "incident" of the "same" hooliganism can involve both contingency and negation as much as positive confirmation. For example, unification can be annulled as when after a goal, a group of "our fans" violently announce themselves to be "infiltrators". Clearly although there is no change in the physical "reality" of these determinable fans themselves, their perceptual confirmation as the "same" determined fans "explodes". The same is true when the metal tips on their "respectable" looking umbrellas painfully disclose their character as "offensive weapons". Had these infiltrators been plain clothes police officers a more extreme negation would occur.

This contribution does not unsettle so much as confirm our basic contention. IF one incident or fan is to appear to perceptual consciousness as identically the same, then there MUST BE an accord and harmony between the multiple acts through which they one-sidedly appear under various orientations, circumstances etc. as to the qualities progressively revealed and their revelation. Again this confirms the earlier point that perceptual synthesis and unification are not passive "receipts" from an independent physical reality, but a cultural (intersubjective) accomplishment whose site is the consciousness of those who witnessed these events.

s.31: THE UNIFICATION OF PREDICATE-SENSES.

As well as the synthesised identity of hooliganism as the "same", are all of its properties stemming from a multiple of perceptions? To fully grasp the unification of hooliganism's ascribed properties we cannot merely examine real examples from within the naive realism of the natural attitude. After all this is only awareness of an incident as ITSELF BRUTAL, not the ascription process through which it becomes determined as brutal within the perceptual consciousness of a witness. Instead, a sustained reflection is required upon the process through which our perceptions concretely determine an experience as ITSELF having attributes of "football-relatedness", as "disorderly", as "violent", as "brutal", as "racially inspired" etc. What is more, the NECESSITY for grasping the intentionality of the perceptual process, ie. the mutual dependence of the "objective" incident that is perceived as propertied with the "subjective" perceptual ascription and unification of ascribed properties, must itself become clear to perceptual consciousness; (Hegel, 1807/1949, p.162).

Within perceptual consciousness a degree of self-awareness must develop for it to be able to see itself as a medium through which hooliganism is enabled both to manifest conflicting aspects, and to unite them in the unity of ITS OWN temporal identity. Perceptual consciousness in its common sense self-oblivion needs to be shown that it is only because it already pre-understands aspects of hooliganism's total meaning, that allows the phenomenon to be perceived in a variety of its real manifestations. Above all we must reverse the naivety of the natural attitude which projects its subjectivity into the world and sees the outcome as an "obvious reality" which everyone else must passively receive. Instead, we need to show perceptual consciousness that THE VERY TRUTH of hooliganism lies in reflecting upon the ways its real properties come to determine themselves in perceptual SELF-consciousness; (Hegel, 1807/1949, p.170).

For this perceptual self-consciousness to even begin, we need to distinguish between the aspect of hooliganism's meaning which determines WHAT incident it intends, and that which it intends this incident AS, ie. its properties. The first, the DETERMINABLE incident, prescribes the incident TO WHICH certain properties of "brutality", "thuggery" etc. are ascribed; while the second, the DETERMINED incident, is the aggregate of those properties or

"predicate-senses". It is only as a result of their achieved togetherness within an incident's total meaning that allows a witness to perceive a unique event as having certain general properties of "brutality" etc; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.131). The predicative content of the total sense does not consist of the predicates themselves, "brutality" as a predicate is only a word, nor of the predicated experiences which are all too transcendent and real. Instead, they consist of PREDICATE-SENSES gained by CONCEPTUAL GRASPING of perceived hooliganism's meaning-content.

The determinED element of hooliganism's total meaning can be expressed through a proper name which specifies "this incident rather than that". It has an essentially occasional, ie. context-bound, character that points to a specific and concretely perceived incident. This nevertheless appears as already meant in non-occasional categories, ie. "violence", "confrontation", "machismo" etc. The process of relating the two in a constant interplay is a quite remarkable characteristic of perceptual consciousness and its unification of attributes. In it the particularity and separateness of this-here-now perception is annulled with its meaning-contents taken up in a higher, more universal form of a property; (Hegel, 1807/1949, p.163). The properties of local chauvinism, assertive masculinity, threatened or actual physical violence etc. are more universal because they are to be found in every example of soccer violence, and because each can be found elsewhere not in conjunction with the others, ie. in the assertive machismo of football itself.

If we examine the perceptions of Southend's police, local publicans, newspaper and football club concerning the 1980 bank holiday visit of Millwall, there is evidence that this visit was seen as "a source of real trouble", as "newsworthy", and as "a crowd control problem". These ascribed properties related to episodes in which a sea front pub - The Ivory House - was wrecked, an Asian toddler kicked in the face and a number of home supporters assaulted. Also a nightclub bouncer's face had been slashed with broken glasses thrown by some Millwall supporters he was trying to eject. According to that bouncer's assistant "they really knew what they were doing". Typically, these ascriptions include everything within the witnesses pre-understandings of the phenomenon. In other words, they include all "relevant" portions of subject's interpretive framework that positively value "law abiding, non-violent behaviour" etc. Only certain elements of this framework will be re-activated in any particular

perception of hooliganism. The rest - concerning attitudes to other forms of lawlessness - will provide the supporting background for these more active elements. (6)

This framework itself exemplifies the subject's operative concerns, interests and practical compartments towards his or her surrounding world. For example, the grudging respect of the nightclub assistant derived from his personal interest in Japanese Martial Arts that have their origins in the battlefield. Also the local newspaper had a photograph of Millwall fans leaving Southend ironically waving goodbye from the train. Underneath was a report that suggested no great sense of loss was experienced at their departure.

Such predicate-senses need not be founded upon hyletic data alone, but can also include theoretical, volitional and evaluative elements. There was for example, nothing in the hyletic data that makes my perception of the racist assaults by Millwall supporters at Southend 1980, Wimbledon 1982, and Reading 1983 appear to me as "unfortunate". No visual, tactile or auditory sensation itself determined these incidents as "interesting as an extension of localism" and as "bound up with the so called "local pride" and "healthy patriotism" that are officially ascribed to football. Even the purely physical aspects of experienced hooliganism involving "causes of internal injuries", that treat an assaulted Southend supporter's broken arm as a non-subjective "thing to be treated", are not pure reports derived from hyletic data. Instead, the very sense of "causation" and "thinghood" are predicative ascriptions. This particular supporter's injuries were seen by the doctors in terms of certain inference structures on whose basis he was sent for an X-ray. Here, the breakage was ascribed as a physical thing of a definite biological kind entering into causal relations with other currently hidden entities that await further determination.

Nothing in the apparent richness of hyletic data could be said to constitute RATIONAL KNOWLEDGE of hooliganism's determinations. Mere sensory awareness cannot grasp the many distinct qualities belonging to one and the same incident, eg. the different senses in which it is experienced as a "problem" by police, off-licensees, publicans, club-stewards and away supporters. Qualitative distinction of one episode's property from another, their ordering and determination are entirely foreign to it; (Hegel, 1807/1949, p.163). Even the initial determination of the Southend supporter's injury "as a broken arm" was ascribed prior to any direct perception "filled" with confirming hyletic data. Here, the perceived material aspect

transcends its sensibly appearing properties and presents itself to the subject as a fully blown object. This is a more general feature of experienced hooliganism whose perceived meaning prescribes a theme as having more properties than are presently determined.

If specific hyletic data are inadequate to comprehend perceptual unification of attributes, then the same applies to a merely conceptual analysis. 'Hooliganism' is itself only a most general characterisation of an incident; it implies the need for more precise determination in terms of the incident's specific properties. These predelineations are drawn from a virtually infinite variety of possible determinations and combinations of determinations; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.142, 143, 149; 1948, s.21c). No incident is perceived as a mere projection of 'hooliganism-in-general'. Instead, this general determination is only the framework for more specific future determinations of 'what happened at Southend'.

Later we shall examine the temporal structure of perceived hooliganism in some detail. For now we can say that the concrete unity of soccer violence's perceived attributes is arrived at through a constant process of unification of anticipated, present, retained and recollected perceptions into one systematic group. At any one time it is what it progressively reveals itself to be within this flowing temporal horizon. This is as true for hooliganism's specific qualities as for its general characteristics. As such, 'hooliganism-in-general' is a theme-horizon which implies an open range of more precise ascriptions of predicative senses; (Husserl, 1948, 21c).

Therefore, in order to satisfy the need for a comprehensive 'picture' of 'what really happened' at Southend or wherever, the subject cannot simply stare at or abide by any single perception, but proceed actively from one to another appearance of the incident. The meants-parts must be perceived from various standpoints, its attributes examined singly and jointly, and also in relation to its immediate circumstances; (Husserl, 1948, p.88). Here too, unification of perspectives is at work. One supporter can appear to be 'devoted to the club', 'a member of the away supporters club', 'middle-aged', 'aggressive to other fans', a 'heavy drinker on Saturday nights', an 'adulterer' etc. Although completely different in what they ascribe, these are all perceptual determinations of the self-same supporter's properties.

Despite their variety they are not merely an aggregate of unrelated properties. The total meaning determination therefore includes not only my pre-understood sense of certain

properties, but also my sense of the specific supporter that bears these properties and relates them to one another. He is the BEARER and UNIFIER of these determinations in my perception of him. The same supporter can be given in other perceptions, anticipations or judgements whose total meaning contains other properties, ie. "an ex-docker", "always useful in a row" and the "hardest one I know". As a result the perceptually determinED supporter cannot be reduced to the determinABLE supporter. He always transcends his ascribed properties as a "point of unity" or "nucleus" that "separates itself out" from within a changing flux of ascribed properties; (Husserl, 1913/31, p.320).

Although neither this supporter, nor his ascribed properties are reducible to another, they still form a unified sense. We can never see any supporter, group of supporters or incidents of hooliganism free of their ascribed properties. Their never appears a "bare" incident abstracted from any determinations, or properties that are not the properties of a definite incident. No doubt further anticipations can accrue to these perceptions relating to say, a forthcoming "grudge game" such as Chelsea v Manchester United.(7) All these future qualities will continue to cohere around the incident which appears as the "same" in each by virtue of the above unification. However these properties, ie. the grudge aspect of a grudge confrontation, are not "owned" as the exclusive possession of an specific example, rather they can apply to an infinite number of other episodes such as Leeds v Chelsea, Portsmouth v Millwall etc.

Since each property does not necessarily imply any of the others, they are indifferent and independent in relation to one another. Their unification within any particular perception is therefore a series of mixes, not a single mixture, ie. hooliganism is local chauvinism, it ALSO is assertive masculinity, it ALSO is threatened or actual violence etc. This "also" structure is what unifies them, it is the medium for their togetherness. Their distinctness within this medium is retained through their negation of each other, each property such as localism is NOT the property of another such as assertive machismo. They are also negative in relation to the same property in other things such as the game of football itself. In other words, although football involves local chauvinism, it is not itself hooliganism. Also each property necessarily excludes others, local chauvinism excludes appreciation and tolerance of regional differences - let alone "class solidarity"!

Therefore in and by themselves predicate-senses are only general properties that do not themselves serve to say which outbreak of soccer violence they refer. In fact they are as non-specific as the determinable meaning of 'hooliganism' itself which negates and transcends each and everyone of them. However it is only as distinct from and therefore related to one another in a unique combination - accomplished through "disowning" - that an incident CAN BE DETERMINED. Disowning coheres together the indifferent unrelated presence of many properties, into the determinate and specific "Southend hooliganism" of interrelated mutually qualifying properties.

The resulting unity of hooliganism's attributes and qualities is the permanent theme of the perceiving activity throughout the perceptual process. It is the theme at every stage of the process and every singly perception belonging to it. There is no contradiction between the stability of hooliganism's attributes and the temporal process of their achievement. For example, one drunken return trip to London by a group of Chelsea supporters is not an isolated perception, a theme in itself. Rather, it is a moment of a stable theme of Saturday drinking by away fans as part of the "day out" aspect of supporting a team away from home. It is apprehended in its relatedness to the earlier perceived hooliganism at the nightclub and as an exemplification of it. As a result, there is no inherent conflict between the flowing perceptual process and the exemplification of essential relations and stable characteristics within it. In fact the two are mutually dependent. We are still forced to think through the temporal character of both synthesis of identification and the unification of attributes, (see S.34 below).

S.32: APPERCEPTION IS FOUNDED UPON THE STRUCTURE OF UNDERSTANDING.

To date the character and effects of apperception of hooliganism have been investigated; so to have the components of this animating process. We have also mentioned in passing that the perceptual constitution of hooliganism pre-supposes a prior cultural constitution and its pre-understanding by perceiving consciousness. Yet by themselves such investigations are hardly foundational - they leave apperception itself quite ungrounded. To make good our claim heralded in the title of this section, we need to show how apperception is founded not just upon certain pre-understandings of football, violence and hooliganism but upon the structure of understanding itself.

But what is this, this structure of "understanding"? Although we cannot disregard the role of the structures of language in the formation of hooliganism's EVIDENT meaning; nonetheless we cannot rest with any self contained study of "ordinary language usage". We have already shown that it is insufficient to examine the way the word "hooliganism" is used in conversations to certain effects; (see above S.3). What forbids this is the complacency ordinary language contains about its completeness of expression, its instability and ambiguity and call upon us to provide what Husserl called:

"A new legitimation of significations by orienting them according to accrued insights, and a fixing of words as expressing the significations thus legitimated"; (1933/77, s.5).

It is therefore necessary to go on to look at THE UNDERSTANDING THAT COMES TO HOOLIGANISM'S MILITARISED LANGUAGE. This is no more primordial than the situatedness or understanding of the perceiving subject to which it is always already interwoven. By pre-predicative experience of hooliganism is understood the direct perceptual experience of our surrounding world in all its resevoirs of meaning, surplus of sense and subject relatedness.

If we cannot reduce our understanding of soccer violence to the language that expresses it, then equally we cannot reduce it to television images. To understand an expression such as "row" or "doing a Barnsley" is not to recover the television and other related images accompanying or illustrating them. Faced with blurred boundaries between meanings, then

intuition - the tool of understanding - diverges and representations in imagination come to play a more dominant role. In less problematic situations the interpretation of sensory data is the real achievement of APPERCEPTION.

Understanding is positively defined as that which explication of meaning explicates and produces as interpretation. Hooliganism's explication always proceeds, and therefore limits, the presentation of itself to the reflection of self-consciousness. It also limits the prevailing notion of objectivity in psychological studies as a presuppositionless grasp of a pre-given object. Already we have seen that interpretive explication is only possible upon certain pre-understandings. In relation to concrete experience, these exhibit the structure of a fore-having, fore-sight and fore-conception of the sense in and through which hooliganism exists for us. Thus it is not possible to implement its sense-structure without implementing the structure of anticipated hooliganism.

This structure of consciousness forms the horizon for any reflective project which aims to grasp this phenomenon in terms of something else, ie. to "explain" it through disclosure of its "causes", ie. the will to recognition, the devaluation of other sources of local identity and pride etc. As a result the field of interpretation of soccer violence is not limited to the so called humanities or social sciences, but embraces all meaning determination and comprehension of any object, activity or incident. It covers ALL projection of meaning in ANY situation. It is thus as much part of natural as social scientific accounts of hooliganism - in fact it embraces all accounts.

We can see the structure of understanding at work in the interpretive sifting of surplus meaning that takes place in supporters' dialogue through the interplay of question and answer. Such sifting of "what happened, with whom, how and to what effect, occurs on the way to matches where previous incidents are reactivated and alternative versions questioned for any obvious inconsistencies or lies. The aim being to grasp and assertively display to the group a "definitive" account of "what really happened". Here the participants collectively determine the contextual values which structure their conversation, ie. what counts as a "loss of bottle", "row" and "justifiable withdrawal". This structuring is necessarily prior to any reflective interpretation and theorising within the dialogue concerning "what soccer violence is all about".

Such conversational understanding and determination of meaning appears to be encompassed within the interior of definite historical mediations, ie. meaning-structures of masculinity, leisure, "appropriate" police action and public order legislation. Primarily these traditions relate to social power and authority. They work through social institutions, roles and collectivities such as the football authorities, the magistracy, football crowds and economic classes. The structure of understanding which interpretation explicates therefore extends much further than "face to face interactions" between supporters and their "negotiation of reality". No group of supporters "invents" the sense of their own actions for themselves or for others. Instead, the sense of hooliganism as "a problem" has already been pre-constituted, along with what it means to be young, working class and male.

If supporters' confrontations gain recognition for themselves in the local or national press, then their significance is also pre-defined in terms of the media's sense of "news". For newspaper readers it contributes to an ongoing debate and situation which must be "kept up with" if any understanding is to occur. This seems to exclude the possibility of a reading which radically begins or ends the debate, which supplies it with its ultimate word and foundation. The successful understanding of such reports would render "near" or "bring home" the violent experiences on which they report. Before the reading that understands these experiences, they were "far away" so that in this process communication occurs in and through distance.(8)

The acts of subjectivity involved here close rather than initiate understanding through appropriation of the reported incident to which it is a response. This then becomes available to the understanding of the reader through its distancing from the intentions of the journalist, its original situation and intended audience. In short, this appropriation of the meaning of the text is only possible on the basis of the dis-appropriation of the self-sufficiency of the reader's existing understanding. This is founded upon a making-oneself-open-to-the-text. This possibility is itself founded upon the structure of human subjectivity itself - its self-transcendence towards its lived-world and the overtness of world-experience to itself. Such a self-alienation proves creative in allowing the sense and reference of the reported incident to come to itself through the reader's understanding. In moving "into" the report the reader moves "out of" his or her "shut up" self.

Our understanding of what hooliganism signifies for us appears grounded in the essential "expressibility" of our experience. Even the real difficulties in articulating a strange or truly appalling incident can themselves be progressively articulated. Such articulation of understanding does not transform the experience of hooliganism into something else, but fulfils its possibilities for being-expressed, to make it become itself.

The written report of violence can represent "what happened" only because it itself is not the theme, but the MEDIUM for understanding the significance of soccer violence. It follows that it is to the founding level of pre-predicative perceptual experience that we must turn, Husserl;

"Predicative includes pre-predicative evidence. That which is meant or, perchance, evidently viewed receives predicative expression; and science fixed, as an express judgement or as an express truth. But the expression as such has its own comparatively good or bad way of fitting what is meant or itself given; and therefore it has its own evidence or non-evidence, which also goes into the predicating. Consequently evidence of the expression is also a determining part of the idea of scientific truth, as predicative complexes that are, or can be, grounded absolutely"; (1933/77, s.4).

S.33: PERCEPTION OF HOOLIGANISM IS FOUNDED UPON A CERTAIN TEMPORAL STRUCTURE.

Our analysis of perception now appears to have contradicted the earlier account of phenomenological evidence. Our grounding of apperception upon a seemingly static structure of understanding contradicts the emphasis placed upon temporality as both the medium and target for truth. This contradiction is not to be avoided as if it was contagious; rather it should be allowed to resolve itself. Resolution occurs when temporality / time-consciousness present themselves as the foundation for both understanding and its (self)explication. The word "self" bracketted here points towards the intrinsic reflexivity of our investigation that aims for an understanding of understanding by understanding. Although bewildering difficulties arise, these can never ground relativistic poses; rather their arousal evidences the operation of truth as fully disclosed reflective consciousness of temporal constitution. In an effort to unfold the complex manifold of founding / founded relations operative in perception's structure, the following assertions will be considered:

1. Temporality as the possibility condition for soccer violence's perceptual synthesis of unification; (S.34).
2. Temporality as itself the flowing unity within the present of a horizon of the past, present and future; (S.35).
3. The present is founded upon pre-understandings derived from the flow of intersubjective tradition; (S.36).

S.34: THE SYNTHESIS OF UNIFICATION OF HOOLIGANISM IS FOUNDED UPON TEMPORALITY.

If the temporal character of experienced hooliganism is to reveal itself, "in the flesh", then perception will be the act through which this presentation takes place. We have already examined the synthesis through and over time of the identity of hooliganism as the "same" perceived phenomenon. The possibility condition of such a synthesis was temporal succession. When we perceive various activities as hooliganism we do not see a series of merely fleeting and disconnected noises and images. Rather what appears is the progressive and temporal unfolding of different phases of the "same" incident as "exciting", "a continuing cause for concern and new initiatives" and "another lapse in policing". What concerns us here is the flow of time in and through this perceptual process; a theme which appears inescapable once the synthesising activity of perception and the enduring character of the sense made by this synthesis have been grasped.

If we proceed from the perceptual consciousness of a person who witnesses an incident, to imaginative modifications that present "what could have happened", then their time-forms appear. For example, at the 1984 Rotherham v Derby match a small group of Derby fans broke away from police segregation and went roaming the streets of Rotherham looking out for home supporters. They encountered one rather dim Rotherham fan wearing a red and white scarf. After being approached and ridiculed he asked "Are you Derby fans then?" Their response was to grab him by the neck, push him to the floor and kick him around. Other elder supporters from this group ignored this incident saying dismissively; "he's only a kid". They were, or wanted to be seen as, more interested in fighting home supporters who were "worthy opposition" for themselves.

After this unsuccessful hunting trip they made their way back to the bus station where they chased out a number of Rotherham supporters waiting for their buses. They were then pushed onto a Sheffield bus by local police anxious to rid themselves of their unwelcome presence. As this bus passed a block of council flats, a number of Rotherham fans began hurling half bricks at the upper floor windows of the bus. Two struck the pane immediately next to my companion's head. Luckily the window did not shatter. However, immediately upon perceiving this incident, graphic and bloody images of what COULD have happened to our unscarred faces IF

the window had shattered flashed across our minds. What presents itself in these modifications is an IMAGINATIVE IMPROVISATION around the perceived incident in its direct presence as "itself-there". This improvisation refers back to the episode's original perceptual presence so that the "what could have" and "what actually did occur" are in a definite temporal relation. The imaginative presentation of lacerated faces is itself perceived but in ~~modified~~ form, ie. AS IF it had actually occurred. Such modifications recapitulate all the incident's manifold of perceptual appearances.

The question now arises of how, in an extended flow of consciousness, does original perceptual awareness of a temporally extended event and series of episodes, become constituted? Whatever the material character of a weapon, glass window or other object associated with soccer violence, its perceptual appearance to consciousness appears in a succession of phases, together forming a continuum. The window successively appeared as a convenient means to see outside, as a possible source of danger, as an immediate threat of a distinctly lacerated face and then as welcome obstacle that deflected a threat etc. In other words, the enduring presence of that object-as-meant is constituted in the "flux of an ever new becoming". Each moment "lights up" the fleeting present, with its duration being a "continuum of continua"; (Husserl, 1948, p.387). As a result each presentation of that window flowed into the one immediately before it assembling a constant perceptual series. This very experience is part of an endless continuum of time within which the total incident has a certain duration and temporal presence.

Temporal unification occurs not as a blending of externals; rather as bearers of "sense" in each phase, as meaning actual or possible "hooliganism". Each perspective combines with others in an advancing enrichment and continuing development of this meaning"; (Husserl, 1936/70, p.158). What is more as long as each phase continues to confirm and follow on from its predecessor, it is possible for a diversity of activities to be held together into one incident. This itself evidences more of the "same" hooliganism. In both cases the important point is to see this perceived "sameness" not as an inherent character of the phases or activities themselves but as the outcome of a perceptual syntheses.

In terms of their general essential meaning-structure - the hooligan character of any episode of hooliganism or the perceptual character of perceived hooliganism - the various

parts are connected and united in the one total essence. Even as an individual sense the total perceived event is... "a whole of time"; (Husserl, 1948, s.43). Its unity is one of temporal connectedness and actual connection. In this temporal process hooliganism appears no longer to be retained as completely definitive, and the previous anticipation is immediately fulfilled and more precisely determined. Everything is then taken up into the unity of validity as the one unified phenomenon. This unity is precisely what constitutes the unity of both particular objects as "offensive weapons", and the more general phenomenon of soccer violence, as ENDURING TEMPORAL THEMES. Within this enduring sameness, specific manifestations of these themes can nevertheless change or remain the same.

Also the perceptual act through which soccer violence appears as something-meant presents itself as a continuum of phases. Each contains a continuum of incidents as its contents, and a continuum of apprehensions of those incidents. The total perception appears to be a continuum of these continua experienced within a totalising temporal movement. It is therefore impossible to discuss the perception of activities as those of hooliganism without investigating this act's temporality.

The whole perceived episode of soccer violence is in a process of becoming, and a whole only insofar as it has, stage by stage, become what it now is perceived to be. This applies to its visual, acoustic and tactile parts as well as to their connection. When attention focuses on the enduring weapon, supporter or victim of soccer violence, we experience the identity which endures through the flux of multiplicities of figurations. Conversely, such an essential temporal pattern could only appear as the temporality of something that itself remains the same. Therefore the temporality and identity of perceived incidents appears mutually dependent. Their mutual dependence becomes clear when we direct our attention to the phases of the duration of the incidents and to the experiences of fighting, threats and obscenity which typically occupy these phases. In these phases and contents of phases we perceive a multiplicity of figurations concerning the phenomenon as the same thing; the same thing now, the same thing then, and so on. For example, the distinctive umbrella, carried by a Chelsea fan and apperceived as a weapon during their 1984 visit to Sheffield Wednesday, can be seen again as such in phase after phase of perception. Each of these phases occupies a slice of time, as does the unified incident as a totality. This occupation is the

phenomenon's duration and is filled by a definite temporal content of experiences that typically include visual sensations of running, sounds of shouts, cries of pain, anger, ridicule or submission and the tactile contact of other bodies running and fighting with or against the perceiving subject. The temporal parts of perceived hooliganism correspond to the DIVISION of any incidents duration.

All those perceptions belonging to a crowd of supporters are temporally connected to yield not a disconnected series of fan-perceptions but one crowd. This unity can appear only if time-consciousness includes this group as simultaneous and successive. In this grouping they all appear together in one duration maintaining their cohesive character as a crowd. A connecting temporal form co-joins each fan with all the others. Their being together in time is based upon their lying together in space. On the relations which connect one perceived incident with another to yield "more of the same", are based the unity of an actual connection in one time. In this slice of time, the connected moments have their absolute temporal position, ie. an unaltering before and after structure within the streaming flow of consciousness that prohibits say the end of a perceived fight "overtaking" the middle portion. Their enduring perceptual presence thus belongs to a unique order of becoming. Thus what is perceived is present but possible only as temporal presence. Their presence to perceptual consciousness can be represented only in the reproduction of this order. Such a reproduction amounts to a representation of becoming which is constitutive of time itself. Thus perceptual determination of an event is determination of its temporality and that of temporality itself. The individuality of this becoming founds the connecting unity and order relations among perceptions; (Husserl, 1948, s.43).

Perception also provides the pace and the site for the coming together of perception's and imagination's intuitions on the basis of association. The linking of one perceptual experience of soccer violence with that of another by association establishes the actual connection, in the stream of time consciousness, of all past and present perceptions in one unified memory. I can "place" a remembered umbrella carried by a certain Chelsea supporter, beside the same object and supporter presently apperceived as a weapon and weapon user respectively. It makes no difference here that the two things "belong" to different stretches of clock time, they still appear together in immanent lived-time. Once perceived such objects

can then be transposed from one time to another, and be perceived co-existing at and in, the same time of present perceptions of soccer crowds, weapons and incidents of violence. This implies that the unity of the intuition of time is the pre-condition for all objects, persons and events perceptually connected in any combination. This is because all contents appear through perception as temporal phenomena. It therefore follows that every other perceivable connection presupposes the unity of time.

Therefore the identity of hooliganism both within perception and across other acts has a temporal duration and position; it is extended with an essential content over the original continuum of time and has essentially a temporal extension of definite magnitude.

We saw earlier that when there is a "breach of agreement" between perceptions of supporters' loyalties or intentions there is no disruption to immanent time. Instead, any conflict over which teams different supporters are following actually requires the identity of temporal determination. Therefore we can say that the identities, intentions and activities of fans that appear through perception have their determinate temporal position. Such temporal location is not just in immanent, that is "lived-time", but also the resulting "objective" clock time that is derived from this experience.

The synthesis of unification holds together (owns) and disassociates (disowns) various elements on the basis of specific pre-understandings. The perceptual presence of hooliganism also over-steps the present in its future orientation. For example, some aspect of this person's retained sense of "what really happened" will remain indeterminate but determinable. This is true however much he later comprehends and explicates the violence. Thus as a continuing outcome, the perceptual presence of hooliganism constitutes itself in the present. But because the present is the present only within a horizon of past / present and future, it cannot be reduced to that which is merely factually present. This horizon is not self-grounding; it is rather founded upon the temporality of perceptual consciousness itself. The significance of hooliganism perceived in the present, must therefore be grasped in terms of the on-going assembly of an "enpresenting", ie. a flowing "stretch" of time-consciousness involving retention and anticipation of violence; (see below).

In short, the achieved identity of any object, event or person apperceived as exemplifying hooliganism, presents itself as the achievement of the continuous flow of retentions, direct

perceptions and anticipations. This flow evidences becoming which is itself a temporalising of time itself. Thus all perceived, all perceptible episodes and objects of soccer violence have the common form of time. It is the the first and fundamental form, the form of all forms, the presupposition of all other connections capable of establishing unity. The temporality of perception as duration, as sequence, is the necessary form of all objects as unities and the form of their intuition.

S.35: APPERCEPTION OF SOCCER VIOLENCE IS FOUNDED UPON A CONTINUING TRADITION OF PRE-
UNDERSTANDINGS.

We have already seen that the perceptual process animates hyle through the meaning-conferring activity of apperception. Apperception is founded upon the structure of understanding. Yet apperception was equally grounded upon the temporality of perceptual consciousness. However if we can uncover temporality within understanding then this paradox resolves itself.

Apperception is not accomplished all at once. If the seeing of interpretation is always seeing-as-something-meant and this perception is founded upon a certain fore-having, fore-sight and fore-conception then hooliganism is always pre-understood in every apperception of an event; (Heidegger, 1926/80, p.262). Thus during any disorderly incident our sense of hooliganism appears ready-made prior to its appearing here and now. It appears as an achievement of past intentional syntheses. These are our cultural heritage constantly being recreated / added to. Such an inheritance can never "wear out"; it always appears together with additions / re-creations. A present inheritance points further back to earlier apperceptions assembled over time which lie at the source of what is inherited. These are themselves founded upon the basis of past traditions of sedimented meaning.

Hooligan tradition takes the form of a continuity of what I am still conscious of, what has flowed away and is no longer intuited at all; a continuity of retentions and anticipations, which are the two different structured sides of the "flowing-static" present; (Husserl, 1948, p.168). Thus although any perception of soccer violence is related only to the present, this present is always meant as having a horizon - an endless past behind it and an open future before it; (Husserl, 1936/70, p.160). This temporal horizon implies the need to consider recollection in its de-sedimenting role of making present again the past. Yet perceptions of crowd trouble do not present the phenomena alongside those which are recalled from memory. There is no relation of spatial unity at all, because there is no unity of what is intuited within one temporal duration. This is not to say that there is no connection between the two. We have already seen that every perception of an incident has its horizon of before and after. A past incident can be re-presented in memories, even if these are not immediately connected

with the perception, but separated from it by long forgotten stretches. It refers back to what was perceived before which ultimately takes us back to an ORIGINAL PRIMORDIAL SENSE-INTUITION of hooliganism's meaning. Therefore every memory of a past incident presupposes a having-perceived - a past pre-understanding.

The temporal structure of pre-understanding thus underlies understanding itself. For example, the shared interpretive schema that holds together a particular "crew" or "fighting gang of supporters is one of the sites for the concrete operation of pre-understandings. If we probe deeper interpretation appears to involve pre-understanding of relations of familiarity grounded upon an interest in cognitive order. Throughout different episodes in the usually short life of a "crew" it faces challenges and opportunities to expand its cognitive maps. By way of travel to grounds all over England and Wales, and occasionally beyond into Europe, supporters can incorporate new places, groups of people and incidents as meaningful realities to group knowledge. Incorporation appears to involve relating the new into already settled, pre-understood and established meaning-contents. Typically, these concern "what everyone already knows" about X's supporters, Cockneys, Southerners, Geordies, Northerners, Pakistanis etc.

On any particular occasion such incorporation of present perceptions need not be successful. But even if the new incident cannot be brought under established pre-understandings, then some associations - deeply sedimented in the "past" - will re-activate themselves concerning other already settled meaning-contents. These associations will then be re-activated in group awareness. As such they will once more be "on hand" to make sense of present experience in terms of these past associations. So even the genuinely new experience of say, a visit by Millwall to non-league Slough Town, was subsumed within the interpretive scheme and meaning-contents so re-presented.

During this match there was an awareness of being away from the normal constraints partly brought about by the stricter segregation at League clubs, of facing local police who were not necessarily experienced with crowd control and of "making an impression" upon "virgin country". Also there had been talk of local West Ham and Chelsea fans reinforcing Slough Town's contingent of usually peaceful supporters. These factors contributed towards an interpretation of that 1983 game as a site for possible confrontations. These pre-

understandings - themselves drawn from a wider tradition of sedimented knowledge - were acted upon. The expected "reinforcements" appeared and a small confrontation at Slough Town's home end resulted in a pitch invasion by Millwall supporters, some fist fighting and kicking, and the eventual retreat of their challengers.

Another interpretive moment founded upon pre-understanding is the difference between perceiving a report of this crowd violence and a spoken account. The significance of the incident referred to by the spoken word is determined largely by the shared situation of the witness and audience. In the media reports of both local and national papers this shared situation could not exist for the reader. Instead, its dimension must be unfolded through the process of a more active interpretive reading. Also the audience of the report was constituted as "any reader whatsoever" so its meaning de-contextualises itself from its specific social conditions of its production. The sense of "what happened at Slough Town's ground" developed, in stages and over time, an autonomy from the intentions of the reporters who perceived this episode of soccer violence. As a result a search by a person coming in from the outside for the "last word" on "what really happened" is all in vain. It involves an endless pursuit of interpreting and re-interpreting past interpretations of the initial report in a process of argumentation. This process involves a dialogue between the sense of the report and the incident that is being written about. In the very writing of such reports there appears a complexity of composition, labour in forming language and inscription of experience into a relatively standardised format and often sensationalised "style" to which it bears testimony.

The reading of press reports in the Windsor and Eton News and the national papers involved an act of appropriation of its sense. This sense of "what happened at Slough Town" then becomes the reader's own personalised reading of an initially alien document. Such a reading is personalised because it is shaped by the unique combination of interests, concerns and practical compartments of that reader. The reader's act of interpretation brings together, renders contemporary and similar the perceived incident, its later coverage and that coverage's appropriation. Such unison occurs through expanding the conscious horizons of the reader by real-ising the meaning of the report. Genuine appropriation of "what happened" for the reader is a temporal process; it occurs only in so far as the reader disappropriates the

naive, pre-critical and pre-reflective self-understanding before being instituted as "the readership" by the reports. Therefore the apperceiving of media coverage appears to be just as much an outgoing as an ingoing of the subjectivity of the reader. For cultural subjects ultimately this is a self-understanding mediated through the world of hooliganism opened up by that reading.

In apperception of media reports or any other perceptual experience, the pre-understood meaning-forms themselves have to be re-constructed to accommodate the "new" experience. For example, the unwillingness of the Chelsea contingent at Slough to stand and fight was seen to "confirm" for the Millwall fans involved "what everyone knew about Chelsea when faced with any real opposition". Again these current perceptions of violence can form part of COGNITIVE JUDGEMENTS concerning the perceived hooliganism, its associations, the act of associating the old and new, any difficulties or doubts encountered in this performance, and any problems in expressing and confirming the validity of the association through intersubjective agreement via language. After the Slough Town violence Millwall's chairman Alan Thorne issued a statement condemning the episode and threatening to withdraw his considerable financial support for the club unless their supporters' behaviour improved. This was contained in the next home programme which was distributed free to make sure all supporters "got the message". It might appear that because "hooliganism" itself is already an interpretive outcome, it is an object of suspicion to be "unravelling" in the name of objectivity. But pre-understanding does not stand in the way of the "reality" of what "really happened" at any game; it is not just the "stereotyping" or blind prejudices of witnesses and news-reporters'. Instead what appears as highly questionable is the pre-understanding of say "objective newscoverage" only in terms of an act of alienating distancing of practical interests, concerns and compartments. This is because it undermines the relation of belonging-together within a cultural tradition of both the apperception and the real experience seen as "hooliganism". Within this shared tradition and heritage, what is pre-understood through the interpretation of signs, works and texts is both the understanding of soccer violence and that which is understood.

The alternative to a perspective interpretation is no understanding at all. Explication of apperception does not transform or distort this pre-understanding into something else. Instead it brings hooliganism to its own fulfilled possibility of disclosure and expression.

If we unfold the hooligan character of any event apperceived as an example of hooliganism, this explication of its meaning for us in no way invents this sense, but rather fulfils its previously latent possibilities for being-disclosed. Perceptual understanding presents itself as a fusion of horizons that makes the incidents and their understanding available and meaningful to the interpreter in the first place. What appears here is consciousness of the effects of tradition and the history of its effects upon perceptual consciousness. In other words, to self-consciousness of the historical character of our pre-understanding in their determination by meaning-traditions. We can now say that understanding through pre-understanding (apperception) is always already from within the same spreading web of traditional meanings that it seeks to interpret.

We must not then conceptualise the subject-relatedness of all interpretations of crowd disturbances in terms of "prejudice"/"ideology" in contrast to some idea of scientific reason without pre-suppositions, proceeding from a mysterious pre-cultural, pre-historical and pre-linguistic de-situated zero point. This unreasonable notion of scientific reason itself appears only on the basis of a certain pre-understanding of "objectivity" which must itself be seen as a "prejudice"/"ideology". It thus dismisses the very structure of pre-judgements that make it what it is. As such it contradicts itself.

The recovery of the sources of this achievement is the task of a concrete genealogical study. For example it is possible to recover the sources and evolution of the meaning of a "hooliganism", "local rivalry", "crowd violence" etc. through several stages of intentional modifications assembled through the "history" of known human consciousness and thought. Such an endeavour is possible only because every step in the perception of football hooliganism has a lasting result. Habitualities are established by it which are realised in diverse ways. Genealogy can trace the genesis of these "in the actuality of their becoming", just as if they were produced for the first time without any cooperation by habitual sedimentations of sense.

The necessity for such a recovery has its roots in the fact that perceptual acts which have contributed to the sedimented sense of hooliganism as a pre-given phenomenon become anonymous. Despite their continual contribution to football's reflective and practical life within the natural attitude, their operation occurs without becoming an explicit theme. While the simplified results may surface, the general dynamics of this passive constitution tend to

remain obscure. In apperception of soccer violence what is experienced is only the RESULTS of continuing perceptual synthesis and not the synthesising itself. At the 1984 Rotherham v Derby game in which a bus was "bricked", this episode for my companion, seeing hooliganism for the first time, each moment passed from vivid immediacy, to the passivity of the flowing fading consciousness of what-has-just-now-occurred. Finally this retention of each phase itself disappears; but not to become nothing since it can be reawakened from obscurity, and relived every time we plan to travel away from football matches on buses or coaches. Such manifold acquisitions of earlier active and willed life are not simply dead deposits, but function in present perceptions largely unnoticed. Although they are not currently actualised, the past perceptions are in constant motion involving modes of being immediately or mediately awakened in her consciousness. These modes may effect her and pass into active apperception in a whole complex of anticipatory, imaginative, judgemental and recollective acts. She can always delve into this mute and concealed store, that takes the form of a "vital horizon", and deliberately reactivate old acquisitions of past incidents that she has witnessed in our travels. Because of the constantly flowing character of this horizon every simple act, say judgements about "How could they do such a thing knowing what the consequences could be?", always presupposes others. These extend back immediately or mediately, into a necessary subsoil of past perceptions. Together all of these add up to a single, indivisible and interrelated complex of life.

The effort to uncover the anonymous operation of tradition leads from one layer of consciousness to another and towards the last ground of all synthesis; the world-experiencing-life. No illusions about the so called "transparency" of consciousness can obscure the fact that the very effort to clarify this operation must make use of the same operation to do so. Awareness of the LIMITS of reflexivity only gradually emerge.

S.36: THE FUTURE ORIENTATION OF PERCEPTION AND PERCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDING.

We have seen that perception pre-supposes time-consciousness and is founded upon a structure of understanding. Understanding is itself grounded upon the temporalisation of pre-understandings, and ultimately upon the temporalisation of time itself. The overlapping intentionality of time-consciousness appears here in that consciousness must reach out beyond the "now." The momentary perceptual phase is not simply consciousness of the now phase of the incident. If it were, one would not perceive a series of battles or other such extended temporal events because this must include consciousness of the past phases as well as the now phase which it encompasses in a definite way. During an incident of soccer violence, every now is a signpost to an extended section of the temporal event. Thus perception has both a definite position and an extension in time of a certain duration that can be analysed into a series of now-points. Each point has its horizon of retentions and references forwards. Each now-point is in the process of sinking back to become a retention and then a retention of a retention etc.

This threefold intentional structure of the individual phase of perceptual consciousness implies a clear distinction between the phases of the incident intended in the various temporal modes, and the intending slice of consciousness comprised of now-perception, primary-memory and primary anticipation (protentions). What is more such memories and protentions are not themselves past or future relative to the now perception, they are all equally now. Yet the past or future phases of the incident intended will be past or future relative to the object's now phase intended through the now perception. In this way perception makes present the presence of hooliganism within a temporal horizon that, through the reconstitutions of pre-understandings, embraces the cultural tradition of the perceiver.

Yet the temporal horizon of hooliganism's presence is exhausted neither by the present nor by the operation of tradition through pre-understandings. Perceptions of hooliganism bear a directedness towards what is yet to come even if not towards continuations of the same temporal object, person or event. Taken as a whole, perceptual acts and that which they present are, at the same time, flowing forever forward, aiming beyond their now-phase towards their ever greater fulfilment of their present possibilities. Therefore not only is

immediate experience mediated by the tradition from which it springs, but also by the expectations this tradition generates which immediacy looks forward to.

Each moment of an incident is grasped not as self-contained, but as teleologically intending beyond itself towards its own contribution to the sense of the incident as a whole. Thus the whole is implicit from the start. Fulfilment within perception aims for a complete grasp and true understanding of that which is grasped. As long as this truth orientation is taken up, perception is incapable of resting content. Success here would require an appearance of such fulfilled potentialities in a way that excludes every conceivable doubt, together with an insight into the LIMITS of the present intuitive evidence. Thus not only do acts of perception orient themselves to the future, ie. the presence of the not-yet-present, but also interpretation of understanding over time appears at the heart of any apperception of events as "football hooliganism". This is insofar as explication of their perceptual experience requires the active clarification and progressive development of spiralling sense and act-horizons. These encompass the appearance of hooliganism to perceptual consciousness. In such explication we could take the thematising of an umbrella as a weapon in its own right and thereby begin to fulfil the possibilities of understanding its appearing to consciousness in the perceptual way that it does appear.

Now in once sense interpretation that reads INTO the phenomenon of perceived hooliganism more than genuinely appears is to be avoided as a misunderstanding. Yet the fulfilment of the possibilities of hooliganism's perceptual appearance according to the possibilities it itself presents, is an essential element of and for its understanding. There is here a two-way relation between the explication of soccer violence's intuitive evidence and evidence of its explication. An evidence of soccer violence's understood meaning - as combative masculinity, as local chauvinism dovetailing into latent nationalism - is itself an explication which unfolds evidence. For example, the meaning of an umbrella, carried by a Chelsea supporter during his team's 1984 game at Sheffield Wednesday, appears as perceptually determined across a series of levels of specificity and generality. Such levels take place within and are connected by spiralling horizons, eg. this umbrella, as it presents one side of itself in a single perceptual phase, intends beyond itself to an enriched understanding of the same apparently innocent object from a more sustained perception. This more complete

perception could be achieved from another angle and through the perceiving subject focusing upon its meant parts and properties such as the solid wood of its handle, the sharpness of its metal spike etc.

Because of this we can develop the temporal character of the appearing of hooliganism in its perceptual modifications. As they sink retentionally into the evermore distant past, perceptual modifications concern hooliganism perceived as something doubtful - as when a supporter casts doubt upon the police's interpretation of any incident - then in the police's reply, as a probable perception, then as distinct following evidence from witnesses. For example, after Millwall's visit to Mansfield in 1980, I followed six or seven of their supporters who left the game early to avoid police segregation. The group were after revenge following Millwall's defeat and they were looking for an opportunity to "start a row". Walking down the hill away from the ground they saw a group of about twenty or so young home supporters. One of Millwall's fans said "Come on let's go!", while another advocated caution but was overruled. The group ran at the Mansfield supporters with flying kicks and punches. Most of them scattered to get out of the way, but a number of "toe-to-toe" fist fights began.

Next, the police rushed towards this confrontation letting their alsation dogs off their leashes. One of them seized hold and chewed the leg of the Millwall fan who had launched the original assault. The police then arrived in greater numbers and most people scattered to avoid arrest. The seized Millwall fan was released because another Millwall supporter posed as "an independent witness" and assured the police that it was the now departed Mansfield fans who had launched the attack and that the "outnumbered" Millwall were merely defending themselves against such inhospitality. If we consider how the incident must have been perceived by the police dog-handler who eventually was persuaded to release the Millwall fan, we can see that a series of such perceptual modifications must have occurred. The sense of the incident he retained was probably "an unprovoked assault" that was initially seen as a "possible case of affray involving ALL the participants". However, when seen alongside the evidence of the 'witness', the flight of the Mansfield supporters may have "confirmed" this later apperception of "what happened".

In this pointing-ahead structure of perceptual acts, meanings and temporal modifications of meaning, the aim is forever ahead of its achievement. The truth of perceived hooliganism -

the complete determination of this theme - lies ahead of itself. Such aiming-beyond the present perceptual understanding must not be confused with the distinct acts of anticipating or imagining soccer violence. These acts may be founded upon a prior perception, but their occurrence need not be accompanied by any specific perception. By contrast, the aiming towards fulfillment of an incident's one-sided presentation cannot occur without a present perception of it.

These potentialities are not read into what is "given" in intuition; they are implicitly pointed to by the original perception of the umbrella. As these future horizons are progressively explicated, with their potentialities that lie implicit in their actuality fulfilled as regards their significant structure, wider horizons appear as potentialities of hooliganism and for our perceptual consciousness of it. We have already seen how the explication of the hooliganism's sense-for-consciousness forces our understanding beyond a clarification of the theme as meant ie. WHAT it appears as, to the MANNER of its appearing to consciousness. This noetic analysis can include other modes presentation of hooliganism, ie. as imagined, anticipated, signified by language and recollected in addition to the founding mode of perception. Here to the PERCEPTUAL CHARACTER of its appearing could be still further explicated. That is to say, the synthesising processes that present the perceptual flux as meaning one definite umbrella, continuously before us and meant as the same, awaits explication. So does the operative pre-understanding of what constitutes an "offensive weapon" in the context of a football match that was partly confirmed by its actual perception as such.

Also on the noetic side we can also go on to explicate the anticipatory structure's flowing temporality of pre-understanding and its modes of ego-comportment. These include seizure of an initial perceptual sense, still-having, holding-on the incident as an "affray" and letting-go of this apperception in favour of hooliganism in the form of "an unprovoked assault". Here, the flowing temporality that temporalises the appearance of conscious life to reflecting consciousness, presents itself as a possible horizon for study. This presentation also co-present the historicity of the perceiving, explicating and reflecting subject as a project for future investigation. Within this newly opened up temporal realm, the developmental logic of how the phenomenon has come to appear as it now does appear can begin to be unravelled. It

can be unfolded for our understanding in terms of its sense-origins and laws of formation and constitution "within" consciousness and discourse.

Further, the perceiving subject's interests, concerns and modes of comportment concerning the weapon, gradually come into range for possible future explication. This can occur as explication of understanding moves from the character of the umbrella as "a potential weapon for use as a club", to the perceiving of it in this meaning. Comportment of the subject makes understandable the umbrella's simple "meantness" for that subject. It reveals how, in itself, and by virtue of its current intentional structure, the subject's consciousness **MAKES POSSIBLE** and necessary the fact that **SUCH** an object can appear to be so determined in **THIS** perceptual manner.

These levels of potential explication of perceptual acts and meaning horizons themselves appear only through the temporalising of time itself. Thus the self-constitution of time itself evidenced within the perceptual process is the ultimate possibility and project. This total project is implicitly pointed towards from the first by even the most indeterminate, short-lived and uninteresting perception of hooliganism. Thus in one sense foundational research as a whole is no more than an effort to follow through the anticipatory structure of the percept, act of perceiving and perceptual subject.

S.37:TEMPORALITY AND THE NOW-POINT.

Our concern here is to investigate the most immediate and "given" moment of perception's temporal horizon, its now-point. This is examined both in the unification of attributes and in its own right. In reflection upon the temporality of the now-point, we will also find the possibility conditions of temporal reflection which are at the same time concrete. They are concrete because they are experienced under the form of a horizon of present-past-future. Temporal reflection upon this horizon reveals the story of its own development, a story which itself is always on the move. However the first task is to question the adequacy of common sense which takes perceptual experience in its immediate form as the "obvious truth" of its experiences of hooliganism, eg. the concern for eye-witness accounts of "what happened".

What is this, this "immediate experience"? In our context, determining the meaning of immediate experience is not a question of trying to contrast our experience EITHER in its immediate, OR in its mediated appearance. There is nothing to be gained through their juxtaposition because the two are already forever entwined. Hegel:

"There is nothing, nothing in the heavens or in nature or in the spirit or anywhere, which does not contain both immediacy and mediation; so that these two determinations are seen to be undivided and indivisible, and this opposition something vain"; (Hegel, 1812/41, p.56).

In other words, nothing is wholly immediate in the sense that it is in no way mediated; and nothing is mediated in the sense that it is in no way immediate. For example, the local chauvinism immediately presented in perceived hooliganism is not confined to either this present nor even to hooliganism. Thus although mediating, its presence remains immediate. It is in this sense, and in this sense ONLY, that the term "immediacy" is used. Immediate experience is necessarily first hand and in / of the present. In an immediate experience of hooliganism, this perceiving subject finds itself, here and now, facing that experienced theme. Here nothing comes between perceptual consciousness and its theme. The experiencing is immediate because nothing has been added or subtracted. Hooliganism acquires an ideal structure and perceptual sense without ceasing to be immediate. If the flow of time can be

seen at work even in this least congenial of settings, then all those mediations founded upon it must exhibit this temporal structure. Our questioning of immediacy involves formalised and experiential levels.

The disclosure of mediation of time in the heart of immediacy can become formally apparent if we ask the question "What is now?" the answer given is "Now is night," and this is written down, then within twelve hours this truth would become empty; (Hegel, 1807/1949, p.81). Since "now" is true in both cases, the term "now" is too ambiguous to give us any positive information about the phenomenon. Hegel:

"The now which is night is held on to, ie. it is treated as what it is given out to be, as something which is, but it shows itself to be rather something which is not"; (ibid, p.81).

The non-being of the "now" is its opposition to another "now" that it disowns. Our very focusing upon a particular "now" shows us that this "now" has been and displays a certain flowing towards what it is just about to be; time refuses to stand still. Therefore the term "now" which was employed to designate the immediate appears itself to be mediated by a temporal flowing and cannot do the job. If "now" is applicable to ANY immediacy then we are dealing with universality within the heart of what initially appears as purely particular.

Hegel:

"The "now" is monstrously privileged: it "is" nothing but the individual "now"; but in giving itself airs, this thing which is so elusive has already been dissolved, diffused, pulverised, even when I am expressing it"; (1830/74, s.258).

This universality relates not just to the EXPRESSION of immediacy but also to the immediate experience THAT IS EXPRESSED by this term. So, as Husserl also discovered, this "now" itself sinks back in a process of sedimentation into the flowing stream of the tradition from which it emerged. Hegel:

"Both the now and the pointing out of the now are so constituted that neither the now nor the

pointing out of the now is something immediate and simple but rather a movement which has different moments in it"; (Ibid, p.85).

Therefore any effort to isolate a "now" fails not only because the term is too general, but also because any "now" turns out to be a SUCCESSION of "nows" flowing out of a tradition into which they return through sedimentation.

Here however, Hegel's account of temporality suffers from the deficiency of much of his philosophy; it presents a summary of the formal results of sometimes quite acute phenomenological vision without showing us the working out of descriptive evidence for those results. In short, for the more formal analysis of Hegelian phenomenology, the "now" of immediacy is only meaningful in relation to another "now" which it disowns.

However this formal analysis leaves us uncertain as to its basis in phenomenological evidence. Nevertheless both he and Husserl show us that immediacy founds the historical present, which involves the unending totalisation of the past in the present in the form of:

"The vital movement of the co-existence and the interweaving... of primordial and sedimentations of sense"; (Husserl, 1936/70 s.75).

When we turn to our immediate perceptual experience of soccer violence we find that it functions initially as a kind of receptive and virtually passive entity that can move from a casual and unfocused looking around to a more focused apprehension. This simply "takes in" the colour of the scarves, the raised character of terraces housing rival fans standing behind one another etc. With this "taking in" a form of belief factor in the reality of what is being seen accompanies and founds the perception.

Thus instead of hooliganism being fully grasped in its immediate form, it displays a three fold structure; its present perceived contents, its directedness towards its possibilities for more complete determination and a pre-given structure of its having been and enduring.

This structure allows a highly focused attentive concern for what is going on in a game. This appears motivated by a definite interest in its cognition and explication of its meaning for the threatened subject. Here there is an intensification of the sense of the game as, for

example, a display of brute physical power through the threat of violence and humiliation, as a source of recognition through news and sports reporting, etc. The seating arrangements, dress and manner of the rival fans are then further explicated in this light so that they become modified in this striving for a more enriched sense of "what is likely to happen". Now the perceived scene appears in a transformed light compared with the initial looking around. Instead of a nearly passive receipt there is greater ego-involvement as it exercises greater activity over the directedness and intuition of the scene's perceptual significance. As the subject fixes attention upon his group, the perceptual possibilities only implicitly present are then followed through. This following through exhibits a definite teleological directedness towards a more intensified sense of the the situation's total significance. Here the subject aims at ever new ways of actively developing the meaning of its present experience along lines already laid down by the form of perceptual experience itself. It becomes clear already that the sense made out of the growing tension by the perceiving subject is a result of a process involving a temporal series of transformations of immediate experience of both the game itself and the subject's attentive comportment towards it.

Thus our concrete experience of immediacy shows us that duration consists in, and shows itself through, an incessant transformation of every "actual now" into a "having just been an actual now". The very effort to point out a single "now" is itself the movement which expresses the nature of immediacy - a multiplicity of interconnected "nows" flowing in a temporal process involving sedimentation. Everything that we select from the immanent sphere contains a temporal dimension as an individual theme:

"Is something existing only as streaming. Thus every sense datum, but also every appearance OF, every intentional lived experience without exception... This implies first that in the concrete unity of lived experience the phases and segments must not only be appearances to begin with, but the appearances must fit together in order to be able to form a unitary intentional lived-experience in which one objective thing can appear; (Husserl, 1925/77, 131, p.134).

Looking at the stream elapsing, we become explicitly aware of the fact that the perceived

object as such has already appeared for a long time, or that it has just begun to appear, and that it is expected to continue appearing etc. Here the immediately experienced world is one whose character appears as always already passively pre-understood as existing in a certain sense and in a particular way; (Husserl, 1948, p.31). Its sub-orders like the world of football equally appear as pre-given in a present which has been, as constituted on the basis of an already established order of meaning. Even my perception of the space in which crowd violence occurs also displays a temporal dimension. I become aware of the permanent and entrenched character of the surroundings that points back towards an invisible enduring structure of its having been this way for so long. The immediate here and now becomes dilated as it is found to include its having emerged and remaining the same. We shall see later that immediate understanding of our surrounding world and themes within it is founded upon the continuity of PRE-UNDERSTANDINGS derived from tradition. There is thus a stretching backwards as well as forwards in immediate experience.

Such a realisation forces us to think the "present" as the PRESENCE, which the future withholds, and the past refuses; yet which interact to yield and grant presence in a reciprocal relationship. Presence then is a never static duration forever stretching forwards. As such it is "wider" than the present now which it embraces. Therefore while we can sensibly say that a confrontation took place in the presence of many fans, we cannot say that it took place in the "now" of many fans; (Heidegger, 1969/72, p.10).

The unification of attributes within this streaming of time also necessarily exhibits temporality. We can learn about the role of terrace confrontations only through a deepening attention to these qualities as they successively unfold in our explicating consciousness. In other words the subject and the predicate of hooliganism are experienced as indissolubly linked to one another as predication belongs to the theme itself. Their distinction takes place only within the unity of one act of consciousness.

To FULLY understand this sense would require a sense-history of the way it was put together in this process of transformation. If we ask what is the relation between the rival fans and their style of dress, we find that we cannot reduce this to the static logical form of S is P. This is because we never experience them apart from their particular qualities. These arise from the perception of the fans themselves since we determine that these persons are rivals

from all the qualities they display. Within immediate experience there is an identifying synthesis between the fans as a whole and the aspects in which they appear AS X, Y and Z. We focus successively upon their qualities as moments of their identity only through our continuing focus upon these fans.

Those qualities we predicate, appear as linked together in a self-sufficient unity of sense within the order of their production inside our judgements about the rival supporters. Each determination of their qualities builds upon the others that preceded it in the flowing succession so that these interconnected moments display an overall object of our concern which solidly endures as the "same" throughout them. The results of this temporal synthesis are expressed in the form of the fans factually ARE qualities X, Y and Z. Yet this expression covers up their temporally constituted character and their flowing process of temporal constitution.

Therefore to know what hooliganism perceived really is, we have to get beyond its immediate, self-identical and instantly given state, (S is S), and follow out the process in which it becomes more fully determined as (P) - something other than its original appearance. In the process of becoming "P", "S" still remains "S". Its reality is the entire dynamic of its turning into something else and unifying itself with ITS OWN predicates in a process in which other predicates are DISOWNED. Disowning is a process in which we come to see that there is much more to hooliganism than its "obvious" meaning for the natural attitude. Yet such a disowning of the "obvious truth" of experience in its purely immediate form is a pre-condition for the need for an explicative disclosure of its comprehensive determinations of meaning.

This more concrete investigation confirms the more formal analysis that preceded it, ie. that which is revealed in immediate experience of hooliganism turns out to share an affinity with "nothing". In other words, its presently given meaning is positively determined by that which it currently is not. Also these apparently opposite terms reveal a unity in the notion of becoming which is the fixed form in which time temporalises itself. This movement of the immediate disappearance of one determination into another discloses the flow of time in experience and the experience of this flow.

To be aware of the one-sidedness of immediate experience is not to collapse into nihilism

through a denial of the possibility of truth. Instead it is to move beyond its inadequacy in a new truth. Disowning is not a form opposed to all content as nihilism would have it, but is immanent in experienced content allowing an understanding of hooliganism's necessary development through explication of its meaning determinations. In this development the experience is recovered as a whole present in each of its parts and no longer is its frozen immediate form made into a false absolute. With the disowning of the immediate form of the experience, its contents are preserved in a new more determinate - and therefore mediated - form. Both the "negative" and the "positive" aspect are equally necessary and mutually dependent. The SOCIAL character and significance of this dynamic process of ever more complete determination of meaning is traced out in a later section.

To further characterise the temporality of the now-point requires us to reconsider the apperceptive process. This reconsideration reverses the earlier treatment where the structure of the now-point was treated not as a theme in its own right but as the possibility-condition for sense-construal. Now apperception is re-considered insofar as it casts light upon the flow of time in the present.

We have already seen that the sense-construal of apperception is not done all at once at one moment of the perception. Nor is it a function of a single subject operating in isolation. Instead, it appears as an intersubjective process of meaning transmission and transformation in and through time. It is therefore crucial to realise that this identity of the theme is a result of enduring elements appearing as such through the streaming temporal flow of experience.

The expression flowing-static used to characterise the present is no contradiction as long as it is clearly understood that all alteration of the appearances of perceived physical objects when we walk around are changes in perspective, distance shading, angle, etc. of the self-same object meant as such. It further implies that no moment of these alterations can be isolated from the rest of the perceptual process through which the perceptual world of such things that is constantly assembled as there for us. Each displays the character of being more than just itself within the unity of the flowing perceptual present. No moment of this temporal flow of this continual synthesis presents itself as identical to another, while hooliganism as an enduring event appears evidently as the same throughout all its phases.

The self identity of hooliganism is then assembled within the flowing present IN AND THROUGH IMMANENT TIME by a continuous synthesis of appearances. Conversely the present now-point flows within this same absolute flow and is therefore itself a result of the identical flux it enpresents.

Husserl found the enduring theme constituted in the "flux of an ever new becoming"; (1948, p.383). Each point "lights up" the fleeting present, with its duration being a "continuum of continua"; (ibid p.387). This very experience is part of an endless continuum of time, in which the theme has a certain duration. Husserl:

"If we assume, to begin with, one individual that comes to intuition, then the unity of the

intuition of this individual extends exactly as far as the unity of its original duration, ie. of the original duration which is constituted in original time-consciousness. The individual emerges anew from the intuition, even though it may also further endure in itself and may even be intended relative to consciousness, although not intuitively, as enduring somehow or other - if the continuing original constitution of time does not constitute this duration as the duration of the individual in question, therefore as duration filled with the individual plenitude of the moments of its material content; (1948/73, s.36).

Thus part of the meaning of each and every now-point lies in its being with others as a moment of a whole flowing structure. This identity presents itself as an achievement of the continuous flow of retentions, direct perceptions and anticipations which themselves hold constant. Thus the time of the perceptual now-point can only appear as the time of something that remained the same.

If we look at the particular meaning of a "soccer riot", its sense appears as ready-made prior to its appearing here and now to my consciousness following my perception of crowd violence. Apperception is then a construing of similar objects in accordance with what already exists as meaningful for the subject as "similar". The now-point is both carried along with this flow and is itself the site where vision into this flow is made possible. We have already found that the construing sense is a partial validity and appears within a horizon of more complete possible validation anticipated in a projected future. At the same time it points towards earlier primal impressions of the original instituting sense. Therefore part of the meaning of the now-point lies in its divergence from the truth-orientation that enlarges within it. At the same time it is the site where the closing of this divergence must take place.

We also found that each new construal transfers to all others in passive association as a new apperception of something the same so long as this similarity continues. This process of apperception fashions complicated relations between levels of the theme that are currently present and anticipated. For example, at an away game at Luton I saw floods of Millwall fans wandering around the town. If I had seen someone wandering towards me who appeared lost I may very well interpret his appearance in terms of "another one of us". I apperceive the person

as such on the basis of my understanding of this meaning derived the self-understanding of being one housed in human bodies of the same kind.

What is more all of the past gains its sense from the flow of the living present and actually assembles itself out of the "objective" present which itself is assembled out of the structure of this flowing present. Again we are forced to consider the tradition out of which perception constantly emerges, and the forces at work which accomplish this generation. This is possible because the flowing progress of perception connects itself into the unity of a perception which reaches far enough so that the elements which have flowed past what is past are still made to stand out in the present as a lingering retention co-joined through the present-now to a constantly implied living future. Such a tradition takes the form of a continuity of what I am still conscious of, what has flowed away and is no longer intuited at all; a continuity of retentions and anticipations, which are the two different structured sides of the flowing-static present.

For a fan to appear as such I must transfer my prior understanding of his defining characteristics to this emerging character. If he turns out to be a deliveryman then a fresh apperception originates along with some degree of doubt as to the validity of my criteria. The flowing present is thus the site where association, transfer, validation and correction can occur.

The living present is then a flowing enpresentation process which contains the change of phases, of stretches of present time in which things become experienced which were not yet there while others disappear from the present experience which are taken as having already been there earlier or enduring after their disappearance. This hinges upon the power to re-present the original presence of hooliganism through recollection and the apperceptions connected with this re-presentation. The process of flowing to an ever new present is by no means arbitrary; it follows upon perceptual guidelines as to the themes it offers. This means that it is possible to experience a displaced weapon "still hidden somewhere" even though the present does not present it directly. The weapon appears as a possible theme for later perception.

Every present appears in the form of a situation regardless of physical and directional changes occurring within it and to it. During the 1981 rioting by Millwall fans in

Portsmouth, missiles, bodies, police horses and so forth "rush by" my vision; yet the present of the perception retains the same structure as a situation as when the rioting stopped altogether. Within this situation the rioting remains meant as the same throughout all its changes. Therefore this enduring the same of the spatio-temporal thing during all changes in the contents of present perception displays a unity of a situation.

We have seen that incidents of soccer violence appear to perceptual consciousness through a unifying synthesis of specific but formless sensations with generalised meaning-forms in a process we called apperception. This process also entailed the unification of predicate senses. The interpretive activity of apperception is itself founded upon the structure of understanding per se. Yet both elements of apperception appeared to have temporality not only as their medium but also as their possibility condition. Each incident of soccer violence appears to perceptual consciousness to DEVELOP in some kind of succession; while those that are material, such as a weapon, ENDURE. Both take time in their appearance.

The time which temporalises itself in these appearances does so in the form of an interwoven structure of present-past-future modes of appearing in enpresenting, retention and protention respectively. We have seen that this is equally true for the noetic acts through which the themes begin, run off in a succession of phases and end. Here the immediacy of the now-point, although essentially "stretched" and mediated by the whole streaming flow of time, appeared to occupy centre stage within a horizon of presence.

Yet in all this, the fate and destiny of each and every now-point of perceived hooliganism has remained undetermined. It is as if the now-point and its contents vanish without trace. If they did so disappear, this would render inexplicable the source of the sedimentations of our tradition which operate within immediate experience through definite pre-understandings of what constitutes "hooliganism" / "appropriate reactions" to it. Somehow constituted tradition would operate "in" perception but never "out" of constituted perceptions of soccer violence. This leaves us with an implausible picture of tradition as a contributor that itself receives no contributions. Our account of the temporal structure of immediate perceptual experience is thus inadequate. To remedy this state of affairs entails reconsideration of some earlier results, investigation of the destiny of the present-now as it loses its immediacy to become a retention, the flow of retentions into tradition, the character of retentions as one component of the past-present-future structure of perceived hooliganism's temporal horizon on which the flow of time is founded.

The contemplation of soccer violence takes time just as this theme itself takes time when it is contemplated. Through the modes of present-past-future, hooliganism emerges initially as now-present-itself-there, then as retained within presence in the mode of just-past, as re-

presented as now present in the mode of past-recollected and not-yet-present in the mode of future-anticipated. Because of the constantly flowing character of this present-past-future horizon every simple act, say judgements about the causes or remedies for hooliganism, always presupposes others extending back immediately or mediately, into a necessary subsoil. Thus any present situation appears as neither a rupture or the effect of a past, but as the RETENTION of a present-past, the retaining of this retention, etc.

If the just-now phases of an incident were not preserved for a while through retention then awareness of the violence as a temporally extended occurrence would be impossible. Yet if each past phase remained forever identical in the presence of immediate consciousness, the incident could not appear in succession - all that would appear would be an ever rising accumulation of simultaneous visions, tactile presentations and noises. We can now illustrate the present-past aspect of this flowing structure through the example of the violence between Millwall and Chelsea fans in December 1984. Here the initial perception of a group of Chelsea fans being attacked outside a pub endured for a stretch of time and then passed away from vivid immediacy to the passivity of the flowing fading consciousness of what-has-just-now-been. The "now" itself sank back in a process of sedimentation into the flowing stream of our tradition. Yet as long as the retention persists the phase of the sound of the blows, screams and cheers keep their identity and duration within the flux of temporal flow. Within presence I can inspect these as moments of the one and the same sound as to the breaking of the previous silence, and then to each moment as a "rise" or "fall" in the volume or pitch as compared to its predecessors.

Consciousness of what has just elapsed preserves the order and succession of the elapsing. This order is preserved in the consciousness of the elapsed phases. Without this preservation the sounds and sights would appear as simultaneous in the past with one as now and the rest as totally disorganised. If we focus our recollection upon one of the sounds or sights then its predecessor and its successor will appear as such. In this way it is possible to be aware of part of a complete incident even if only half of it has so far presented itself; (Husserl, 1925/77, p.154).

However only at the end can I become conscious of the incident as a whole and as wholly expired. The last phase can then linger on in the mode of just-past through retention before

phasing out into secondary memory.

Here our concrete experience of immediacy shows us that duration consists not in a series of disconnected nows but in an incessant transformation of every "actual now" into a "having just been an actual now". With this phasing out of the incident's presence there is a drawing together upon itself as clarity and the distinctness of phases progressively recede; (Husserl, 1928/64).

What is more, this transformation from "now" to "just now" does not stop at that but becomes ever-more-past in the continuation of the flowing emergence of an ever-new-now. At once what has just been present to consciousness, either originally or re-presented by recollection, relative to the actual now, when transformed in the manner mentioned, undergoes a transformation in its turn. In this there is a passing from an initial retention into a "retention of a retention"; it is then removed still more from the actual now until it disappears from immediate memory, no longer being retained; (ibid. s.8, p.10). Thus reflecting on what really happens in consciousness, at every moment we find a continuous variation and transformation: a continuous passing of the present phase into a retained one and then of a phase given in a retention of any degree into a retention of a higher degree, a continuous reiteration of this transformation; (ibid. s.39).

In this reiteration, a series of retentions point to the primal impression of the beginning point from which the "length" of the experience is derived. This source-point in the now is like the nucleus of a comet with the train of retentions its tail. Each earlier point of this series "shade off" as a now-point, as they are transformed into a retained retention, etc. These shadings constitute a heritage, a source of continuity and accumulated-accumulating experience. Finally this retention itself disappears; but not to become nothing since it can be reawakened from obscurity and relived. Every past becomes an ever-more-past under more and more layers of sedimentation within overlapping traditions of "what we did to Chelsea", and "what we do in general". All of these together add up to a single indivisible, interrelated complex of life.

However what is involved in these transformations is not the perceived soccer violence or its manner of presentation but only its temporal orientation and temporal modes of appearance; (ibid. ss.30-31). Upon these incessant variations is based the stream-character of cons-

ciousness, which, owing to their continuity, is experienced as a unidimensional order; (ibid, s.36). The streaming is a process which has an immanent stretch of time as its form, structured in partial stretches and in time phases. Husserl:

"The marvellous time structure of the streaming transformation in the forms of an "ever new now", "with the form of streaming away "just-past, "and on the other hand, the form of anticipations "just coming", pertain to it"; (1925/77, p.106).

Therefore each perception which streams away has attached to it a concrete retention and anticipation. This attachment appeared concretely in 1981 when I, along with some other Millwall fans, were attacked in a pub by Sheffield United supporters. As the attackers made sure we were heavily outnumbered, I looked around for potential weapons. In this looking around, a concern appeared for the transformation of objects into weapons whose functional significance for me had previously related only to containing beer, resting glasses. In the emerging scene, the for-which of these objects appeared through protention, while their with-which structure was retained. In other words, my protention of violence envisaged the glass as a-weapon-for-defending-myself, while the situation that was envisaged, required a retention of the glass.

Hegel sums up this present-past-future interchange in his assertion that in the appearance of nature we find no stable difference or discrete boundaries between the dimensions of past and future. Although in a concrete sense time always appears as present, this is the result of the past and is pregnant with the future. We can now say that the presence of the perceived present can appear as such ONLY ON THE BASIS OF A CONTINUOUSLY COMPOUNDED NON-PRESENT AND NON-PERCEPTION. The presence of the present always already involves a bending-back upon what has been retained beforehand and takes the form of a return. IT IS IN THIS SENSE THAT THE IMMEDIATE NOW IS ALWAYS ALREADY MEDIATED IN HEGEL'S SENSE - a sense which the more rigorous descriptions of Husserlian phenomenology confirm. These retentions and anticipations are neither added on, nor are they accidental accompanying elements but are essentially involved in the condition of the possibility of the now-point in the first place.

We cannot therefore characterise the present-past relation as one involving two discrete

realms. Instead, the emerging violent theme lingers in presence even after the primal impression of it has finished; it then successively fades away with a further loss of intensity into the past until it can only appear as a re-presentation through recollection. Retention must not then be confused with the DERIVATIVE secondary memory, from which recollection of the WHOLE of an incident in the more distant past derives its sources. Retention is still a presentation while recollection is a modification of this original presence in the form of a re-presentation. In representation the theme necessarily appears as-if it is present originally; (Husserl, 1928/64, s.19). Here then we have a distinction between the memory of the event which occurred at a relatively remote time from the present, and the consciousness of the just elapsed phases of a temporal theme which one is presently perceiving. While the remote past can only be made present by means of a RE-presentation, it is nevertheless legitimate to talk of this just elapsed phase - the repeated blow raining down upon Chelsea fans - still being "perceived", ie. as "still present as just past".

Retention then can be positively characterised as the original consciousness of the past - a preserving of a PHASE in presence - which at once "holds-fast", preserves and modifies the just-past phases of the theme for present consciousness. It is an endurance in presence of a non-present now which is intended when we say "at the time", ie. a continuing "bygone"; (Heidegger, 1927/82, s.19). Its opposite mode of comportment is that of an expulsion and closing off from presence of a once-present, ie. a forgetting of an incident. Thus retention is still an enpresenting mode in which an incident or an element is retained FOR a present. This reveals the inner coherence not only of time as expressed in the perception of soccer violence but also the compartments in which time expresses itself. We can then say that part of the meaning of retention lies in its disclosure of this more primordial presence of time.

We have already seen that retentions of soccer violence cannot be self-grounding because it is not itself an originating source; as a just-now, retention is a pointer towards the now-structure of the present and the temporal horizon it forever emerges out of. This pointing always contains an implicit understanding of the now, the now's temporal horizon and tradition. My retention of the Chelsea incidents thus necessarily involved me in comporting myself towards my own living tradition - all that I had been to date. Only on this basis can I have in each instance, a sense of myself as continuing not just to "have" perceptual

experiences of soccer violence but to have them AS continuations and FOR a continuing and accumulating subject.

Despite its being embraced by tradition, retention is nevertheless grounded in a primal impression as its source point. The retaining subject is always retaining in and for the present now, and retaining upon the basis of a primal impression. This impression is not a fixed source but a flowing one, forever "peeling off" into the just-past of retention. Although the flow of time here is not severable into part nor divisible into isolated phases, the modes of running off have this source-point as their own beginning; (Husserl, 1928/64, s.10).

In short, any account of our immediate perceptual experience of soccer violence requires consideration of the fate of each "expired" now-point. This destiny involves a transformation of an immediate now into a just-now or "retention". As such it loses its immediacy but remains in view within the temporal horizon of presence as just-past. The retention subsequently sinks back further to be either forgotten or a retention of a retention flowing out of presence into an ever more distant past that would require a re-presentation from memory to re-activate it. In this way the tradition of soccer violence requires ever more contents / layers of sedimentation.

This retaining activity does not itself sink away in time but exhibits a permanency within a fixed present-past-future structure of time itself. The flowing temporal stream would thus not be possible without retention. This does not mean retention is self-grounding since the present-past-future structure which embraces retention, always points towards and is itself itself founded upon, a primal impression. Retention can be distinguished from the representing activity of recollection; yet the immediate present, the retained present and past are interwoven realms that present time in a primordial way.

S.38: ANTICIPATION AND THE PRESENCE OF HOOLIGANISM.

Our experience of hooliganism is permeated not only by the tradition of sedimented meaning from which it springs, but also by anticipations; (9). These are generated from the present on the basis of this tradition. Through anticipation our experience looks beyond the present moment towards possible futures so that we are always ahead of ourselves; (10).

This section specifically aims to show the presence of violence and theft for potential victims through their anticipation of it. Our "subjects" are local residents, workers and shopkeepers in the area immediately surrounding Chelsea Football Club. Their anticipated attackers on the occasion of the interviews are male supporters of both the home team and those from their South London rivals Millwall F.C. A second wider aim is to probe into and unfold the essential structure of anticipated soccer hooliganism.

Our thirty five interviews deliberately focused on the meaning of one particular form of criminal violence presented only through anticipation for the concerns of a small number of people directly affected. It tries not to confuse the depth of criminological research with the number of boxes ticked in questionnaires. Again as foundational research, it aims for the distinctions and relations of meaning upon which all quantitative criminological research are founded. As a result no use is made of ready made criteria of "controls", statistical analysis and correlations with standard "objective variables" such as social class, age, etc. Any use would presuppose that these criteria are already part of the essential meaning, not only of anticipated violence but also science, scientific truth and sound criminological method. Also it would assume, again without evidence and therefore unscientifically, that such methods are necessarily adequate to the nature of anticipated violence.

Yet these criteria, which take themselves to be so "objective", gloss over and make "unverifiable" their founding level of socially constructed meaning. Further, consciousness of this self-contradiction is forever placed out of stock by assuming that objectivity is some kind of residue arrived at through the eradication of subjectivity. Therefore the collective subjectivity of criminology for which the GUIDING IDEA of "objective methods" is significant becomes "unscientific" for it. This continues the arbitrary meta-physical game of dichotomising subjectivity from objective research into crime. As we have already seen

foundational research reveals the mutual implication of our "subjective" experience of crime with the "objective" meaning that is experienced. It examines the social and historical structures of consciousness FOR WHICH there is criminology, research, science, crime, anticipation, hooliganism, the threat of victimisation etc. as meaningful and objective themes. (11)

S.39: THE CHARACTER OF ANTICIPATED VIOLENCE.

This section addresses the difference between anticipated violence from other modes, its particular nature, possibilities, motivating factors, structures, effects and limitations. To determine the character of anticipated violence we need to distinguish it from its presence through the modes of imagination, retention and recollection. It is its INDETERMINACY OF FORM that distinguishes anticipated hooliganism from an imaginative expectation in which an explicit representation of an event occurs. We can vividly IMAGINE anything happening, but anticipated violence is neither vivid nor so boundless. Imagined violence need not follow an orderly temporal succession of events. For example, the consequences of an assault can be imagined before the beginning of the assault so that the whole sequence can appear in "reverse order". Anticipation, in contrast has no such licence to reverse the temporal sequence of anticipated events. The essential distinction between the anticipation and RETENTION of violence concerns the SOURCE of retentions in the ORIGINATING impressions of the present; (12). Unlike anticipation the retention of violence concerns the continuing presence of what has just-now been present to the person's consciousness; (13). The retention itself continually sinks away into the evermore distant past to become modified as a retention of a retention. Anticipation is the counterpart to retention in that it is a continual projecting forward of future possibilities.

This contrast clearly appeared in an interview with an Arab off-licensee. He expressed with real venom his continuing feelings of hostility towards football supporters. Recently, as a precaution against further trouble, he has begun to bolt his door allowing only "regulars" inside his shop when there was a home game. This was after experiencing an unscheduled "stock clearance";

"They come in groups. You can't control them. All other shops face the same problem. They are out to lay their hands on anything. I serve one and the others take everything, run off and you can't do nothing".

He had retained an awareness of violence after fighting and looting in his shop. Although no longer "present", its PRESENCE still persisted without recollection having to RE-PRESENT it to his consciousness. The retained sense of possible violence appeared in his suspicious manner of scrutinising all those who came into his shop. This retained sense of the earlier event modifies its original perceived meaning which is further entrenched through being retained. The original perception "fills" the retention with concrete elements, ie. one youth coming into the shop occupying him while others enter and loot his shop; (14). Anticipated violence, on the other hand, is necessarily "unfilled". It is directed towards this possibility voidly so that only an outline appears; (15).

The future of what these shopkeepers saw as their threatened businesses was not, and could never be, present in the embodied way that the present and the retained past displays. The off-licensee told me that before the fighting and the looting occurred, an outline image of the possible wrecking of his shop was "present" to his consciousness. This was through an anticipation of its appearance in a future perception. Only when this trouble was actually perceived was it THEN "filled" in a sensuous and embodied way. This "filling" involves a greater "FLESHING OUT" of the shadowy outline presented by anticipation. Until this occurs the presence of violence lacks the self-evidential quality of impinging upon our senses through perception. It is this quality which gives the perceived situation of criminal violence its greater impact than its presence through anticipation. It also gives the person who actually perceives it greater authority when it comes to conversations about it, or when asked to act as a witness by the police. This point was not lost upon the off-licensee who adopted a distinctly magisterial tone when describing the disturbance and its continuing influence. By contrast, the other interviewees had less confidence in their grasp of the phenomenon. Their sense of soccer violence was either obtained second hand or derived from its signification in the newspapers.

It is this distinct character of the evidence offered by anticipation that distinguishes it from RECALLED violence. When people I interviewed recalled earlier perceptions of violence in and around the ground, this recollection still displayed evidential value that they probably DID INDEED see what was now being recollected. By contrast, anticipation of violence lacks evidence that it WILL turn out to be filled as anticipated. Such recollection co-presents an

implicit awareness that the scene can be recalled again and again in the future.

Paradoxically, future possibilities of the subject appear co-presented in recollections of the past. This awareness helps solidify their reality into an enduring and abiding form. Through the shopkeepers' recollections to one another of "near misses", a sense of threatened violence as a "shared problem" establishes itself. Again this is the pre-condition for future collective action on the basis of a "common interest"; (16). Nevertheless these comparisons with other modes through which a sense of violence appears should not be seen as denigrating anticipation. It still remains a vital element in the determination of the presence of violence. Explicit awareness of the identity of violence is not FULLY given by actually perceiving it happen.

Further, the enduring threat necessarily appears within a horizon. In this stand open future possible determinations of its meaning. Without this mediating horizon of anticipated meaning, hooliganism could not be meaningful or conceived in any way whatsoever. Nor is the threat of violence complete by retention, but occurs FULLY only through the contribution of anticipation; (17).

In all the interviews anticipated violence appeared as the immediate consciousness of its future phase or phases. It continually presents violence as an IDENTICAL THEME in the form of a POSSIBILITY FOR A CONTINUATION. The identity of the violence that is anticipated is no fixed fact but a result of a continuing unification of diverse elements; (18). These include aggressive chanting, mutual threats, rival fans squaring up to one another, smashing objects for use as weapons, drawing knives etc. Here opens up an avenue for potential exploration and clarification of its total sense for those under threat. Also, the CHARACTER of such clarification and evidence is made available in its own right for possible investigation by foundational criminology; (19).

Through anticipation, violence appears as a not-yet-present presence that is still to be seen fully within a horizon whose character has not been determined. This horizon is a constantly gradated coming-towards; (20). It takes the form of a continual reaching out and "meaning beyond" the present, towards a phase of crime yet to arrive. I was told that this can appear on its own without any motivation, ie. when the threat of a wrecked shop suddenly "hits one". Equally it can present itself as something whose future appearance requires

conscious effort, ie. to plan ahead for what could happen to prevent a shop being wrecked and looted. One example of this was the forward thinking of an Asian newsagent who asked for particular protection weeks before the visit of West Ham. In either case, anticipation forever points beyond the present towards the possibility of future FULFILMENT and VERIFICATION of these implicit meanings in further experiences. This is analagous to the way that a cheque already promises that it will be honoured; (21). Outlines of future phases of the phenomena may be only implied in the present through anticipation, but they still contribute towards determining, shaping and constituting it as it appears in the present. Perceived hooliganism appears necessarily in the present, yet its horizon contains unfulfilled, although potential, evidences. Fulfilling these horizons through determining the sense of "threatened business interests" is not the end of the matter. It must always involve further expectant possibilities and accompanying unfulfilled meanings. The greater the DEGREE of determinacy of these implicit elements of violence, the greater the determinacy of the anticipations themselves. What is pointed towards is the full determination of crowd violence - the precise, clear, distinct and completed sense in and through which it exists for their consciousness. Therefore, part of the very meaning of anticipated hooliganism is its possibility for later fulfilment through forms of clear evidence.

The meaning of anticipated violence may be indeterminate, yet its course of future determination is far from arbitrary. Instead it has to follow structures already implicitly established. We can see this if we look at the situation of the second hand dealer who, following a police message, was merely "expecting trouble of some kind" from Millwall supporters. Even here, there was still a typical structure projected ahead of the present. Future perceptions were anticipated by ALL the interviewees to convey determinations of soccer violence within the framework of some delimitations. Here, the determinate structure for the second hand dealer included: damage to himself, shop, display, business viability and the character of his immediate working environment. Acting on these structures he went on to bring in his pavement display complaining bitterly that he could have remained open for another three hours.

This most generalised and indeterminate projection nevertheless contained elements which shaped the meaning of his present situation as "a bloody nuisance" calling for "official

action to close down that ground". Therefore, although indeterminate as to details, his anticipations were not of anything whatsoever; but of violence that already conformed to certain conditions of style, type and organisation. These possibilities were pre-delineated with respect to both CONTENT AND FORM. They appeared embraced to the consciousness of our interviewees within a horizon of reference to already established possibilities.

We can always question and unfold further what lies within these horizons. This unfolding cannot be exhausted as new horizons and connections between horizons constantly emerge. One of these conditions is the relationship between the degree of anticipated trouble and its surrounding circumstances. This characteristic appeared a constant element throughout in all the interviews. For the newsagent, circumstances that influenced his sense of possible assault depended upon the league position of Chelsea, the level of policing, the build up to the game by the press, the current Division of the club and the opposition; "Its been quieter recently but now they're in Division One who knows?". Yet being close to the ground meant that he was less scared than others situated further away where there was less policing. Although he emphatically blamed sensationalised media reporting for "inflaming things", he still gave the papers as one source of his anticipations of future violence.(22)

Anticipated violence although real enough in its consequences need not however materialise; (23). This Asian newsagent situated opposite the football ground stressed that although the National Front had a large following at Chelsea the anticipation of racial attacks that this generates was not regularly fulfilled. Instead...

"Drink has more effect than anything and it depends on who they are playing. Millwall are bad, so are West Ham. You hear this from people working here and living nearby... People round here hate the football and get worried everytime there is a home game. It's the threat of physical harm that is worse. It means you get worried every time you have to open the shop".

Yet neither he nor the people he referred to had actually suffered any violence to themselves or their property.(24) However, if anticipated trouble does not materialise then this non-confirmation can weaken or even annul those anticipations; (25). For our Asian newsagent the

anticipated racial violence had not materialised and his initial concern for this particular form of assault had lessened as a result. This negation did not prevent the presence of MORE GENERALISED trouble through anticipation, but it did de-limit its FORM.

The perceptual confirmation of anticipated crime takes the form of a "saturation" of the shadowy outline with sensuous perceptions which allow for more precise determinations of its aspects. These however are necessarily incomplete and limited by the perspective of the person who confirms them. The threat of violence appears from a number of varying perspectives including that of the police, neighbouring businesses, opposing supporters - whose own exploits may not be reported as a result, and of the supporters actually causing the trouble. Implied by this "limitation" is the future possibility of seeing hooliganism from another person's situation. Because no perspective can embrace all perspectives, these possibilities are necessarily inexhaustible. One can imagine how the threat of violence gradually changes its meaning for a policeman who soon is to retire to run a pub near a football ground. From these different perspectives informed by various and contradictory interests, the sense of the threatened violence varies from being a lapse in security, a relief that it happened to someone else, a challenge to be played down and "part of letting them know whose who in London". These in turn lay down, with various degrees of formality, further anticipations of trouble when the two sides meet again. What these present need not be a simple repeat, but can include different aspects of hooliganism perhaps seen from different orientations. For example, although the neighbour of an assaulted shopkeeper perceived this assault 'as a relief that it did not happen to me', the anticipations it generates concern this neighbour's OWN shop. Through these future perceptions violence is anticipated to display features only implied as possibilities in the immediate present.

S.40; ANTICIPATION AND TRADITIONS OF HOOLIGANISM.

The first aim of this section is to show the processes through which particular traditions of crowd violence are constantly re-activated and then projected ahead of certain teams. Following this more general illustration, the second aim is to actually show this process at work in the 1984 Chelsea v Millwall match. Conversations I have had with football supporters, club officials, police and publicans confirm that with others, Millwall and Chelsea supporters have, over the years, acquired a reputation for violence. This is inspite of serious attempts made by both clubs to counter this image. Millwall have offered free cups of tea to away supporters and publicised in their programme any charitable work by their supporters club. Despite such persistent and sincere efforts their reputation is still projected ahead of them. Consequently a sense of possible confrontation is regularly set up in advance, often by the very precautions taken to avoid it happening.(26) Stable aspects of this general process include: stringent plans for the segregation of supporters by the police, club appeals before the game, newspaper headlines announcing dramatic warnings, the provision of organised travel arrangements, warnings issued by the police to local publicans and nightclub owners, the strategic issue of tickets, the banning of alcohol on supporters' club trains and the prior organisation of the violence itself by a minority of supporters.(27)

More dramatic precautions are reserved for "special occasions" with a history of trouble such as Portsmouth v Millwall, Chelsea v West Ham, Barnsley v Leeds and Leeds v Chelsea, or the away leg of European matches. For such games special constabulary officers have been drafted in, leaflets urging "the need for good behaviour" distributed, special sittings of Magistrates courts arranged well in advance, special pleas for "good order" by respective managers, strategic public statements by the police that "no special precautions" are being taken, other police placed on special alert at the point of departure of away fans, their destination and even in areas miles away to avoid "back door" avoidance of security arrangements, a refusal to assist travelling supporters, the construction of extra fencing and the provision of live coverage of European games at the visitors home ground.(28)

Some of these more extreme precautions have appeared when England play abroad. A fragile alliance - itself prone to violence - between Chelsea and West Ham supporters constitute a

major element of England's fighting gangs. With the start of the 1983 season, anticipation of exported violence and pleas for their nonfulfilment appeared in the popular press. Even while announcing this in terms of a "campaign" in which "we" were represented by these supporters, Derek Wallis of the Mirror wrote that his concern was more for the number of shops that were going to be looted, bars wrecked and arrests made.(29) Such considerations for him outweighed any recognition derived from football successes. Faced with this threat the Greeks have even taken to reviving "Law 4,000" from the Military Junta period. This allows an instant three month jail sentence to be imposed for "Civil Disobedience", with another three months for any "bodily harm". Also they switched to the ground to the more inaccessible Salonika and sent a five minute video preview to the BBC. This dramatically showed the kind of counter violence their own riot police could administer. These police were on hand to meet travelling fans at the airport, railway station, city centre and stadium.(30) The Spaniards went even further in their security arrangements for the 1982 World Cup. A special force of some 31,500 men were employed including 6,000 paramilitary civil guards equipped with guns, helicopters and radios. All were dressed largely in civilian dress to try and defuse the wave of concern that the prospect of English supporters had generated.(31)

Although anticipations of violence gear themselves towards the future, their rationality is grounded upon re-activation of what has already been experienced. The rationality of measures taken to combat hooliganism derives from both the past record of the supporters in general, earlier meetings and the sensitivities of those who are likely to be affected. Sometimes the authorities attempt to play down possible violence in an effort to defuse tension and possible problems before they start. Yet the fact that such announcements that the police are "playing it cool" for the visit of Millwall as distinct from say Wimbledon, also recognises the possibility of trouble and therefore can ADD to the build up of expectation. What is more, the WAY these are reported serves to contradict any possible "cooling effect". For example, the Doncaster Weekend Post reported that their police were "taking no special precautions to prevent violence" when Millwall were the visitors in 1982. Also the statement by the club chairman that; "we certainly do not anticipate any problems" was carried. Yet the paper ruined any possible effect by inserting BETWEEN the two statements; "this is despite trouble which occurred in the corresponding fixture last year resulting in the arrests of 18

people".(32)

This projected expectation encourages some of the more violent local elements to attend games who would not otherwise. Following this earlier game I interviewed some of the convicted Doncaster fans. One told me that he and some of the others had come to the game only to see "if Millwall are all they're cracked up to be by the papers". Despite his own involvement he said that "well they weren't THAT bad. He had expected a far more dramatic form of organised violence after having watched a naive BBC Panorama programme that had highlighted Millwall's most violent elements and their organisation into different "squads". On the basis of this programme these Doncaster supporters were looking out for the commando "F" squad of supporters and the supporting masked "Surgery" gang. Barnsley's secretary has, when preparing for a home game with Leeds, recognised the self-fulfilling character of predicted violence.

In sharp contrast is the official admittance that violence IS expected but that any hooligans will face severe policing. Before Sheffield United's 1982 visit to Grimsby the visiting supporters were "given a stern warning" about possible trouble by a spokesman from Humberside police; "We are well aware of what has happened and we will not let it happen again". This warning followed street fighting three years previously in 1979. Reactivation of tradition had definite future consequences as a "tight rein" of strict segregation was planned in anticipation of possible repetitions. Before the 1983 Reading v Millwall game the local paper reported that; "Reading police chiefs are planning a major operation for the Millwall match. With the demonstration planned by Reading fans and more than 1,000 Millwall supporters expected to make the trip from London, they were taking no chances. The town's top policemen met club officials at Elm Park yesterday to prepare for Saturday's match. About 100 police including members of Thames Valley Police Support Group and some with police dogs, will be on duty ready for the notorious Millwall fans". Here the imminent match was linked with the anticipated disorder from both a protest march against club merger and a trade union rally under the headline "CRUNCH WEEKEND AHEAD". This projection followed a TYPICAL STYLE. Its focus projected a dramatised "threat" then reported authority's plans to protect "us" - presumably the non-unionised, well adjusted citizen. Chief Supt. John Webb was quoted as saying that a lot of plans had been made to deal with the expected eventualities. To support

this projection and establish the apparent rationality of these plans, the police's past experience was drawn upon. The paper then quoted another senior policeman; "We have upped the number of police for Millwall because of the trouble we have had with them in the past".

The STYLE of this reporting tends to use one-sentence paragraphs, written in a breathless all-action form, with the minimum sense of any ambiguity that could engender critical reflection. The eye is dragged from one "racy" paragraph to the next - much like tourists bussed between instant packets of "leisure experience".(33) Another example of this style appeared in the Daily Star under the headline "SOCCER THUGS WAR WARNING"...

"Police reinforcements will be keeping a close watch today on Soccer's most notorious fans - Leeds and Chelsea. The tear-away supporters come face-to-face when the teams meet at the Yorkshire club's Elland Road ground"; (12/10/82).

"But despite anonymous letters sent to several national newspapers yesterday warning of 'organised battles' police believe they can deal with the trouble makers...".

Once more, not only is there the same rushed presentation but also a repeat of a standard structure and order. First, an unspecified "threat" to "any normal reader" is announced; then, once attention is caught, the details are dramatised into "a good story", in terms which confirm the distance between the presumed normality of the reader and the hooligan. Next the measures which the authorities are taking to project "us", to "hold the line" and re-establish "our" sense of "good order" are set out. In fact this general style and format seems to predominate across the board in the tabloid press. Headlines such as "ENGLAND FANS BEWARE" battles for the "eye" of the reader with "POLICE ANTI-THUG PLAN READY".(34)

Occasional additions to this order include a concluding paragraph reiterating in the same style the visitor's most recent act of violence. Perhaps the clearest example of this was an article in the Leeds Evening Telegraph. Having followed the usual format - including a plea that Yorkshire Clubs will "look after each other - it added; "Hopes that Yorkshire clubs would stick together were shattered yesterday when an estimated 600 fans went on the rampage in Cleethorpes on Friday night".(35) The effect of this conclusion upon the earlier optimistic statements including one by the Rotherham Chairman that Leed's visit "would be treated as just an ordinary game" can well be imagined. Immediately prior to Leeds' 1982 match at Sheffield

Wednesday the 8,000 pounds of fines imposed upon some of their supporters was saved until the fourth paragraph. It is as if the readers cannot be trusted to retain the first one-sentence paragraph; or to see the "obvious" connection between the "evil" of hooliganism, the "normality" of themselves and the "rationality" of authority.

An ABSENCE of any domestic tradition of soccer violence can increase the sense of threat of violence from those facing an impending visit from English fans. Officials in Luxembourg referred to "a possible outburst of the "British Disease" and commented that no such precautions have to be taken for other visiting supporters. Such heightened sensitivities appeared before England's visit to that country in November 1983. These were based partly upon their experiences of fighting, vandalism, looting and drunken rioting before, during and after the last match in 1977.(36) The continual process of connecting the meaning of soccer with anticipated violence is strangely reciprocal. The very absence of soccer violence at other countries such as Kuwait is judged to be "newsworthy" by the British press.(37) Alternatively, the LACK of actual or anticipated trouble in other domestic sports such as international speedway or rugby again becomes "news" through taking violence as part of the meaning of soccer.(38)

Even though it is ritually condemned by the press, this condemnation resembles the way that sex, murder and scandal are "exposed" to the routine "shock" and "outrage" of the Sunday newspapers. The more responsible elements of the local press - including Millwall's local paper - actually have a policy of not reporting soccer violence unless its occurrence was already widely known. It is also edited OUT of much television coverage. Once Match of the Day's Jimmy Hill even apologised for referring to crowd trouble in one game and felt obliged to show that this information was, through the headlines in the Sunday papers, already public knowledge. The cameras then gave a close up of a montage of press cuttings - as if to say that at least the BBC could not be accused of sensationalising the issue.

Nevertheless, even where press condemnation is not tongue in cheek or sensationalised to help fill up the space between the adverts in Monday morning papers, the "normality" of hooliganism is both recognised and further entrenched. We can see this if we refocus on the way that NONfulfilment of anticipated violence is reported as something odd to be accounted for. After Leeds United largely uneventful visit to Cambridge United the Daily Mail devoted

HALF of its "football report" to why there was NOT any violence. "Explanations" of this phenomena included a large police presence, the "dour play" and - best of all - the bad weather.(39) Ironically another media "explanation" of the GOOD behaviour of Newcastle United's "army" of supporters was the EXCITING character of their teams four nil away win at Rotherham.(40) A similar absence of anticipated violence at the 1983 Millwall v Portsmouth game concerned the Portsmouth News. The page one headline ran "POMPEY MATCH PEACEFUL". Once more there had been an effort to show the rationality of both the paper's and the authority's anticipations by claiming that; "past experience has shown that the Pompey-Millwall meetings are usually flashpoints of violence - but yesterday's match passed without a single arrest".(41) Through such continual entrenchment the "weight" of future projections of violence are kept alive and, perhaps, even increased.

Although we have seen that anticipations of violence gear themselves towards the future, their rationality is grounded upon re-activation of what has already been experienced. The question now is to unfold through a concrete illustration the relationship between the presence of the future and the past. On the day of the Chelsea v Millwall game, the consequences of the more regular projection presented themselves to my immediate experience from early afternoon onwards. Getting off the tube at Fulham Broadway the eyes of six police officers burnt into my appearance looking out to radio through any connection between travellers that signals the awaited arrival of a disguised "mob". Seeing this, passengers getting off the tube look around at each with more than usual distain, as if to resist this association. Even as one officer reported "nothing here Sarge, shall we patrol and then come back later?", a sense of something being "off" presented itself. By seeing us as "nothing", the police's prime concern for potential trouble appeared. They seem well aware that their scrutiny was one of the many hurdles which any fighting gang must cross to penetrate unnoticed behind "enemy lines". Passengers could have read in that day's newspapers that this was being treated by the authorities as "just a normal game" - a statement aimed to avoid any further building up of tension. However this told them more about their hopes than their actual crowd control strategies and plans. Before "normal games" no such statements are issued. Such a pattern of trying to play down and defuse possible trouble reveals a degree of understanding of how what is SAID ABOUT violence can contribute to its reality. Already its "abnormality" has been implicitly recognised. Statements BY the press concerned possible "confrontations" between rival sets of South London supporters which eventually "failed to materialise" inside the ground.(42) The suspicion of greater than normal security was confirmed by both the larger than usual police presence in the surrounding streets and by patrolling groups of young males looking intently at everyone around.

The projected confrontation was not confined to those immediately concerned in its creation or prevention. It emerged against a background of "normality" which it modified. This normality took the form of an already acquired and constantly re-created sense of what the area means for those who work, live and travel through there. On the streets surrounding the ground the developing scene mixed uneasily with its area. This contains the well rehearsed sophistication of the wine bar set, whose arty-crafty shops sell "life-style" to their

converted flats. A number of such characters walked along the street looked around at the police build up and the gangs of youths looking through and beyond them. In this disregard for their presence by both rival gangs and the police their temporary displacement in their own surrounding world was confirmed. These residents appeared distinctly uncomfortable as if suddenly "their" area had suffered a personality change. Similar unease radiated from the world weary expressions of returning office workers whose looks seemed to say that that they'd already had enough stress for one day. All this contrasted markedly with the eagerness and more basic concerns of some groups of Chelsea fans arriving from their sprawling council estates of South West London to defend territory which they still regard as "their own". In this scene, declining traditional "working class" values of muscular, assertive and combative masculinity re-asserted themselves. Again this was played out against a more "unisex" background in which some local women were wearing jumpsuits and males appeared softer, less hardened and aggressive. Although this conflict of meanings about the significance and purpose of the area emerged into the present, it flowed out past perceptions or significations of actual violence. The same is true of the organisation of violence which requires a successful re-cognition of old friends, allies, strangers and enemies.

As I myself began to recognise faces from past Millwall games, more and more police arrived. These fans wandered around the streets waiting and looking out for others to turn up at pre-arranged locations. Not any site, company or time would do to announce the arrival of these particular "visitors". Yet the style of this very looking and hanging around made them stand out as outsiders and as possible targets for the attention of police and home supporters. It is very difficult to identify precisely what it is that made these visiting supporters stand out. No difference in dress, age or accent was immediately obvious. It seemed to have more to do with their LACK OF FAMILIARITY with the surrounding streets, a looking around to see what CAN be expected while the familiarity of the Chelsea supporters appeared through an already acquired sense of belonging here on "home territory". Consciousness of standing out as a visitor heightened anticipations of becoming a target. As tension mounted in the surrounding streets I myself began to feel rather conspicuous and not at all convinced at my ability to pass unnoticed between rival groups as a non-participating observer. This sense of growing insecurity derived from

my awareness of the increasing use of knives, razors and bottles in soccer violence. This represented itself to me in thoroughly unwelcome speculations. These concerned the degree of protection that my German leather jacket would give me from a well directed swipe with a stanley knife. But then again the "tougher" look it gave me might have very well attracted such an unwanted incision. Again the indeterminate character of this re-activated knowledge is confirmed.

The EFFECTS ON OTHERS of Millwall's reputation also appeared in a cafe situated between the tube and the football ground. My reception there was hardly warmer than in the off-license. Having passed the scrutiny of the youth on the door, the owner looked me once over, gave a dissatisfied glance at the youth on the door and demanded; "What do YOU want?". I ordered a coke. "Is that ALL?"; he retaliated. Tonight, visitors of any kind appeared to him as objects of suspicion as he barked "Get back on that door!" to the reluctant minder. His wife pointedly laid a table around me so I then took the hint, gave up the idea of interviewing them and left. Yet this intense sense of hostility towards even isolated people who were not "regulars" appeared significant in its own right.

Next I turned towards a group of taxi drivers who have SOME choice over the area they work. I chose an older driver to interview because of my concern for how far back this re-activated reputation stretched. Concerning tonight's game one driver in his sixties commented;

"I will give it a wide berth... we all will. Millwall supporters are a rough old lot, everyone knew they were when I was a boy. They'd smash you over the head with a bottle, although I think once they got that reputation it just sticks to them. London clubs now seem the worse overall especially West Ham and Millwall. Last game West Ham bust up in the stadium, the police sealed off the roads. I won't let my grandson go because of it all".

Based upon past experiences anticipation had all ready presented a meagre attendance at the return match. This appeared during conversations at Doncaster versus Millwall game a week earlier. Here tradition had not re-activated itself in any unwelcome way, but was consciously drawn upon in the anticipation of the return game; "They won't come down the Den. They don't like it down there - not after what happened to them last time. Millwall mingled in amongst

them. Suddenly their end split down the middle and they were fighting to climb over fences to get out the ground. They had already got battered in the side streets earlier". The contrast between this and the "thousands" of "born again" Millwall fans who supposedly were going to go to Chelsea was asserted with some pride. Here anticipations could be contrasted in order to reveal the possibilities for trouble. Again there appeared a definite association between this conscious re-activation of tradition and the interests of the fans in appearing "harder" and in "living up" to the reputation that their tradition projects ahead of them. Part of this living up lies in the constant "putting down" of the reality of challengers to their reputation.

HOOLOGANISM AS RECOLLECTED.

S.41: INTRODUCTION.

Our earlier discussion of anticipated soccer violence revealed some puzzling interrelations between the presence of the future and the past. Anticipation of football hooliganism took place on the basis of definite pre-delineations derived from its already established sense. In other words, the future orientation of anticipated hooliganism was bound to a horizon of presence that included its retained past determinations of meaning. These laid down in advance its form and to a lesser degree the contents of experienced soccer violence. The possibility condition for such anticipations was a pre-acquaintance - either at first hand via media significations, or through second hand recollections - of the phenomenon. The absence of depth or the possibility for objectification of the future gave it a far less definite appearance than that of the objectified and retained past. Media reports of past troubles, present threats and their projection of future repetitions appeared to play a major part in the constitution of anticipated violence. Also common sense language provided a collective form to express and hear specific anticipations.

Concretely, we saw that when either English clubs or the national team play abroad the "reputation" of their supporters had preceded them and to a degree set up the possibility for violence in advance. This also occurred in the case of certain domestic games where supporters with a tradition of violence generated distinctive anticipations. Official and unofficial precautions were also found to be grounded in anticipations of violence. In addition we saw that the presence of a sense of soccer violence was subject-related so that the degree and character of anticipations provided a clue to the interests and concerns of the subject. The police, traders, taxi-drivers, publicans, local residents, home and away fans appeared to anticipate violence as different things. Only by unfolding the varied structure of their already established concerns, practical interests, commitments towards the social world and capacities for dealing with it was this "difference" explicable.

This interwoven time structure of hooliganism's presence to consciousness requires us to think through the role that recollection and recalled reputations play in the phenomenon's

constitution. Again, in the first two sections, it is necessary to determine the character of recalled hooliganism by comparing and distinguishing its presentation of the meaning of soccer violence from that of perception and retention. In section 43 we positively characterise recalled hooliganism as a modifying re-presentation of a prior perception that preserves the original temporal sequence and integrity of the recalled incident.

Having established WHAT recalled hooliganism is, our next concern addresses HOW recollection presents the phenomenon. Section 44 finds that it presents hooliganism as a theme whose "thematic centre" stands out from a "margin". This margin is itself embraced within a temporal "horizon" that aims towards the present. In the same way that a unified "incident" is constituted for the consciousness of the recalling subject, so to a unified subject appears that it can travel across its own past life while retaining its integrity. The constitution of the thematic centre need not be willed - and even if it is - its ground lies in a passive association of like incident with like.

Section 45 goes on to consider the possibility of explicating the theme's margin by trying to show how aspects of the total experience are "marginalised". It discloses this process to be a complex interweaving of sense relations within a temporal phase and across temporal phases. This means that the sense of soccer hooliganism presents itself through recollection as already tied to and mediated by other meanings in official sport, and that both "spread" to cover distinct temporal phases. As a result incidents which occur hours and even days before or after a particular game are still experienced as "soccer violence". Explicating the embracing horizon appears to be a more involved exercise since the act of recollecting hooliganism has its own act-horizon, while the recalled themes it presents themselves appear within a horizon. Here, we begin to find some interesting relations between the official meanings of football and the values of the hooligan sub-culture within the traditions that both recall. Tradition now presents itself to be a contested process in which authority tries to re-affirm the "positive" side and displace the translation of official meanings of sporting combat into terrace combat.

So far the pre-conditions for such a process have passed unexamined. Section 46 therefore attempts to see how it is possible for one specific incident of hooliganism to appear as "more of the same general problem". In other words, how does the synthesis between the recollection

of one recent incident with those of "its" past take place. Again, a passive relationship of association appears to be the answer, along with the objectification of past experiences immortalised through language. The sedimentation of experiences into a common language appears to account for the social and enduring character of recalled hooliganism. At the same time language use opens up tradition for its members whose very usage sustains and transmits that same tradition. The developing process of tradition that recollections draw upon and itself sinks back into, is necessary provision. This is because of its orientation towards making good the truth claim of a statement concerning "what happened". The relationship of linguistic hooligan tradition to its members presents itself as embracing tensions as well as unifying characteristics. Nevertheless, its penetration through the systematic recovery of traditional meanings of key words can result in a deepened and more considered understanding of hooliganism's present manifestations.

The discussion up until now has considered the unification of experiences as "more of the same" without considering the OUTCOME of such unification and sedimentation of "spent" recollections. Hence our final section examines the interconnectedness of all recalled incidents of soccer violence within a single over-arching tradition which holds together a series of partial memory-chains. It accounts for this totalisation of memories by showing how each memory contains within it an implicit claim to incorporation, and how each incorporation is at the same time a constant transformation of tradition. Yet in practice this implicit promise is not fully redeemed by the presence of a fully re-activated clear presence. This is partly because of the hidden role of conflicting interests, concerns and compartments of recalling subjects in shaping the act of recollection and its contents.

S.42: THE CHARACTER OF RECOLLECTED HOOLIGANISM.

Re-collection is an act through which an originally perceived object or event is made to appear again to consciousness as re-presented. Perceived hooliganism is the original presenting act and so is recollection's re-discovery and finding out. We cannot recollect anything we have not perceived. Through recollection the present meaning of past acts of soccer violence, "as a present which has passed", is constantly but never fully determined; (Husserl, 1936/70, 168). For example before the 1983 Millwall v Doncaster game, a father of a young Millwall fan told me;

"He was going to go to the five a sides this year. He'd been the last two years, but not this year when we won! They had a punch up with Chelsea and West Ham fans".

Here the "noteworthy" incidents of the present season had transformed the meaning of the recalled earlier trouble free and less successful visits. Concerning evidential value, recollected hooliganism always appears with greater or lesser degrees of "weight" and plausibility. However, greater determination of any incident need not guarantee the accuracy of the recollection, nor need it actually occur as it is being recalled; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.38, s.136, s.141).

For interesting reasons recollection is selective and provides a "clue" to the concerns, interests and perspectives of recalling subjects. These factors are evidenced along with a suitably re-interpreted version of the recalled incident itself. The role of interests in the recollection of hooliganism will be examined later. For present purposes it is sufficient to say that, by what it includes and leaves out, recollected soccer violence provides evidence of past incidents and their originating traditions. In addition recollection's selectivity evidences an unthematic layer of the recalling subject's motivational structures. It is this structure that makes controversy over the media's selective and sensationalised coverage of soccer violence possible. Regardless of which set of concerns are guiding the determination of recalled violence, the incident is always unfolded and articulated as a phenomena CLAIMING

a true reality and therefore open to doubt and challenge by other such claims. We shall see that challenging the recollections of others is no accidental possibility.

Hooliganism's mode of appearing - the recollection itself - does not appear to common sense as long as it is merely lived through in the natural attitude. Instead only the re-presented events appear with various degrees of clarity, distinctness and certainty. Once more the structure of the recollection itself, is only disclosed by phenomenological reflection that suspends the glossing over of the meaning of the presenting acts; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.77). In such reflection our focus backtracks away from "what happened" in any recalled confrontation, to the structure of the recalling itself. Here we have consciousness of our previous mental state and our having recalled the earlier incident which provides the POSSIBILITY CONDITION of its re-activation. For our analysis it makes no difference whether the recalled acts of violence are highly specific, since the recollection structure itself will be the same throughout.

Since we have already claimed that recollection is a re-presentation of a prior perception, it is now important to distinguish between recollected and perceived soccer violence. To do so we have to examine not only the differences in the meanings of soccer violence they present but in the ORGANISATION of their presentation. If, while watching a football match, a flash of memory concerning earlier crowd violence comes to me, and I then devote myself to it, the perceptual world around me does not disappear. The swaying of the crowd, the chanting and the ebb and flow of the game itself may "retreat" and lose their hold over my attention, yet they remain perceived. The memory is relived within its own time. The time furnished by the memory of violence at the corresponding game the previous year is oriented towards the present perception of the same ground and set of supporters. But the recalled violence still appears as "past", and even temporally "lies far behind" the present game with a chain of intervening memories between the two. Yet my recollecting itself, as a lived-experience, occurs at, and within the same time as the perceived game going on around me, ie. the present.

The perceptual unification of diverse experiences as "the same" or as the "enduring problem of soccer violence", are outcomes not just of retention of perceptions, but also recollection of the phenomenon's entire past and tradition; (Husserl, 1936/70, 360). Such recollections of previous incidents, housed within a more general tradition of football hooliganism, amounts to

a constant renewal of past perceptions and understandings. Only as a outcome of an already established tradition can a single "episode" of crowd violence appear as "more of the same". Also, through a single temporal dimension, any recollection of soccer violence remains forever linked to a corresponding actual perception by the same subject; (Husserl, 1948, s.38). Therefore the concern for the role of "time" and "history" of our analysis is read out of the phenomenon itself. Consequently the distinctions disclosed below between the appearance of hooliganism as perceived and as recollected are differences WITHIN THESE PRIOR RELATIONS OF CONNECTEDNESS.

Nevertheless within this connectedness, the sensuous unities, events and connections that appear in recollections are SEPARATE FROM EACH OTHER and also separate from WHATEVER APPEARS IN THE RESPECTIVE WORLDS OF PERCEPTION. We cannot say that the contents of the experience makes its appearance here in recollection and there in perception with the former presentation being "false" and the latter a "genuine", "intuitive" and "sensuous" connection. My perception of the crowd violence and rioting at the 1981 Portsmouth v Millwall game for example, was not connected INTUITIVELY with the violence which I recalled in and around the same ground the year before. The perception of police hiding behind riot shields as the remains of local residents' fence posts, brick walls and garden equipment rained down upon them was not "beside" the recalled events. It had no relation to a spatial or temporal connection, or unity with the perceived rioting at all. For such a relationship, the unity of what is grasped within ONE SINGLE temporal dimension is required. As we eventually left Portsmouth's ground, I could relate the perceived rioting and fighting to the perceived surroundings precisely because both occupy the SAME TIME DIMENSION in perception. Both the events and the surroundings are initially "given" passively to my consciousness within the one "perceptual field". To relate and contrast the perceived and the recalled events TOGETHER would require active work by consciousness.

The same relationship is true concerning a SINGLE incident of crowd violence perceived and then recalled. Although in my consciousness I can "place", the remembered confrontation between Millwall fans and Portsmouth riot police "beside" a later perception of Millwall's fans, it is not "there" in the unity of an actual duration; it is in a certain manner separated from what I currently perceive. The world of perception and memory appear here as

SEPARATE SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL WORLDS. We can see this separation further, if we compare the perception and recollection of immanent themes such as that strange combination of excitement and apprehension experienced during such riots. In the perception - used here in a wide sense that includes intuitive comprehension - of worry, the perceived and the perception form an unmediated unity that can be separated only by an abstraction. The perception of worry during crowd disturbances includes the perceived worry and is a totally dependent element of it. This "includedness" is lacking in the case of recalled incidents. If I recall the fact that yesterday I remembered the Portsmouth rioting, this remembering does not belong to the present remembering as an inherent component of its unity; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.38).

S.43: RECALLED HOOLIGANISM AS A MODIFYING RE-PRESENTATION OF A PRIOR PERCEPTION.

Recalling an earlier episode of soccer violence implies having perceived it when it was present. Recollection distinctly alters and modifies the original presentation of an event as hooliganism. Original positings of certainty or doubt concerning 'what happened' become re-positings, the present incident becomes a renewed present, the past confrontation a renewed past etc; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.99; 1948, Appendix 1). Husserl:

"Recollection shows us everything that perception shows as, but modified as recollected - but not merely the same thing in a new colour, so to speak. For, new marvellous properties come with it. Starting with the recollected object two reflections are possible one upon the recollection, the other into it; ONE reflection leads to the present lived experience of recollection, the other to the past perceiving of the object, so that thus recollection contains a having perceived. As the I of the present belongs to the present recollection, so to the past perceiving belongs to the I of that time"; (1925/77, s.40).

The unity of each element of a particular act of violence and the "spread" of time as its essential form is no longer apprehended at first hand but is re-apprehended.

Recollection does not just have re-presentation of perceived meaning of hooliganism as its "contents". It can equally intend past acts of recollection, imagination etc. that are directed at hooliganism that is presently being experienced. For example, I can now recall IMAGINING a battle with a group of Portsmouth supporters who were standing outside the Wimbledon ground in 1982 to provoke the visiting Millwall fans. Again this recollection is selective and reveals the concerns of the subject since it was my anxiety at such a prospect that triggered the imagining. In this imagining I do not run through each intervening experience between the present perception of the aggressive looking Portsmouth fans and the imagined encounter. Nor do I recall these experiences simultaneously. Instead I reactivate the contents of the fantasy directly with the imagined bloody battle involving knives and broken bottles appearing immediately to my consciousness.

This contrasts with the RETENTION of the original imagined incident that remains with me

and so preserves the order of what has "just-now" appeared. In memories of crowd disturbances we have a unity of intuition of memory. What is remembered is passively "there" before all scientific acts of comparing, relating and distinguishing between different recalled outbreaks of hooliganism. Any would be positive science of the phenomenon must therefore explicate and account for this pre-theoretical and enduring presence. In the absence of such an account the question of its "causes" cannot be coherently raised.

For as long as I don't leap from one past incident to another, any remembered episodes remain sensuous and made of flowing parts that are "intuitive", unitary and self-enclosed. The blow I suffered from a half-caste Cardiff supporter at Paddington station has not dissolved into my memories of "physical harm" or "waiting at railway stations". Instead, it has retained its integrity as a single episode whose various aspects and moments have maintained their distinct contents. The pushing forwards of a "firm" of Millwall supporters, my unwelcome position towards the front, the squaring up of a smaller group of Cardiff fans by the opening to a platform, the shocked sensation of a "windmill" type punch landing on my jaw, the intervention by the police and their alsation dogs, my hurried decision to jump to one side as the dogs went in to the fracas, the pleasing sight of my attacker looking distraught in the back of a police transit van... all cohere together yet retain their distinctness.

The running through of such an incident of sufficiently long duration also retains the same time-structure and sequential order as in its original apprehension. Another example of this is the fighting in 1982 between thirty or so Sheffield United fans and six Millwall fans, in a local pub close to Sheffield railway station. The approach by the larger group of home supporters is still recalled before the mutual insults, mock chanting and ridicule, the throwing of broken glasses and chairs, before the police arrived etc. Just as in perception there is only a single phase - the approach for example, intuitively present at any one time to my recalling consciousness. In my recollection I cannot hold together the approach and the arrival of the police. Instead the approach represents itself as immediately detached from the next phase. Retained in grasp, it is united synthetically with the exchange of insults as part of a common series that add up to "the Bar Rio incident".

My recollection of the mutual insulting hasn't "lost" the "approach" but still holds it in retention. Here it is re-joined by the retained "fighting" as the police's arrival becomes

intuitively present to consciousness through recollection. As a result recalled hooliganism has a CLOSED NATURE based on the unity of temporal duration. Based on this unity is not only the explicit contemplation of acts of violence, but also their founding "impression". The memory of "the Bar Rio incident" is then an already assembled cohesive structure that flows along continuously always "for itself". Only the horizon intentions of that memory, such the weather at the time and the injuries caused by the flying glass, give it a connection with the objectivity which extends beyond it, with the objective world of which it is a constituent part; (Husserl, 1949, s.37). In such a memory there can occur, on the basis of these horizon-intentions, a CONTINUOUS RUNNING THROUGH IN MEMORY from a more recent past up to the incipient present. We can for example, recall all the more recent incidents where flying glass and bottles have caused physical injuries. If we do this then each horizon intention joins up with another so that we could also recall directly every such injury occurring when it was raining.

S.44: RECOLLECTION RE-PRESENTS HOOLIGANISM WITHIN A MARGIN AND HORIZON AND FOR A UNIFIED

SUBJECT.

Acts of soccer violence stand out for us as pre-given themes from a non-thematic "horizon of typical pre-acquaintance"; (Husserl, 1948, s.33). If for example, I return to a part of Millwall's ground where I have previously been, I find myself in a part of the ground where I remember standing earlier in 1981 in order to try to both watch and avoid any trouble with the visiting Portsmouth fans. My recollections appear with greater or lesser clarity and determinateness. The large groups of Millwall fans waiting in streets surrounding the ground for the arrival of Portsmouth supporters, their infiltration with the visitors, the growing sense of impending confrontation as the merged group are escorted into one section by unsuspecting police officers and the sudden "flare up" with one Portsmouth fan having his ear ripped and another stabbed in the throat with a screw driver etc. emerge with distinct centres of thematic attention and unthematic "backgrounds". For example, large portions of the general background, the road names, the dress styles of the men working on the turnstiles and the deployment of police, belonging to this recollection are co-recalled. One stage further removed from the thematic centre of attention, are my co-recalled state of insecure research funding, employment and housing at that time. All these pertain to the MARGIN of that past experience. This margin is the INNER ASPECT OF A MORE GENERAL HORIZON of recollections that, although itself non-thematic, co-determines the recalled meaning of that part of the ground for me at the time I was standing there.

The recalled margin passes into an undetermined horizon, fades into vagueness, even in several dimensions. However, the remembered margin of recalled experience always points to the actual now. What is more, the inner horizon of my PRESENT recollection co-determines the sense that earlier unwanted involvement has for me now, ie. perhaps the beginnings of a line of research enquiries concerning infiltration tactics by "firms" of fans in general.

In determining the meaning of recalled hooliganism, my consciousness has led me from the part of the ground, to my recollection of the meanings it HAS HAD for me, and then on to a re-activated past aspect of a life which I can identify as my own. This diversity of recalled experiences nevertheless centre around a single subject which is unified as the "same"

throughout all the recollections of its past "situations". As a researcher investigating soccer hooliganism, my experiences organise themselves around this one pole to which my experiences as a law lecturer intermingle. The same applies to other parties whose involvement with hooliganism is less academic. Members of fighting gangs can draw effortlessly upon past experiences that are already organised around acts of soccer violence, and then draw upon work experiences without consciously having to gather and hold together these various episodes. The diversity of recalled experiences present not only a unified subject, but also a unified "world" in which the various fleeting situations were lived through as the universal horizon of all partial horizons. The SOCIAL character of this unification of subjects and world will be examined below; (s.8).

Returning to the specific comparison inspired by the Millwall terracing, there appears a recollection of a past sense that is "held alongside" a present sense allowing comparison. Prior to this comparison an identification and association of the two meanings has occurred without any conscious effort; (Husserl, 1948, s.41). The associative awakening radiates from the presently perceived terracing with the memories "rising up" on their own accord. During the 1982 Millwall v Portsmouth fixture that was played soon after the rioting at Portsmouth's ground, the physical damage done to Portsmouth's ground and police force was recalled triumphantly in chants directed at the visiting supporters.

"We wrecked your ground again,
we wrecked your ground again,
we wrecked your ground again".

"What's it like,
what's it like,
what's it like to have no face?"

"We done your bill again,
we done your bill again,
we done your bill again."

The rising up of memories itself does not assemble the "sameness" of the two experiences, it only makes vivid a previously dormant relation. Take for example, the recollection of the length of time taken to walk from the relative danger of the surrounding streets to the relative security of the railway station. Millwall fans tried to reawaken this experience for the visiting supporters in order to engender a sense of forboding.

"It's a long way to the station

it's a long way to go,

it's a long way to the station

it's a long long way to go."

This passive and even unwelcome emergence of recollections does not however prevent future willed explication of memory's "contents" or even their deliberate re-activation in the future. In fact, in the precise situation under discussion, Portsmouth fans probably were already planning different kinds of strategy for the return journey. Such strategies would most likely take into account the fact that the area around Waterloo railway station has been a place where confrontations have previously taken place. This was also operative in the consciousness of a small group of Millwall supporters who left the game early and went down to Waterloo in an effort to set up an ambush. At first the recalled contents may well be incomplete so that only aspects of the journey between the ground and the station appear. Here, a conscious and willed activity is called for so that each aspect's before and after sequence can become clear so that a complete "picture" of the potentially dangerous "journey out of London" emerges.

The ground of such recollections is in "the passive associative relations of likeness and similarity" that pre-constitute a certain unity; (Husserl, *ibid*). For example, when a visiting team such as Brentford field a player who used to play for Millwall, this tends to provoke a degree of ambiguity amongst supporters. A name once chanted approvingly is now taunted with cries of "Millwall reject" so that any ambiguity over loyalties is resolved against the visiting player. Paul Roberts was actually assaulted by a Millwall fan when he

gesticulated at the crowd after his new team Brentford had taken the lead in the 1984 game. Following the assault, which left him nursing a black eye, he was also charged by the police with using threatening and insulting behaviour contrary to Section Five of the 1936 Public Order Act.

In such an identification of the player as once supported and now reviled, a series of experiences and conflicting meanings of the "same" player are assembled. Instead of his "unfortunate past" being forgotten, it is re-awakened in a way that does not challenge the supporters' "loyalty" and can be used to discredit his present situation. We shall see later that this discrediting of the significance of rival teams, supporters and areas, is an essential element in the motivational structures of hooliganism itself. The details of the margin of this recalled assault, ie. the fact that Paul Roberts' brother is a well known London boxer can be addressed in all or just part of their "richness", along with the assault itself. Also the associative relations that unified the player's contradictory meanings, can themselves be made thematic as explication of the total experience deepens.

Therefore, re-call of soccer hooliganism is at the same time the re-call of its margin and associative relations whatever the theme's distinction and richness of content. Both Hegel and Husserl claim that the truth of the theme, thematising act, and subject are disclosed through the progressive explication of the TOTALITY of these mediations.

Already we have seen that the horizon of recollection includes a temporal depth so that incidents of soccer violence are recalled as "more of the same". Now we ask how is this possible, and answer with a preliminary discussion of the essential meaning structure of "hooliganism", ie. the hooligan character of any act of hooliganism.

Because of the horizon's past and future directedness, the original presence of recalled hooliganism is always re-recognised in advance as a phenomenon of this or that FAMILIAR TYPE. The sense of "soccer violence" that are bestowed upon original apprehensions imply further determinations which have NOT YET BEEN experienced. My own first experience of hooliganism occurred in 1970 during a visit to Aldershot who were playing Brentford in a fourth division local derby. Along with a hundred or so other Brentford supporters, I was surrounded by home fans who then began to launch assaults upon us backed up with a barrage of exploding fireworks. Although at that time hooliganism was still "new" to me, I still experienced the incident in terms of a known type. This was insofar as it referred back to earlier analogous experiences concerning other acts of violence and group misbehaviour. There was no sense of having to consciously invent the meaning of what was going on around me. My cognition was then already a re-cognition founded upon a pre-acquaintance.

From such re-cognition different modes of synthetic coincidence appear between anticipated hooliganism and its explicated meaning now recalled to intuition. Looking back upon the incident, it is still possible for me to compare my present recollection with the concrete anticipations of soccer violence that I entertained at the time. I can still say whether it was "worse" or "better" than I had expected. This recalled coincidence depends upon whether there is simply a complete confirmation of what was expected, or a "disappointment" of predelineated anticipations.

I can even recall and explicate to a high degree of clarity my sense of anticipated hooliganism BEFORE it was realised. Explication occurs on the basis of a kind of intuitive picturing in the imagination; a picturing in which MEMORIES of objects, incidents and possibilities already given of the same or related types of experience play a joint role. For example, the Aldershot incident appeared in terms of what I had already discovered about the dangers of fireworks, the agony of freshly burnt flesh and the sheer shock and pain of physical violence.

Although unreal compared to the empirically real experiences of violence, the pre-given essential meaning structure of hooliganism itself remains bound to its empirical exemplifications. The essential meaning structure of "soccer violence" appears as a concept standing out IN every exemplification. As soon as the experience of supporters expands to new examples, a resumed synthesis of holding these very particular experiences to be experiences of the "same type" occurs. Therefore further experience of hooliganism can fulfil and flesh out the projection of its pre-given meaning for the subject. Synthesis is (re)awakened precisely by the recollection of previous incidents. New elements of likeness, such as the apparently innocent carrying of newspapers, are immediately recognised as particularisations of the same universal meaning structure. That is to say their quality, once tightly rolled up, as "Millwall bricks" is already seen as another aspect of the "same" structure. Typically, no ego participation or conscious effort is experienced in this synthesis. This is true even in exceptional cases where a recalled tradition makes the subject "expect the unusual". My first encounter with violence from Millwall supporters at Southampton's ground in 1976, appeared to me as both pre-delineated by their acquired reputation, and as "something else altogether". Later we shall explore the different levels of hooliganism's essential meaning structure that make such a paradoxical synthesis possible.

What makes possible the crucial role of recollection in the re-cognition of even "new" and anticipated experiences, is ASSOCIATION. Association of one experience with another "like" it is a passive synthesis of consciousness that unifies diverse data within a single presence; (Husserl, 1948, s.42). Association unites temporally quite disconnected experiences as when I compare the consequences of an incident of violence between students, with those of a brick thrown ^{at} a football match I saw two years previously. The passive synthesis is a reciprocal relation in which like recalls like without any conscious willing or participation by the subject. Memories of hooliganism can be compared not only with present experiences but also with each other over the whole length of their external horizon. Therefore, through association, memories TEMPORAL ORDER OF BEFORE AND AFTER are established. On this basis we say the football incident was "earlier" than the student violence. Again this passive level provides the ground for more active recollections and judgements by consciousness concerning say, "violence in modern society"; (Husserl, 1948, s.42).

Having looked at the possibility condition of perceiving incidents as more of the same, it is now necessary to examine their mediated and mediating structure - the margin of each thematic centre and the external horizon that embraces them both.

S.45: EXPLICATING THE MARGIN OF RECOLLECTION.

The margin of a recollected experience of any act of football hooliganism is the unthematic "fringe" from which the incident itself "stands out". Once recalled the focus of the subject can shift from one aspect to another. What is implicitly co-given on the margin of this recollection can then become an explicit theme at any phase of the recollecting. I can for example, turn my attention from any particular incident of recalled violence to the lay-out of the entire surrounding area. In such a "turning", I relinquish what I have been dealing with as a theme and turn to the components of its margin. I can then go on to displace my current theme, ie. the actual exchange of threats and finally blows, and make thematic my co-recalled circumstances at that time. WHAT this recollection reveals about the "background" of the fighting now becomes my theme as I then "live" in the memory of my past state. As such, the past experiences that are now focused upon explicitly, appear within a context that comprises of still further remembered experiences. They appear within a SERIES OF CHAINS stretching forwards and backwards. Each chain progressively determines the meaning of hooliganism so that, at the limit, it presents everything experienced about that theme by the subject; each presents a possible "life-story" of the experienced soccer violence told to the recollecting subject. At one end of this series the present experience of the subject is privileged insofar as it is free from the mist shrouding certain regions. Therefore, in dealing with a current experience and its margin within one phase of a recollection, we are also dealing with its TEMPORAL STRUCTURE.

We can see this if we examine the reported interview with fifty nine year old John Lynch who was "speared" in his head by a dart at the 1984 Dundee United v Celtic match:

"I suddenly felt something hit my head, I thought it was a stone. Then I touched my head and realised there was a dart sticking in. If I'd turned my head at that moment I would probably lost my eye. Whoever was responsible must be mad"; (Sun, 5/3/84).

Here, only the "kernel" of the total experience is presented. The state of play on the field at the time, his immediate company, any other crowd misbehaviour etc. would have been

elements of that experience not re-presented by his unexplicated recollection. His experience of recalled soccer violence has a centre of focus plus a margin of contents at the "fringes" of this centre. Both the margin and the thematic centre occur within a TEMPORAL HORIZON of both future and past orientations; (Husserl, 1933/77, s.19). Included here are not only actual recollections of past perceptions or media reports of crowd trouble, but those the subject COULD HAVE HAD instead of those which were originally perceived; (Husserl, 1948, s.93). John Lynch's concern for what he could now be recalling - the loss of his eye - graphically illustrate this. Thus although the margin of any recollected incident appear as part of the static "width" of the experience, this width is always cut across by its flowing temporal "depth".

Another interview in which the interplay of "width" and "depth" aspects of recalled experience appeared, was one given by singer Anne Nolan to the Daily Mirror. This interview took place after her assault by visiting supporters as she left the ground following the 1983 Torquay v Bristol City local derby. Here the interplay concerned the purpose of moving the car, the situation preceding the attack, an awareness of the "novelty" of this experience for her, re-collection of what she had previously done and the "what if" structure of recalled anticipations:

"I was frightened out of my life... At one stage I thought they were going to turn the car right over. I just sat there absolutely terrified, not knowing what they might do. I'm only relieved that I did not have my baby Amy with me. I left the ground after the game to move my car, then all of a sudden I was surrounded by dozens of Bristol supporters. I've never been so scared. Luckily I had left Amy with the players' wives".

The particularities of the margin thrown into relief by explication become attributes, and recalled hooliganism as a whole is apprehended and retained as a UNITY OF ATTRIBUTES. Attention is not equally divided between the various elements but is drawn towards the particularly impressive qualities that define it as a recollection of this rather than that. Again we can consider all those contents of John Lynch's and Anne Nolan's perceptions that were not recalled as "relevant". In my own recollection of a violent incident in a Sheffield

pub between Sheffield United and Millwall supporters, their clothing, the precise time, the record on the jukebox etc. are re-presented but not focused upon. Instead what "stands out" as defining qualities of the incident are the looks of apprehension, defiance and anger, the seizure of bottles and their projection towards the heads of the other supporters. Also if we examine the recollections of Darrell Round, a Barnsley fan attacked in 1982 by Sheffield United fans, the same selection process occurs:

"There was about 20 of us walking together when suddenly about 50 Sheffield fans jumped out from behind cars. They were throwing bricks at us and we just ran for about a mile with them chasing us. This brick hit me on the the back of the head and I was knocked down. I got back on my feet and kept running until I got away, and then had to go and get the cut on my head treated. I was terrified. There was nothing we could do but try and run off. I was lucky, I got away, but some of the others got knifed".

In both cases we can see that the recollection process undergoes A LOSS OF INESSENTIAL DETAILS. Concerning the pub incident; the number of other drinkers, the size and height of the barman, the order of drinks etc. fade before the representation of "the first blow". In the fighting recalled by Darrell; the conversations taking place immediately prior to the attack, the anticipations of the game, the state of the gardens they ran past etc. are "overshadowed" by the thematic centre of focus. The theme then SELECTS OUT a whole mass of non-thematic contents and relegates others to the mere "background". During explication of the margin, such qualities are REPEATEDLY RUN THROUGH in memory so that their features and immediate context become increasingly clear, distinct and determinate; (Husserl, 1948, s.26).

The selection process which renders some contents to the thematic centre and others to the margin is not an accidental characteristic of our particular examples. It appears in all incidents of recalled hooliganism so that no incident could be recalled without this process occurring. In other words, it has appeared as a defining characteristic of recalled hooliganism per se. Because of this selection process we can establish the unity of the SPECIFIC memory-field - ITS "INTERNAL HORIZON". This is an intuitive unity, in a narrow sense, of one theme. Such a unity depends upon every phase of this recollective lived

experience, intuiting the preceding phase as still intuitive, still retained in grasp. At the same time, what newly appears in intuition is just attaining primary intuitiveness so the internal horizon includes possible further characteristics of the theme. In our example only those phases which cohere together as parts of the presence of one "incident" constitute its inner horizon. Such cohesion spreads both across the static "width" and the temporal "depth" of the inner horizon.

As to the "width" aspect, crowd violence can be experienced as "part and parcel" of violent confrontations on the pitch between the players. When this is so, these are experienced in terms of "two sides of the same coin". During the so called Charity Shield in 1982, a confrontation between Liverpool and Tottenham players was reported as part of the more general violence that took place between the supporters in the stand and outside the ground. This single episode was itself experienced by the Daily Mirror's Derek Wallis as "more damage to a game reeling from its own excesses". The lack of sporting atmosphere on and off the pitch were combined by his recollection of the episode as further causes for the "growing disenchantment" in the game. Sheffield United's Secretary Dick Chester said:

"Football violence of this kind is to be condemned. The actions of a minority gives the game the totally wrong image and ruins it for the majority"; (Sheffield Star, 10/10/82).

As regards the temporal "depth" of a unified incident, on one side, it embraces violence that took place on the Friday evening before the game between Sheffield United and Lincoln City by travelling supporters who "make a day/weekend out of it". Arrests of Sheffield United fans made some distance away and several hours before their team played at Lincoln was still treated as an aspect of the crowd violence that happened at the game during which two policemen were injured; (Sheffield Star, 30/9/82). The same was true of the fighting and criminal damage involving Northampton supporters who visited Chesterfield. This confrontation amounted to a "grudge game" following a knife attack by a Chesterfield supporter at the previous meeting at Northampton's ground. Also, when Leeds United fans visited Sheffield city centre hours before their game with Sheffield Wednesday the violence then was recalled as an essential part of the crowd violence in and around the match itself. A hair-

dresser who was affected by the fighting in the city centre recalled that:

"They were just looking for trouble. Glass was flying everywhere. They came up to my shop and completely smashed the blackboard sign we have outside. We were so frightened we locked ourselves in".

The manageress of a shoeshop said:

"It was total chaos. There were hundreds of them. They poured out of the alleyway and threw all our shoes from the racks. I could not believe my eyes. Then a group of them picked up the litter bin near the bus stop and emptied it all over the road"; (Sheffield Star, 11/9/82).

On the other side of the "spread", is the violence that takes place at the local nightclubs on Saturday night and early Sunday morning. Such an extension within the theme's internal temporal horizon presented itself in the reporting of the death of a Leicester man. He was kicked to death in Leicester early one Sunday morning by Sheffield Wednesday supporters. These fans had stayed on for a "night out" in Leicester after the game. The death was still linked by reporters and crowd alike to the crowd violence at the game itself; (Sheffield Star, 9/11/82). This incident is itself recalled through its signification by graffiti in and around Sheffield that announces "OWLS KILL". Frequently this threat is accompanied, in the same handwriting, by the distinctive NF of the National Front.

This unification of a diverse "spread" into a internal horizon must be clearly distinguished from the EXTERNAL HORIZON of the unified incident. By this is meant the total intuitive memory field or "tradition" re-presented and transmitted in a diversity of acts and their manifolds; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.135). The external horizon points and refers to beyond itself; these pointing references towards wider mediations present our permanent awareness of the historical world as the universal horizon of all possible acts of recollection. Included in the external horizon are other themes such as localism and gang violence, and are re-presented alongside the theme itself but which the internal horizon "selects out". More than this, the external horizon embraces an INFINITY OF POSSIBLE THEMES AND THEIR POSSIBLE

KNOWLEDGE; (Husserl, 1948, s.8, s.22). The external horizon is therefore the open infinity of possible modes of consciousness of recalled football hooliganism that present it as a continuation of "the same".

To the external horizon belongs the continual "run through" in a unity of consciousness of truly intuitive memory fields. Here, incidents that are no longer truly intuitive but still possess an intentional vividness are not "absorbed". The 1982 violence between Barnsley and Sheffield United supporters resulted in a police spokesman commenting upon the general use of razor sharp Stanley-knives that had left one Barnsley supporter requiring emergency surgery. He said:

"This is the sickening side of football that we are seeing all too often"; (Sheffield Star, 10/10/82).

Recollection here presents a series of "incidents" involving national and club supporters. Each is itself unified around a specific internal horizon, and is recalled as already mediated by the tradition of such violence so that it always appears as "more of the same". Also there is contained within the external horizon everything which, though not recollected anew, is still included in the horizon of the past - included as the more potentiality of bringing recalled episodes of violence back to fulfilment. For example, when I stand again in the Sheffield pub mentioned above, I can remember a visit after the fighting with Millwall fans when "recalled memories" of the violence came "flooding back" to me. This re-collection of memories itself sinks back through sedimentation as a retention of a retention. Therefore even fully explicated past incidents whose margins have been fully determined themselves dwindle away retentionally. They become retentions that, although no longer intuitive, are still vivid, and which are absorbed without loss of contents into the external horizon. It is not then a case of "relating" each incident to some external "historical context", but of initially explicating the tradition FROM WITHIN THE THEME AND ITS MARGIN. This all embracing horizon has a TELEOLOGICAL centre in possible experience; (Husserl, 1929/69, App.2, s.2a). By this is meant a directedness towards a future realisation of the experience's implicit promise. What is promised is a total self-comprehension by a cultural tradition of its

historical direction and goal. Phenomenological explication of the margin of soccer violence must therefore proceed on to its external horizon if it is to contribute to such a more general project.

We have investigated the thematic centre / margin relation. However our discussion so far has not yet considered the relation between the margin of a recalled incident and the manifold of other acts that, as recollection's external act horizon, both mediate and embrace it. Nor has the mutual mediation within hooligan tradition of its recalled themes by elements of soccer's own wider tradition been investigated as the outcome of recollection's external act horizon. These are the tasks for the remainder of this section.

Following determination of recalled hooliganism and its margin, we can explicate the horizon that embraces both. Within this horizon my memory of say, fighting that occurred in the present ground, initially appears with its margin in isolation from other like and related experiences. However, the recalled incident admits to being greatly extended as to its width and depth, and such a possibility amounts to a continuing "potentiality of consciousness"; (Husserl, 1933/77, p.44, p.48). The possibility of this extension is not "empty" but already structured and PREDELINED in respect of its content. Associated memories and anticipations derived from living traditions and "reputations" provide the basis of this predelineation; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.44). The future orientation of traditions of recalled violence presented itself in the vow of Barnsley fan Paul Duffy. He was slashed across his forehead with a cutting knife by Middlesborough fans after the two clubs met in 1983. After a blood transfusion and 30 stitches he vowed that he'd "never follow Barnsley away from "home" again". Five other fans were hospitalised after an ambush by Middlesborough fans outside a pub near their ground. The landlord was reported as saying: "All hell let loose - there was blood everywhere"; (Daily Mirror, 17/2/83).

Because of the mutual implication of the internal and external horizon of recalled soccer violence, we must not merely consider the act and its presentation of memories within a margin but the relation of the act of recollection to its external horizon, and the relation of recalled hooliganism to the OTHER acts that make up its horizon; (Husserl, 1933/77, s.20). Hooliganism's external horizon of tradition includes a sense of already acquired comprehension derived from past allotments of determinations and their explication. The richness of these anticipations depends upon our recollection of past experiences of the given theme and the depth of our background beliefs and concerns. Such recollections constitute the past-oriented aspect of experience's horizon. It is this "trail" and "trace" that allows for further entry

in the horizon and of developing it through memories; (Husserl, 1948, p.166). The predelineation of recalled hooliganism's horizon means that what is meant implicitly in recollection - the set of meanings associated with the manifold of acts in recollection's horizon - is not arbitrary but determined by recollection's own meaning. A frame of indeterminateness is set up which prescribes the course of any future determinations; (Husserl, 1933/77, s.19).

As a result of this past-present-future interplay, a recalled incident appears to have "more" than is captured by the perceptual act of the fleeting present. It includes a pre-given sense of making a lasting impression upon an enduring subject. Often victims' recollections have the structure of "I had known there was likely to be some trouble, but I'd never expected that".

Explication by the subject of "what happened", takes the form of a repetition and re-activation of its pre-acquaintance on the basis of "now-that this has occurred"; (see below).

We can now provisionally define the horizon of recollection as follows. THE SET OF ACTS OF ANTICIPATION, SEDIMENTATION AND RECOLLECTION WHOSE MEANINGS ARE CO-RELATED WITH AND COMPATIBLE IN CONTENT WITH, BUT ALSO MORE DETERMINATE THAN, HOOLIGANISM PRESENTED BY RECOLLECTION. The TOTALITY of these possible acts associated with recollection constitute the ACT HORIZON of recollection. Anticipation and perception constitute the MANIFOLD of acts that are directed to the same unified theme of football hooliganism and whose meanings are co-related with recollections; (Husserl, 1929/69, App.2, s.2a). We have seen that acts of anticipation provide the "what-if" and "now-that" structure of recalled soccer violence, that these anticipations are pre-lineated by pre-acquaintance and the recalled contents continually add to this pre-acquaintance. Correlated with the act horizon is the THEME HORIZON - the possible future determinations of soccer violence that COULD be given in a continuation of experience; (Husserl, 1948, s.8, 1936/70, s.45-47). For example, Ann Nolan's experienced concern COULD BE further explicated by developing precisely what she was worried about happening to her baby and herself. The correlation of the act and theme's external horizons constitutes the basic "internal" structure and "external" connections of hooliganism's flowing tradition.

Perhaps Anne Nolan's recalled experience appears to her as part of a more general threat of male abuse and violence directed against "unaccompanied" women. If so then any explication of

it could be a partial unfolding of a system of coercion operating through "the world of sport". In this system "appropriate" meanings, roles and places are continually re-assembled and allotted to males and females in society at large, and the explicating subject appears as both an agent, element and a target for this process. No stage or level within the tradition can be assumed or read into the phenomenon on the basis of some pre-given "theory". Instead each layer and connection within the external horizon must show itself in actual or possible experience. For instance, the theme horizon for recalled hooliganism is often experienced in terms of "the general decline in standards of behaviour", with no clear basis in the social construction of "masculinity" and "femininity" through soccer or sport". Instead the "growing effeminacy" and "play acting" of players is experienced as an aspect of this decline.

With a degree of conscious effort, further explication of the horizon is possible so that the mist that surrounds memories and their relationships can be gradually dispersed. As I unfold the violent episode of our example, my past research and life-experiences emerge from one another with increasing determinateness and distinctness. Horizon explication is an open ended process in which completeness is an ever-receding goal. Any deliberate explication of memories is motivated by an interest in appropriating a past perceptual image so as to make an abiding impression of it upon ourselves; (Husserl, 1901, 1, s.2, 1913/31, s.140). Motivation is a contingent rather than a logical relation based upon a ground of probability. It is founded upon a usually passive association of ideas that assimilates one with another.

In our discussion of the margin we saw that anticipations of "more of the same violence" are projected into the future on the basis of this acquired tradition. Such projection occurs regardless of what is actually sought after or hoped for. For instance the 1982 Sheffield United v Millwall match day programme exemplified the merging of official and unofficial traditions of soccer confrontations. It opened with the manager considering United's season to date and stressed a series of values; consistency over time, the resulting self-confidence "oozing in everything you do", the "great feeling" of defeating those regarded as above you and an awareness of the threat of complacency. It carried on with a potted history of Millwall, their season so far, the outcome of every past match between the two teams and a record of noteworthy highlights of the club since its formation. The last record announced their grounds closure in 1947 and 1978 following crowd violence. While Millwall's manager was

welcomed as an "ex-united player" the only recognition or "welcome" reserved for Millwall's spectators was an article entitled "Hammer the Hooligans". In far from dispassionate terms it pronounced judgements on the "virulent disease" of "thuggery" from "England's beer sodden charging rabble" and the "marauding gangs of criminals passing themselves off as football supporters". The same programme went on to praise as "newsworthy" the lack of violence and "impeccable and sporting behaviour" from supporters of Millwall's East London rivals Orient on their recent visit to a Yorkshire club. Clearly the reputation for violence that Millwall carried with them had made a profound impression upon the Sheffield club.

Interestingly, the tradition of established values that Sheffield fans discussed, the visit from the Millwall supporters was very much in line with those of the manager discussing his team, ie, consistency, confidence and the danger of complacency from "cocky cockneys". On the basis of Millwall's reputation for crowd violence, Sheffield fans told me later that they were concerned to "show them Yorkshire pride". They saw this as under threat if Millwall's supporters could be said to have had the freedom of the city. It was on this basis that, hours before the game, a gang of them scoured the city's pubs for visiting Millwall supporters and then afterwards waited to try to ambush any "stragglers" at the railway station.

Even those struggling to resist and change the tradition and "reputation" of a set of supporters, by optimistically pointing out that this past is "behind them" cannot but experience the struggle in terms derived from this very tradition. For example, in the programme for the 1982 Millwall v Portsmouth game - like the later away game strategically scheduled for the end of the season following the rioting of 1981 - the manager wrote:

"I would like to offer a special sincere thank you to our wonderful band of away supporters who have followed and cheered us in wind, rain, hail and snow from Exeter to Carlisle and back. On behalf of the players I am delighted we gave you some decent results to shout about on those trips and I believe you have finally put to rest the popular belief that all Lions fans are a bunch of hooligans. As far as I am concerned nothing could be further from the truth"; (8/5/82).

Confirmation of predelineations laid down by tradition are not however totally automatic

nor invulnerable to practical efforts to change them. If I re-visit the ground my perceptions may annul and "disappoint" my recollections of it; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.138, 1948, s.21a, 67a).

It must be stressed that traditions of both "good" and "bad" behaviour by supporters are contested so their outcome can never be fully guaranteed. They can be and are subjected to conflicting pressures between the clubs, official and unofficial groups of supporters, media and government concerns etc. These contests over tradition are based upon different and often contradictory interests and concerns. Before Watford's appearance in the 1984 Cup final, the manager Graham Taylor attempted to reinstate the respectful, nonviolent and family atmosphere of this event. Before the announcement at the preceeding game he stated:

"I will be asking them to stand up and be counted and behave at Wembley as they do at Watford. We have tried to bring some of the traditional things back into the game such as a family atmosphere and wingers. I would hope that when it comes to singing "Abide With Me" our fans will give it full voice and also sing the correct words to the national anthem"; (Evening Standard, 11/5/84).

Against the odds, Millwall have consistently tried to highlight and reinstate what the club sees as the "positive side" of its traditional support. Ironically it was the Portsmouth v Millwall match programme that inspired a writer in Millwall's own programme to feature John and Amy Beamish as "loyal supporters". Along with others their "fanatical support" for some fifty years was applauded by the club:

"It is supporters like these who make Saturday afternoon worthwhile and it must also go to prove that our game must not be allowed to die. I close by saying that everyone connected with the club appreciates the support especially on the long away trips and hopes it can be rewarded with a win today"; (Millwall's 1982 match programme for their game against Walsall).

The same programme contained a page written about Elijah Moor under the heading "The Best of Yesteryear". Elijah had been associated with the club as a groundsman and second team trainer

for over sixty years since joining it as gateman in 1887. His family is reported as having 150 years of combined service to the club in a variety of capacities including his wife's tea making for guests and his grandson's supervision of the turnstiles.

Such traditions are contested within the ranks of supporters themselves. The Sheffield United supporters club meeting I attended in 1983 attempted to play down the reputation their own supporters have for violence. The secretary claimed that disturbances were the result of other clubs not being able to cope with the sheer numbers of travelling United supporters. When pressed she conceded that "like every club" they have a small minority of perhaps 150 supporters who "look for trouble". In contrast, the man responsible for organising the coaches told me afterwards:

"What was said in there was a whitewash job. They are always trying to play the whole thing down. In fact it's planned out in the pubs during the week. If you want to see what really goes on you ought to come on our coaches and meet some of these characters".

However the view of the meeting towards Millwall's supporters was far less charitable:

"They wait for you outside in those flats, attack the coaches and all sorts. Terrible ground and supporters. I've been standing there minding my own business and Stanley-knife blades have been landing all around me. Landing on my feet! It's the same every time we play down there. They've always had a dreadful name Millwall fans".

S.46: LINGUISTIC PRE-UNDERSTANDINGS OF HOOLIGANISM ARE GROUNDED UPON SEDIMENTED TRADITION
AND THE CONTINUAL SEDIMENTATION OF STATEMENTS INTO THAT TRADITION.

It is one thing to show that the thematic centre of any recalled soccer violence is mediated by a margin which is itself mediated by an external horizon of tradition; it is quite another to disclose the actual operation of this temporal and temporalising mediation and language as its possibility conditions. This is our next task.

Although the world of hooliganism that is disclosed and the way it is opened up for a crew-member may be historically specific, the disclosure itself is a condition of the possibility of anything like "historical life". This is the paradox which shipwrecks would be students of the phenomenon, whose historical accounts tend to de-historicise the phenomenon by playing up the earliest outbreak of crowd violence during the 1880's and 1890's. Such accounts create the impression that hooliganism is some essential element of football tradition.

Yet their own evidence shows that crowd misbehaviour was not experienced as hooliganism, but as the sort of almost expected rowdiness of the industrial working class in general.(43) Here the emphasis upon "history" stops short of a sense-history that re-traces the origins of "hooliganism" as something meant and meant in such and such a way. It merely re-reads past documents through the categories of the present while incredibly claiming to be engaged in scholarship that is "critical" of that same present. Even within this self-contradictory project, the evidence from the 1920's up until the early 1960's fails to support their claims. This convenient neglect is not accidental since it is on this basis that the revival of crowd violence in the 1960's was legitimately experienced as a new phenomenon. If such evidence was presented, their claims would collapse. The net effect is ironically, to de-historicise the phenomenon without accounting for the very possibility of access to its tradition in the first place.

The language of hooliganism joins the specific historical situation of its communication community with that of its encompassing worlds of soccer, sport, leisure, work etc. These plural worlds themselves always already have the life world as their own universal horizon. Through sedimentation and over time, the language of supporters accumulates a wealth of communal experience out of which individual life-histories and reputations are assembled and

circulated. Within hooliganism's historical world, continual mutual recognition and communication of certain core meanings concerning "what it is all about" sustains social reproduction of the "same" world. These include what counts as a humiliation, mutual respect, a grudge game, a "crew", a "top boy" within a crew, legitimate and illegitimate grounds for a "row" with the police etc. Core meanings are embedded in shared linguistic symbols, slogans, belief and relevancy systems underscored by traditional working class values of assertive and combative masculinity.

Understanding within hooliganism's communication tradition involves the interpretation of past incidents and reputations. These are combined with an application of such understanding to the present situation and life-world of that particular crew. Application here always already occurs within the wider context of supporters of the same team, that includes a majority who are disinterested in starting any fighting. It is the distance from these other supporters that marks the "hardness" of any particular crew. Even acts of creative novelty that are "ahead of their time", such as the wearing of surgical masks by the now dormant "surgery" firm of Millwall supporters in the mid-1970's, derive their sense of "novelty" from the time that they are creatively engaged within.

A successful assertion of "what really happened" in any particular incident within a tradition of crowd violence, fixes the specific understanding for others and makes it intelligible in relation to their present horizon of understanding. Grasping elements of conversation as meaning this rather than that may therefore be achieved "in" an individual supporter's understanding, but it is possible only through the mediation of tradition that houses it.

We have already seen that any single utterance explodes its singularity as a carrier of meaning within systems of grammatical structures into broader horizons and their connections. These concern "the state of the game as a spectator sport" or even "the general decline in values". Also our earlier studies suggested that it is only across and through language-tradition that meaningful statements about past confrontations can be recorded, transmitted and have significance for others who were not actually there.

Tradition can be passed on formally and in a ritual manner. For example, if the supporter who broke into a jewellers in York in 1984 and stole some five thousand pounds worth of gold

and silver had confessed to the police about the crime, then this statement will be set down and possibly verified. Its origins though were formulated in the silent voice of his consciousness prior to their expression. By uttering the prepared statement the constitution of its meaning for the fan, the police and the criminal law is brought to near completion.

Objectification of tradition here, as everywhere, occurs through having the experience "taken down in writing", fixed, inscribed and incarnated in a near permanent form. What is written down expresses the confession only if the original intention is inscribed within it. Inscription animates its contents through an act of meaning that gives the confession its sense of being a "genuine confession". The trial itself is recorded via a transcript while any newspaper reporting will objectify a version of "what happened" in a semi-permanent form. Only following objectification can "expert scientists" or would be "historians" reactivate this sense. Then and only then is it possible for these "experts" to busy themselves with "discovering", communicating and recording in writing evidence that "confirms" the original incident. This reactivation awakens the expressed meanings of the words used in the incident and the accused's confession which otherwise would have been left as "empty" symbols.

At the trial the original and originating sense of these various statements are repeated and connected together as "evidence", and this connection recorded in the court records and trial transcripts. These in turn, can be drawn out of the tradition for the appeal before a higher court. In this case the judgements of the court may then become available for generations of law students, lawyers and judges as "precedents". In a higher court, the fan's lawyer will try - on the basis of conflicts between oral or written statements made by the prosecution - to cast doubt on the reactivated evidential value of the statement.

Such a highly formalised transmission process is not the monopoly of the legal system, but also occurs in an informal network of alliances between different groups of fans. The spread of these networks can sometimes be astonishing. Two days after an midweek evening game at Lincoln in which Millwall fans were involved in some "toe-to-toe" battles in the streets and pubs with the home fans, a Cardiff supporter told me:

"Yeah, I've heard on the grapevine that Millwall boys caused some right commotion down at Lincoln the other night. Had the whole town worked up".

This 'recollection' took place during his teams visit to Doncaster Rovers in 1982. To the best of my knowledge there had been no national media coverage of the violence. Via their own network Millwall fans appeared well aware of the possibility for violence as Lincoln "are the only team in this division that will try to do Millwall". Again such information linguistically circulates as part of the stock of knowledge of hooligan culture whose validity requires constant reaffirmation in actual experience. Also the ability to pass on such information solidifies the authority of members of the network. Conversely, the ability to authoritatively reject what is passed "on the grapevine" amounts to an impressive display. I overheard the following conversation at Millwall's ground in 1981:

"I've heard West Ham are coming down today with their top boys...

"West Ham this, West Ham that, there always SAYING what they're going do but they never show up".

Here, as everywhere, the capacity to "speak the code" and speak it in an authoritative way is a relationship of power as well as knowledge. The objectification of past incidents by signification has no necessary truth in itself. But, through depositing ideality and objectivity of hooliganism's meaning, signification conditions the movement and concept of truth.

If we re-examine the earlier examples of recollections and focus upon their linguistic character, we can see then the crucial role that language-tradition plays in the constant constitution, shaping and transmission of the intersubjective world of hooliganism as well as footballing "folklaw". The arrival through language-tradition of the meaning of soccer violence for these worlds is never a pure presentation. It springs out of its non-identity with itself and from the possibility of a RETENTIONAL TRACE and is always already a TRACE OF TRADITION. Based upon a series of retentions, the LANGUAGE of soccer hooliganism is itself a RE-presentation to consciousness. In it is constituted the presence of an essentially temporal phenomenon. The immediate consciousness of the speaker within this language tradition is equally a trace stemming from the flowing forwards of a life-history. In the

hearing of hooliganism's language this identity of meaning can be repeatedly expressed and through this, APpresented and re-presented to others as objective for their intersubjectivity. These interpretive and objectifying moments are not "distortions" by language of an otherwise "pure" presentation of the meaning of hooliganism for the audience and speakers. Instead, they are processes that essentially condition the meanings from the inside through bifurcation. As a RE-presentation through language of any original presence to consciousness, the meaning of particular incidents is a product that is assembled across a whole series of discrete acts.

The ideality and therefore objectivity of its meaning lies in the possibility of it being expressed by language as the "same" an infinite number of times. It never is. Therefore the meanings's objectivity for hooligan tradition is as much a promise and project as an established "fact". The procedures of the experience's interpretation by the original perceiver, its telling and endless retelling across the network can be seen as a sceptical forum where an attempt is made to make good this promise of objectivity and PRODUCE ITS TRUTH. What actually and perpetually emerges is a claim to objectivity arrived at only through a series of acts of present and possible consciousness.

The language that hooligan-tradition expresses itself in, is itself a historical product of that tradition with a definite origin, heritage and direction. Every time it is effectively used to advertise, assert or ridicule, it operates within a structure of repetition whose basic element can only be representative, ie. a "stand in" for an original perception. No series of words, however well they express a confrontation are ever irreplaceable or irreversible. If they were, then they could not function as a sign for a meaning that is ideal and remains the same across a range of empirical occasions of its use. The meaning expressed in the words "We done your ground again" has already been established; so the presence of its present sense for both the chanting Millwall fans and their audience from Portsmouth is derived from repetition and not the reverse. Since the trace is the intimate relation of the flowing present with its exterior world horizon, the temporalisation of an incident's sense is, from the start, a temporal "spacing" inside the horizon.

Any group of supporters' use of language re-presents only one of its many possible uses. Like original cognition, such usage selectively repeats and reactivates the origins of an already established convention and sedimented tradition. So in the same way that all

cognition is a re-cognition, all communication within a network is a re-entrenchment of an already established code. Such re-entrenchment materialises the essence of language as a temporal structure of unlimited repetition and re-presentation. No member of a fighting gang can speak to another without giving himself a re-presentation of his speaking founded upon a primordial unity of speech and the re-presentation of speech. Communication here must involve a degree of self-monitoring that concerns his own competence as a language user within a community of experience with a distinctive vocabulary. His speech re-presents itself to itself. It is THE representation of itself; (Derrida, 1967/73, p.57).

The meaning of a boast concerning the humiliation of rival fans is therefore dependent upon the occasion and historical context of its re-presentation.(44) Each of the worlds that concerns itself with its meaning - the world of policing, hooliganism, sport, football and "local pride" - is a system of reference and signifiers that point beyond the present. Each are projects from a tradition towards a de-lined future, ie. a law and order society, recognised notoriety etc. So even within each "world", an incident's present meaning is never THE DEFINITIVE ONCE AND FOR ALL MEANING, BUT INCLUDES THE NON-PRESENT AND DIFFERENTIATING SYSTEM OF SIGNIFIERS. From this we can generalise and say that every moment of language-tradition is shaped by the intersection of these diachronic and synchronic connections within a flowing and sedimenting stream of life. In the language of our earlier sections this means that both the "width" and "depth" dimensions co-determine each moment of communication within the world of hooliganism.

With this progress of tradition there is the possibility of the original sense being covered up and lost under later sedimentations as the statements and other significations come to take on a life of their own. Also the capacity to re-activate tradition can be lost so that a crisis in rational reflection upon origins results. When this occurs - as in our current crisis - events appear to "just happen" in dramatic style. Life is projected as a series of disconnected and therefore uncomprehended "happenings". Analysis becomes a thoughtless re-telling of immediate experiences without reflection upon the possibility conditions of the "happenings" or their re-telling.

Because of the temporality of hooligan tradition, linguistic interpretations of past incidents are forever provisional. However, this holds true "absolute" or definitive statements which may present themselves at any one time. I suspect this is true of any tradition, but within the specific sub-culture of soccer violence we have already shown that self-confident assertiveness is valued in its own right. In fact without such a valuation, the sub-culture could not maintain or reproduce itself as the "same". Vacillation and equivocation are decadent forms of life for any "firm". Its survival requires both decisive action and authoritative linguistic assertiveness to maintain its self-conception.

Statements are therefore necessarily assertive truth claims whose target is absolute definitiveness, but whose character remains essentially provisional. Their provisional character stems from an infinite process of expressing and listening to shared recollections, recalling memories of others, and passing on recollections of press reporters concerning "what happened", and comparisons between "what the papers said" and "what really went off" etc. Any confrontations that occurred on the way to the game - often at or around Euston, London Bridge or Paddington stations - is recalled. Also those who did not go to the last away game are "filled in" as to what happened. After Millwall's visit to Wigan...

"Anything off at Wigan?"

"Yeah, J---- done this guy in the seats. Right across his face..."

"I didn't see nothing about that in the papers".

"There was, in the People, just a small little column though".

Once a misinterpretation about a specific confrontation has been revealed and generally accepted as such, fresh sources of error are constantly excluded. "Errors" can relate to the surrounding circumstances, who was involved, who "lost their bottle", the numbers on each side etc.

New sources are constantly presenting themselves as different accounts are actively sought after on the way to and from games. The purpose of this search is to "settle" arguments, rebut challenges to the speaker's own version of events and discredit the strategic exaggeration that is an integral element of hooliganism. These sources reveal unsuspected

levels of meaning, concerning judgements upon battles, reactions, justifications of reactions, condemnations of press coverage and challenges to versions currently accepted in the group.

As a result the temporal distance that filter information into hooligan tradition is never closed but forever extending. If a fresh humiliation occurs then the significance of earlier versions is transformed. What was previously a "one-off loss of bottle" will then be spoken of, and its trace recalled, as "the beginning of the end". For instance, in 1983 the "failure" of Millwall fans to effectively battle with groups of West Indian youths was referred to by some as inflicting a clear humiliation. These black youths were waiting for Millwall fans with iron bars in Reading town centre after the game. Some fans wanting to displace the "loss of face" involved in this backing off shouted;

"Come on Millwall do the spades. What's the matter with you? Your just a bunch of doughnuts!".

Also the way in which Portsmouth supporters were "allowed" to drink in one of "Millwall's" pubs before their 1983 visit was expressed by some as "another sign that we're not what we were in the 1970's".

"It's all gone now. I'm going to stop going after this. It's pathetic letting them get away with this. I'm just going to go to London derbies in future".

An example may illustrate the linguistic character of the truth that recalled soccer violence draws upon. A male youth trying to make some sense out of his position as a building worker and a football supporter, has a definite linguistic relation to his situation. It comes into language through pay slips, pay claims, workers meetings, informal complaints about working conditions, management "notices" and "directives", etc. Equally, the militaristic language of football expresses itself in terms of commitment, battles, muscular and manly combat, resulting glory and recognition, humiliation of local opposition, "marching on to victory" etc. Such sentences and phrases come to him initially passively and are merely received as elements of what being involved in work and football are all about. They give

themselves to his consciousness as reproductive transformations of original meanings. These are produced out of a distinctive genesis of meaning formation in original instituting activity.

The "handing down" of this tradition by parents, schools, friends, media and other cultural images is not automatic. Instead it involves an animated, productively advancing formation of meaning in the consciousness of those who become immersed in these overlapping traditions. Transmission includes writing, documentation and ritualised forms of verbal exchange that re-enact tradition's character, and which themselves are sedimented back within these traditions. Once sedimented they themselves become available as "established precedents". Out of sedimented writing, working and footballing traditions can produce more writing of the same character and form. The brute fact of a continuity of practices within football grounds and at work between different persons and periods, is evidence that this tradition must have been documented in the past.

This re-formulation does not require any self-conscious re-activation of its original institution of sense; yet this possibility in principle, is forever open. This youth could for example, join a fashionable W.E.A. course on "a history of working lives". This might succeed in re-discovering the lawful relationship and correlation between the "what" and the "how" of the "local history". In other words, what precisely working lives meant to local people and their temporal appearance to residents' consciousness through recollections, recollection of anticipations etc. Here, etymologies of particular words and expressions such as "dockland", "labour", "workman" "real men", "man's game", "local pride" and "Londoner" could be practiced. The point of such retracing of language is to re-activate the original dynamics and power relationships at work in the bestowal of these meanings and their subsequent understanding. This capacity for a translation of sentences from a vague linguistic understanding into the clarity of the reactivation of their self-evident meaning, must have been handed down and be forever capable of being handed down through tradition. Only upon these conditions can the tradition of working practices in which he is immersed, preserve their original sense throughout its progressive realisation, and the tradition's re-activation remain a possibility.

Through this deepening connection he comes to acquire a connection with the tradition of

experienced working and leisure practices out of which they speak. This relation need be neither smooth or harmonious. It may appear to him as strange, outdated, outrageous, and aspects of it as "wrongs to be remedied". On this basis the tradition of terraced houses, built back to back with outside toilets etc. can appear as transcended slums. What is more such transcendence can be used to ridicule Northern working class supporters who are seen as "slum-dwellers". Alternatively, to others this tradition seems a "fact of life", the "way things are around here" and "a lot better than it used to be in my day". It cannot then be assumed that the connection to a theme through a tradition occurs in a self-evident and unquestioned way. Ricoeur has perceptively noted a "dialectic of belonging and distancing" at work within communication traditions in general. Neither moment can necessarily be privileged as THE authentic part. Instead authentic interpretation operates in the tension between these two poles remaining constantly in touch with both.

It is not a case of dismissing as "ideology" pre-understandings that have finally announced themselves as such. Instead we learn more about our working and leisure traditions, and therefore ourselves, through treating revealed pre-understandings as QUESTIONS WORTHY OF CRITICAL ANSWERS. Questioning puts an aspect of tradition that once appeared sound into play through it being put at risk. A space is now opened up for alternative interpretations and claims to truth - themselves founded on different pre-understandings hidden in our communication tradition. In this way we give the thoughtful resources of our tradition room to play through reflexively putting their own foundations up for examination. The task then is to grasp the linguistic conditions in which understanding takes place.

With the "moving on" of this communication tradition, those pre-understandings that are integral to its own self-understanding of what soccer violence "is all about", can appear as such. By penetrating deeper in hooligan tradition the common sense of the present loses its hold. What was previously "obvious", ie. the "fact" that Millwall never run, that "we're the hardest in London" and all the other self-advertising no longer appear irrefutable. Our "re-entry" into present day concerns about "abolishing this social problem" can give rise to a certain temporary distancing from them. They now appear as answers to unspoken questions rather than brute facts.

For all these reasons there are no finished interpretations which are the final word on

hooliganism from the ultimate perspective to end all perspectives. This is because the interpreters of hooliganism - whether they be government working parties, academics, sports commentators, club secretaries, police spokesmen etc. - are just as much subject to the effective-history of their language tradition as hooligan sub-culture itself.

If we examine the situation from within tradition, time can no longer appear as some kind of "gulf" to be crossed. It can no longer appear as an unfortunate and obstructive distance between an episode of soccer violence and the writing of an "official report". It is not as if the reduction of a gulf brings comprehension of the meaning of hooliganism closer. Instead, time is the supportive ground of a process in which the shared present of supporters and reporters is rooted. On the basis of this ground a NECESSARY DISTANCE from immediate concerns can be achieved. For example, we are now in a better position to interpret the revival of crowd violence in the late 1960's than those in 1970. This is because the resonance with which fleeting contemporary events loom up before us as sensationalised "news", has been largely dissipated. Anticipations and frantic imaginings about "where it will all end" no longer grip us. Writing can now take account of the decline of violence in the last few years, its greater control through segregation of supporters, the lessened sense of the phenomenon as "a new threat". This allows greater perspective and contextualisation to develop upon the more permanent significance of past events. A fuller and deeper sense of their significant existence can now unfold. In no way can this possibility for a more thoughtful examination of hooliganism's significance be interpreted as a general increase in "wisdom". One only has to examine the way in which the popular press comment and write about "new threats" such as glue sniffing and heroin use, to discover the same tired sensationalised format.

To escape the pressing chatter of immediate "news", we can turn to a sense-history of linguistic meanings. Etymology of the origin of word-significations is one road to the reactivation of a more essential sense of soccer hooliganism. Within philosophy Heidegger has treated us to a lengthy analysis of the meaning of Being, logos and thinking. He traces the German word for thinking - "Denken" - back into "Andacht", "Dunk" and "Gerdank". These meant worshipful meditation, thanksgiving and collecting remembrance involving a holding fast of what is collected. For Heidegger, these add up to a more authentic grasp of the historical

essence of thinking than modernist "ratiocination" and calculative thought. If we follow this example, we discover that the expression "Hooliganism" derived from the activities and tactics of an East London Irish gang - the Hooley Gang. This gang used threats and acts of violence against other gangs and soon established a reputation for themselves because of their particular brutality. From Hooley Gang the expression "Hooli-gan" expanded to mean "a young ruffian" - usually male and working class - to whom physical violence and destruction of property is a legitimate way of resolving disputes. The language of soccer violence may then be disclosed as a trace or imprint of its process of becoming. This is contained in the present signification of the words "crew", "firm", "row" etc. only as an absence or lack. In other words as something that make the present comprehension possible, but which is not itself present.

While the need to re-activate sedimented tradition as one's own, that is, to rediscover tradition's roots as our own, is valid, the process of coming to that origin has its own logic and distinctive rules. This means that the necessity for its re-activation of the roots of hooliganism's meaning must make itself felt for our present. We must learn to feel their non-disclosure as a lack to be remedied, before its later erasure in a re-formed present. This necessity for appearance and erasure of roots appears as a tension within the heart of hooliganism and its wider cultural transformation process. The rootlessness of modern culture, the homelessness of modernism which is totally absorbed in the immediacy of its immediate present, bears within itself the necessity for its own internal critique; (Derrida, 1976, p.61). Later we shall examine language as a signifying act in its own right that contains within it a promise of undistorted communicative relations. We shall also focus upon the way the languages of local chauvinism and racism break that promise, and at the methodological and practical responses to this breakage.

Every incident of hooliganism that we remember, even though it might initially emerge in isolation, lays claim to being incorporated into one single memory-chain of living tradition. Because most recollections are both directed to and inspired by an audience and embodied in shared expressions, participation always involves membership of a developing COMMUNICATION COMMUNITY. No causal style of genesis can be assumed to operate within this tradition so that each phase is "explained", or rather explained away, as an "effect" of its antecedents. This is because we are concerned with the flow of sense relations and interconnection, that is to say, the sense in and through which hooliganism continues to exist for an evolving tradition of understanding.

The context of an incident recalled inside our tradition may at first appear shrouded as if by a "mist", and stretches of the overall chain may seem totally unclear; yet the incident still lends itself to ever greater clarification and determination within the single memory-chain. This is not unique to recalled soccer violence since every remembered experience of any theme necessarily presents a claim to incorporation. Although practical redemption may in any particular situation be virtually impossible, the tradition's claim itself endures as its implicit promise. The incident is remembered IN ORDER TO BE INCORPORATED back into the reputation of a group of fans from which it was re-recognised as "typical" in the first place. This purpose is recalled hooliganism's "teleological centre".

As far as the present is concerned, the claim to incorporation into the intersubjective tradition of football hooliganism is already redeemed. This is because of the present's privileged position as a point of reference in which the overall memory chain terminates, and from which it descends into the tradition's past. There are no possibilities here which could be realised that are not in fact realised. My present perception is already integral to the tradition of "what everyone knows" about soccer violence. Within our tradition the present experience of hooliganism appears neither as a rupture nor the "effect" of the past, but as a retention of a once present past, ie. the retention of a retention and so forth. The retentive power of present tradition is limited. Only so many episodes of soccer violence are retained in grasp and then only in relation to specific associations such as "English fans abroad", pitch invasions, assaults on players etc. However, consciousness of tradition preserves significations, values and past acts as habitualities and sedimentations that are

available for re-activation and de-sedimentation.

The tradition's *memory chain* descends from the here and now of a perceived match or episode back into its immediate and then more distant past. It has no terminal point at its "lower" end. No "starting point" presents itself to consciousness from which the subject recalls later episodes of soccer violence as so much later. This does not mean that any subject who has been initiated into the overall tradition through becoming a member of a particular "crew" cannot recall the first incident he was personally involved in. Nor does it mean that the origins of that particular gang cannot be re-discovered and reactivated. What it does mean is that no recollection from within the tradition can reinstate a unitary "beginning" of all its subsequent recollections. The present now is therefore the chain's only "terminus".

If we examine the attacks on Rapid Vienna players by home supporters during their 1984 game against Celtic, the television coverage and the perceptions of the press reporters was the "target" of the tradition of British hooliganism's tradition. The match itself was perceived against the context of "what had happened previously" in European ties. This was not simply because an earlier game was ordered by UEFA to be replayed at Manchester United's ground after a bottle throwing incident at Celtic's Parkhead stadium. Certainly this led to the greater availability of alcohol for the 40,000 travelling supporters because of the less strict English laws.(45) Also such a background created a sense of injustice to be revenged amongst supporters, officials and players since Celtic had actually won the earlier tie which they now had to win all over again. The reporter from The Times confirmed my own impression derived from the television coverage:

"The match at Old Trafford began in an atmosphere so close to hysteria that such individual lunacies were hardly unexpected, especially as drunkenness is all too often the problem at football matches involving Scottish teams. In the words of one policeman inside the stand: I have never seen so many drunks in one place before"; 14/12/84.

Yet drunkenness is hardly uncommon among travelling rugby supporters, nor are passionate crowds. The crucial difference even in the immediate past, lies in the re-activation of longer traditions of:

1. British supporters in European games in general.
2. Scottish football supporters travelling away from the constraints of "home".
3. Drunkenness and Glasgow's reputation for violence.

The reporter recalled the incidents as reiterations of earlier trouble involving their rivals Glasgow Rangers in 1972 during a European Cup Winners Cup final. This was represented together with the overseas hooliganism from Leeds United supporters in 1975. Also co-recalled as "precedents" were the official consequences of these earlier outbreaks in terms of bans from European games. Therefore, once more anticipation of what could happen to the club were generated from the immediate present on the basis of recalled tradition.

There is a constant flowing onwards of tradition as one episode both draws upon and associates itself with another. The Chelsea v Manchester United or Millwall v Portsmouth confrontations are therefore experienced as "more of the same" as well as further contributions to these specific traditions. In this way the very movement which enriches the sense of hooliganism, retains a sedimentary reference to the antecedent established sense at the bottom of the new sense and cannot dispense with it. "Corrections", "re-interpretations" and "challenges" as to "what happened" take place continuously. These challenges over "what happened" are by no means accidental as they are an integral ingredient in the repertoire of songs and chants that rival supporters direct at one another. Chelsea fans were singing about the way in which; "Millwall run from Portsmouth" in their 1984 confrontation at Stamford Bridge. Before the 1983 Millwall v Portsmouth game some of the home fans were abusing the visitors by saying; "You never even turned up at your own ground you wankers!". Equally the two "ends" where Manchester United's fans mainly sing from - the Stretford and Manchester road terracing - taunt one another in their jostling for position within the hierarchy of credibility. The Manchester Road fans sing; "The Stretford ran from Chelsea, Chelsea ran the Stretford".(46)

New senses are original insofar as the telos of the tradition, its total reactivation, remains only partially realised. Even this limited originality is possible only through disposing of already acquired and traditional material. All formation here is already transformation and a permanent reiteration of its acquisitions. The totality of traditions' overall memory-chain is therefore a constant totalisation that synthesises all acquisitions

and maintains their validity as premises for a new level; (Husserl, Crisis, p.159). The present moment of tradition forever glides forwards towards a future whose anticipated character is already pre-delineated by that "same" tradition. It is in this sense that we can say that a set of supporters' reputation is already flowing towards its own future possibilities. As a result the effort to capture the phenomenon through a description of its purely immediate and current appearance is an essentially self-contradictory exercise.

Along with experiencing the overall tradition and the gliding forward of its present, we experience and live through the perpetual reiteration and transformation of the chain. Any self-conscious account of tradition must therefore hold itself open to its research tradition's OWN transformation as well as those of the research field. The theoretical question in both cases remains; how has and how will the unity of that tradition reproduce itself as "more of the same?". Only through a discussion of the role of language in the transmission of tradition can any answers emerge. The same is true of the possibility that a tradition can lose its capacity to re-activate its promise of truth. Again this possibility for historical nihilism - a devaluation of values, the symptoms of which have already appeared in some of recollections - must await our later discussion.

However remote the past experience of one's first experience of or involvement in soccer violence, it belongs a chain of mental states terminating in the now and comprising the past experience as a member. The chains which belong to two recalled incidents always have one which contains all the others or into which the others are inserted as partial chains. If to every pair of recollections there belongs a chain mediating between them, it is still not necessary that they are to be fully inserted and merged into the other as a partial chain. It may happen that one of the chains is not expanded right up to the present now.

This occurs when an "elder statesman" among a set of supporters who has "got too old for it now" and can recall both his "bad" and "good" phases of behaviour. Many such characters, who looked in their late twenties, reappeared among Millwall fans before the 1984 Chelsea v Millwall match. Here, the recalled involvement extends only so far as to mediate between the two involvements. In this case there is a third chain leading from the "bad" phase of one pair - to one of the "good" pair. In this third chain the two other chains will in turn be inserted, so that a single memory of both appears. This allows the subject to identify the

point where the two forms of participation crossed over. Frequently but not always, this occurs following the first few years of a supporter's marriage when the "need" to "prove oneself as a man" appears to be less. Also there appears a degree of stigma in "still doing that sort of thing" for working class males in their mid-twenties. One Leeds fan of some years "standing" told me:

"When I was younger I would just steam in, I would not care. Maybe I was still trying to prove myself or something. These days though I'm more careful, I'd think twice, perhaps move to one side. I've never run though".

His friend added:

"No I'd never run, but soon you are more sussed out about it all. You realise that knives can cut faces, that people do get killed or done real bad. You've got to know what's happened to people who've been arrested and given a kicking by the police back at the station. Also you no longer need to act hard. Your mates already know what you've done in the past".

Another "twin chain" example appears when Manchester United's match day programmes regularly "celebrate" the decline of their supporters' reputation as "the worse behaved supporters in the country". Paradoxically, this was a reputation which the club did its very best to "play down" at the time in the 1975-78 period, but during the 1980's, has been "played up" so as to highlight the difference between "then" and 'now'. It remains to be seen whether such a development will occur in the traditions of crowd violence associated with Leeds, Chelsea and Millwall. Of the three Millwall could be the most likely. We have already noted the efforts the club have made to "play down" their supporters reputation and so discourage those who are attracted to support a team mainly through the reputation of their fans. At the present time though, the "depth" of their reputation is so entrenched that many "quiet years" would be required before Manchester United's example could be followed.

By proceeding in the opposite direction from the present and its immediate past we are going "backward" in reflective recollection. We may in principle, encounter and incorporate

every episode of hooliganism recalled along the way. Assuming an "ideal" reactivation of tradition, our single reflection would yield an uninterrupted order of past incidents. Included here would be their horizontal and vertical connections in full clarity and determinateness. Every event including its margin and horizon would find its place within that overall temporal order. No past incident that is recalled could elude this over-arching order of flowing tradition which would be nothing but the whole conscious past life of all its members. All other partial chains would be incorporated into this SINGLE chain as its parts. The "TOTALITY" of our past allows itself to be organised along a unified, but hardly united, "spread" of one chain. The ground of this ideal reactivation would be the life-world itself as its ultimate horizon, subsoil and target. For such an "ideal memory" that would actually amount to a complete reactivation of tradition, all possibilities of recollection would be actualised and admit to no determinable indeterminacies.

In practice however, and for interesting reasons, we have no "ideal memory" nor ideally unified intersubjectivity. We are unable to reconstruct an uninterrupted order of past life when we reflect, though we do encounter misty phases whose clarification never succeeds completely. Even if the mist totally clears, the perspective-bound character of each subject's original perceptions would militate against a unified "history". For example, because of the selective character of recollection, it is hardly likely that one "crew's" recollections of a past confrontation coincides with those they confronted. Certainly the numbers of opposing supporters tend to be ritually exaggerated and rounded up for dramatic effect and self-advertising. Nevertheless, although indeterminate and perspective-bound, the ORDER of life incidents, terminating in the present, remains unitary and self-contained. Nothing can escape from it. It is one single chain, here and there clouded in misty indeterminacy, clarifiable in principle but not clarified in fact. Only in tradition's totality is there any promise of the comprehensive disclosure of its truth. Recollection is thus truth oriented as well as interest and perspective bound. Such bondage cannot be juxtaposed to a perspective or interest free form of comprehension. Instead self-consciousness of these concerns underlying our grasp of tradition is the pre-condition for their true disclosure.

PART THREE:

EGOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF
SUBJECTIVITY FOR WHOM THERE IS HOOLIGANISM.

S.47. THE CHARACTER OF AND NECESSITY FOR EGOLOGICAL ANALYSIS.

To date this investigation has systematically unfolded the obstacles to a grasp of the hooliganism phenomenon, advocated and performed a suspension of the natural attitude, common sense language and policy interests. These suspensions were justified with reference to a notion of truth as fully disclosed, determined and explicated experience present to reflecting self-consciousness. Such an idea of truth / evidence was explicated through a critical discussion of positivist versions of positive science and statistical method. Driven by the tensions between the abstract presentation of a concrete goal, the investigation then tried to actualise this ideal by explicating some of the senses in and through which hooliganism exists as a problem for our culture. Next a change of focus directed attention away from particular meanings towards the meaning structure of ANY sense of hooliganism, ie. its essential structure as a meaning. No further progress towards an essential understanding was possible at the descriptive noematic level. In fact the analysis of particular constituted meanings as "clues" to a constituting process, and as exemplification of meaning per se, had already set in motion the self-transformation of noematic analysis towards noetic enquiries.

Once more the noetic investigations of part two neither achieved nor attempted a comprehensive grasp of every possible presentational act through which the various meanings of hooliganism appear. Instead, only the founding act of perception and the founded acts of recollection and anticipation were explicated. This explication treated particular perceptions, recollections and anticipations as exemplifications of an essential structure, ie. as evidencing the perceptual character of any perceptual presentation of hooliganism, the anticipatory character of any such anticipation etc. Yet the acts that were analysed reveal the inadequacy of a noetic analysis. It revealed these acts to be the acts OF a concrete subject that present hooliganism as existing for the directed consciousness of that conscious subject. Once more the contents and the form of analysis come into conflict and drive this study towards a transformation of noematic / noetic levels towards a form of analysis which can adequately accommodate its phenomenological contents. Instead of being a once and for all answer to the contradictions raised by noematic inquiries, noetic analysis now appears as a

"clue" to a more foundational level. In other words, there is now a revealed need for a direct investigation of the subject for whom there is hooliganism, meant through various presentational acts, for example X, Y and Z.

The subject has already indirectly appeared as a structure of concern for hooliganism founded upon a series of interests, values and practical compartments towards the social world. This structure of concern is that which guides perception, anticipation and recollection of hooliganism. It has already indirectly showed itself as that which is appalled by "appalling acts of soccer violence" as that which singles out a thematic centre as "most relevant" in recollections of hooliganism and as that which is prepared and forewarned by anticipations of crowd trouble.

The indirectness of this showing has not been an accident - the subject "lives" in the various acts that it immerses itself in. Even now when the subject of experience is oriented towards itself as its own theme, the reflective act is not itself reflected upon. Therefore although a further "stepping back" into the flow of consciousness is required to illuminate the subject, the structure of that which steps back and reflects remains quite unclear. Even when it becomes its own theme, the subject cannot be other than self-transcending in both its mundane experience and (self) reflection. A degree of self-oblivion is perhaps the price the subject has to pay for the overtness of its surrounding world, its experience of meaning, its own presentational acts and structure as the concerned inhabitant of these acts.

In any event the aim here is not that of a phenomenology of reflective consciousness, but of the structure of the subject for whom there is hooliganism as an object of its concern. Concretely this investigation will now try to unfold this subject as a materially embodied structure of concern, ie. as governed by interests, convictions and habitual practical compartments operative within perception, anticipation and recollection. Further it is to grasp the subject as both a temporal / temporalising and social / socialising entity who participates within the cultural constitution of hooliganism as X, Y and Z that is forever prior to its reconstitution in individual consciousness. In so doing, the motivational structure of experienced hooliganism will begin to unfold itself as will to power / recognition, ie. to BE more, to intensify one's existence and have this intensification recognised by others. This does not mean that only that which is meant as hooliganism is

motivated by a will to power / recognition for itself - as if the market of this motivational structure had been cornered by "hooligans" alone. Instead, it means that this structure reveals itself in the presentational acts of shopkeepers, police officers, politicians, newspaper reporters, residents, non-violent and violent fans to have recognised and vindicated against others, their own distinctive form of life.

All that follows is an actualisation of the following disturbing but exhilarating finding: the nihilistic world of football hooliganism appears as essentially will to recognition / power; it CAN appear so only because the subject for whom it exists as such ESSENTIALLY IS will to recognition / power.

S.48: PERCEPTION AND THE INTERESTS OF PERCEIVING SUBJECTS.

Here this investigation begins an effort to explicate the implicit operation within acts of the character of the subject that "has" the experience of hooliganism as its own. Although each act is considered individually, the explication nevertheless unfolds the one and the same subject inhabiting various acts in different ways.

In perception, the subject is always at the end point of its own tradition or "life history" upon which it is always drawing. What is drawn upon here is an always already established frame of reference. At all times this frame is essentially "loaded" with a conceptual armoury of definite pre-understandings concerning "what everyone knows" about football hooliganism / football hooligans, ie. "mindless", "thuggery", "animals" etc. These interweave together into a web whose operation can either confirm or (exceptionally) challenge that which has already been established as "typical". Thus certain games and teams are perceived with a certain added concern for soccer violence which is then "looked for". Gawn's study of media interest in hooliganism found that incidents at Manchester United's ground were far more newsworthy than those of Manchester City. Also that over one fifth of coverage occurred in the first few weeks of the season; (1978). There also appears an ingrained reluctance to perceive hooliganism from Liverpool's fans. For example in their 1985 home match against Manchester United, 3 visiting fans and one police officer were stabbed in what was perceived by both police and Channel Four News as a "quiet game".

Although the operation of pre-understandings guided by concerns is such as to "pre-judge" each and every perception of crowd violence, neither the perceptual outcomes nor the pre-understandings themselves can be instantly dismissed as "prejudices" or "ideologies"; (see above, S.41). To meet its own standards, such a dismissal would have to show itself to be untarnished by its own pre-understandings concerning what is and is not a "prejudice" or "ideology". Yet it is only through this pre-understanding that there is an object for its instant dismissal in the first place. Thus in perceived conflicts on and off the field we tend to see what we believe and are already committed to believe.

Our perceptual consciousness has no access to any perception that does not depend upon the perspective of the perceiver and the operation of concerns within that perspective. Nietzsche

expressed this point well when he wrote that perceived reality is always "a simplification for practical ends"; (1888/1968, p.580). We cannot look around around our own corners. Rarely can our perceptions in and around football matches be characterised as a disinterested "looking on". This applies to the simple partisanship involved in supporting any team - one which television commentators struggle constantly against. Frequently a "fortunate let off" is described and then "corrected" by adding "that is from X team's point of view". What is more, it would be over cynical to say that every decision made by a referee that is disputed by players is an example of pure gamesmanship.

Even putting to one side straightforward partisanship, every aspect of perceived hooliganism is the outcome of motivational interests, in that the subject is concerned to grasp the significance of the confrontation going on around him or her. There is therefore an interest in seizing hold of, holding on to and reflecting upon the intuitive evidence of perception. More specifically various kinds of consciousness correspond to certain perceptions. On seeing groups of fans, shopkeepers hope that their particular shop will not be stripped of goods, their shop and staff damaged and abused. Motorway service stations even display their concern by saying that football coaches will not be admitted unless prior notice has been given. Here we have an intermingling of hopes, desires and fears associated with the very sight of football fans. The very perceptual presence of a fight or "the hooligan minority" is an outcome of a singling out process in which selective attention relegates non-fighting or non-hooligan fans to the background. As a result hooliganism "stands out" for perceptual acts that focus in upon it as "noteworthy", "interesting" and so forth. Once singled out, a change occurs in the percept. It no longer has any function derived from the configuration within which it appears because it is no longer experienced as just one among many elements within the perceptual field. Further properties of relatedness it previously had as an element are no longer apparent; whilst others such as the intensity of an attentional core now present themselves for the first time. Hooliganism appears almost context-free in that attention is fully absorbed in it by itself and other activities on and off the pitch are marginalised. Within this marginalised state, non-violence that immediately "frames" the fighting can be distinguished to a wider "horizon" that embraces both the frame and the framed violence. In short, perceptual evidence can reveal a definite "favouritism"

within perceptual consciousness that singles out and then focuses in upon soccer violence as "noteworthy", "newsworthy", etc. The outcome can be individual, ie. a "ringleader" or composite, ie. a "gang" amongst a crowd. Thus one person's "isolated incidents" can be another's "organised rioting". Irrespective of what "position" upon soccer violence and its "causes" that we adopt and seek to have recognised by others, this "interest value" at work within perceived hooliganism reflects us back ourselves as essentially an operative system of concern. Therefore it is nonsensical to interpret the operation of perspective or preunderstandings in terms of "ideology" by reference to a non-interpretive perception free of any interests.

The task is not then the infant's game of "unmasking ideologies" or "ideology critique" but of dispassionately dissecting the concrete character of the subject that HAS and IS these pre-understandings. This task is itself motivated by both a cognitive interest in truth and a non-cognitive interest in being recognised within academia. The operation of the perceptual subject's concern can be seen in its commerce with things and other subjects.

The structure of concern means that seemingly innocent objects such as newspapers, screw drivers, bicycle chains, stanley-knives, coins, aerosol cans, beer bottles, beer glasses, umbrellas, metal combs, billiard and snooker balls, leather belts, darts and coins all potentially become perceived as "offensive weapons" in the context of a football crowd.(1) What is interesting is not just this change in their established significance, but the series of interests and concerns that render these "innocent" in the first place. It is not as if the practical orientation of soccer supporters pervert an otherwise "pure" signification of these objects. Instead, it is only on the basis of everyday practical interests and concerns that results in us seeing these as "innocent". In short, it is merely a change in an already established set of interests operating at a level below that of conscious awareness that creates our determination of these things as "weapons".

What remains constant is the determination of their meaning upon the basis of SOME set of concerns. These are permanently experienced as the "equipment" of an essentially practically oriented perceiving subject who is extended through their use. Ultimately this interest structure is directed towards the realisation of its own goals, using matter which is on hand as means to its own end. Nevertheless the sheer material demands of our bodies and instincts

plus those derived more directly from intersubjective culture are constantly pressing upon the perceiver.

The structure of concern that is operative within our commerce with things is not self-grounding; rather it is always already geared to a situation that includes the presence of significant others engaged in a process of granting (or withholding) and being-granted (or being-denied), much sought after recognition. Through assimilating new perceptual experiences of soccer violence into established frames of reference, only a minimal amount of disruption and modification of this frame usually occurs. More likely than not, its legitimacy will appear as confirmed through its practical success in making sense of the new experience in terms which confirm the initial pre-understandings. This applies as much to the pre-understandings of the tabloid press and magistrates as to those of "crews" themselves. Which aspects of the ready-made scheme will be actually drawn upon will depend upon the "fit" between it and the precise details of the incident to be perceptually interpreted. Where the new incident challenges the self-esteem of the interpreting group or a member of it, there may well be some balancing of the general scheme and the new perceptual experience. Here, comparisons are often made with the different outcomes of each possible interpretation "weighed up". The eventual interpretation of "what really happened" at Slough or any other confrontation, will usually be profoundly shaped by this operation of group concerns and interests in asserting against others their distinctive forms of life.

However both established pre-understandings and the will to recognition / power that shape perception, are always fragile and thus never immune from failure. Some experiences such as those of defeat on and off the pitch, a failure to show up at pre-arranged strategic locations or to turn up but display an unwillingness to fight, may well resist such easy assimilation. Here, there is frequently a refusal to acknowledge or interpret the incident at all. Talking to Chelsea fans before their 1985 visit to Sheffield Wednesday revealed a marked reluctance to even talk about their teams games against Millwall or the small number of their fans that "risked" going to Millwall's ground. This was despite an eager general concern for the subject of soccer violence.

Alternatively, members of crews and others, may in exceptional situations, be forced to accommodate their pre-understandings to the present perceptual experience. This can create a

genuinely "new" interpretation in which their fellow supporters "aren't what we used to be". This occurred among some Millwall fans following their "failure" in 1983 to prevent visiting Portsmouth supporters drinking in one of "their" local pubs, and also at Reading in 1983 when there was an unwillingness to "take on" groups of black youths who had gathered for them in the town centre.

Although shaped by practical concerns and interests, the apperception does not appear to be accompanied by any necessary act of will, attention or ego-involvement. There is no consciousness of consciously shaping perceptions analagous to shaping a piece of wood on a lathe. Instead, this shaping in the pursuit of recognition can go on during a conversation between supporters in which yet more "new" information appears. Certainly the operations of association in apperception "passively constitute" the final resulting meaning. These levels of concerns depend upon the passive acceptance of hooliganism as the substrate for all valuations, setting of goals and practical actions to realise them. For hooliganism to appear already terrifying, alarming, symptomatic, mindless or whatever, it is necessary for some degree of apperception to have already occurred. The concerns themselves are initially pre-given passively with only the minimum degree of ego-activity and orientation. It is only upon an unusually reflective activity on the part of the subject that the basis of its values can be made to "surface" in its awareness. For example, the shopkeepers I interviewed would have to reflect upon the nuisance factor of any crowd disturbance in order for it to be available for predicative and linguistic forms of expression; (Husserl, 1948, s.15).

Apperception on the basis of existing concerns for having oneself recognised as a plausible witness, can affect the sense made of that newly perceived information which then appears "in the light" of that just interpreted. For example, if just some of the information offered by Chelsea fans about the 1984 Chelsea v West Ham confrontation is judged to be suspect or misleading then this will "cast doubt" upon all the rest. This remains true even if no doubt would otherwise have appeared.

On the basis of these perceptions, perceptual associations and judgements, the subject's concern will push the listener into reacting one way or another - even if this acting is a preservation of a show of "cool" indifference. Through this telling and listening, mutual

recognition of each other's degree of credibility and plausibility as interpreters of incidents is accomplished. The reaction to another's interpretation of "what really happened" will typically be informed by well tried strategies for carrying out further investigations of the context and horizons of the perceived incident. For example, the 1984 Chelsea v West Ham confrontation was interpreted as a partial humiliation for Chelsea's reputation for soccer violence as their supporters were chased out of a strategic part of their ground. Here, the interpretive apperception can relate to this incident's significance for Chelsea supporters' past and future reputation.

With this shift in focus the incident will then appear in a wider horizon that embraces the immediate past and future as well as the present. In such exploration, concentration must be sustained, perhaps with conscious effort and in the face of considerable distractions. Certain general typifications of both Chelsea and West Ham "firms" will develop as their significance is more and more determined in its details, borders and properties; as they appear as this rather than that, with these rather than those preferred characteristics, etc. All of these general meaning-determinations can be developed in more detail so as to portray "what happened" in the best possible light. Thus not only is the present selectively perceived but our concern shapes that which is retained / forgotten and anticipated. With this possibility for greater (selective) explication, the subject is presented with a definite project for possible future investigation. Some aspects that match with earlier judgements about "what is interesting" about these "firms" will mean that only certain aspects of these general typifications will be "highlighted" and "followed up". Again this selective aspect of the interpretation of perceptual experience serves as a clue to the will to recognition / power of the perceiving subjects. It highlights their criterion for "newsworthiness" and their concern to appear and show the "depth" of their own experience and "length" of their pedigree through appearing difficult to impress.

S.49: THE CONCERNS, INTERESTS AND CAPACITIES OF RECOLLECTING SUBJECTS.

The perceptual subject appeared at the end of a series of pre-understandings, as a shaping system of concern, operative within the perceptual acts it inhabits. It announced its presence not overtly but through its effects, that is to say through directing attention and apperception of both things and other people. What presented itself as a common thread was the pursuit and grant of recognition oriented towards the vindication of one's form of life and intensification of self within it. This thread was termed the will to recognition / power. The question here is firstly, whether or not this structure of concern is born out in the subject of recollection; and secondly whether any new aspects of this structure are apparent.

As the structure of recollected soccer violence itself is unfolded, it appears as an act of will exercised by a social subject. Joint recollections of earlier incidents are recognised as a permanent possibility for comparisons and self assertion within a pre-given community. We can therefore say that there are both DISPOSITIONAL and OCCURRENT senses of recollection in that recollection is selective, ie. oriented by the concerns of the subject who "entertains" only some of these at any one time; (Miller, 1984, P.90). Along with the theme recalled, is co-established the possibility for a repetition at will of this recollection of identity within a chain of repetitions. It is this communal / communalising character of expressed recollections that was lacking in the earlier account of the perceptual subject. The investigation that follows aims to unfold this social dimension as the medium for asserting, resisting, granting and withholding recognition-claims, and to examine the "what" and the "how" of such claims.

The communal character of recollected violence requires a collective subject - a group whose already established identity is greater than the sum of its parts. The social character of recalling lies in its communication to and among others within a community of empathy, shared interests and language. It is no coincidence that the language of both officially approved support and recalled hooliganism, takes the form of what "we" did to "them". It follows that each and every fan is a representative of "us". This remains the case even when the fighting is on a purely one to one basis. Hence the great effort that has to be made to

disassociate the "hooligan minority" from the "real supporters" or conversely, non-crew members who "shit out" from the "real representatives" - the "top boys". Thus this communalising contains qualitative distinctions that make possible the pursuit of status within these distinctions.

Differentiation relates both to that which is recalled and the recalling itself. Within fighting gangs, recollection is frequently a joint "remembrance" of shared experience of the "same" event. Different recollections are "run through" in an effort to establish an accepted / authoritative version of "what happened". There is a general practice before, during and after games of recalling leisure, sporting, sexual, work and other experiences to friends and associates, each of whom can reproduce their relevance and group meaning. For instance before the 1981 Doncaster v Portsmouth game, visiting supporters gathered drinking at the railway station:

1. "You remember that time when we played down at Yeovil in the FA Cup?"
2. "Yeah, M---- and that lot jumped on a tractor to get to the ground".
 1. "Fuck that!".
3. "I wouldn't like to play them again".
 1. "Did you go?".
 2. "Yeah it's about three miles. It was baking everyone had their shirts off".
 3. "I was drinking before and passed out on the terraces".
 1. "It was all off at the station afterwards".
 2. "That's right. I got drenched, did you?".
 1. "Yeah".
 2. "All the boys and that will be over the road skirmishing".
 1. "We're skirmishing here".
 2. "But its costing us 20p a pint more and it's boring".
 1. "I don't mind as long as we're skirmishing... I don't think that it's boring".
 2. "Yeah, but I haven't got much money".
 1. "Well I lost the two I got in. It cost me one pound six for two cans.

The constant reiteration of such recollections help to both differentiate and hold together a "crew" whose other experiences may have little else in common.

Prior to games, highly edited and grossly one sided "highlights" of earlier battles, escapes and confrontations supply a major part of the conversation of fighting gangs. Typically the ability to share in these recollections is a pre-condition for participation as well as a source of recognition from the rest of the group. Without the continual sharing of recollections, the group itself would lose its sense of identity and cohesiveness. This loss is not a matter of indifference. A Millwall fan travelling away in 1983 told me:

"It depresses me sometimes - go and watch Millwall and don't recognise anyone there I know... Went down to Oxford United in the League Cup. I never knew anyone!".

Recognition as a supporter of a particular team is the pre-condition for the recollection of violence. Before the 1983 Millwall v Doncaster match, I was selected out by two Millwall fans:

"You alright?". One asked. I looked unsure. He saw this and went on; "You were with us in the guards van coming back from Pompey".

Through a thousand and one such identifications the sense of tension in pubs before games is offset and a sense of common affinity and belonging-together established. A failure to be recognised by home fans from earlier games could trigger off a confrontation motivated by a concern that visiting supporters do not penetrate "our" pubs. If such penetration does occur, "the word goes round" that the visiting supporters "had the run" of the home team's pubs. This is widely understood as inflicting a clear humiliation on the home team's supporters. These humiliations themselves become sedimented into a tradition that, once re-activated, is then available as a source of fresh anticipations. Before the 1983 Sheffield United game with Millwall, a young home supporter admitted to me:

"When Millwall come here they'll do what they like again. They always do".

The possibility of future violence requires recollection of who is likely to form a particular "crew". As policing of travelling crowds has become more sophisticated and organised; those supporters who are most keen to avoid being escorted to and from the ground travel in hired vans. Alternatively they follow West Ham's "Inter-City Firm" and dress up smartly and avoid the cheaper "football special trains". In this way they can pass unnoticed through the police's scrutiny and gain access to the opposing supporters end or a strategic place in the seats. In the absence of such pre-planning, this division of supporters makes the composition of any particular contingent of supporters uncertain. This in turn, affects the subject of recollections by travelling fans. Before "needle" games such as Portsmouth v Millwall, this past-present-future interrelation is most apparent:

1. "Whose going today?".
2. "J--- and his crew are".
1. "Hows J--- getting there?".
2. "Going down to Portsmouth harbour - not going on the special 12.48".

So far recollection has presented the subject's concerns for re-establishing a form of communication community among whom shared experiences can be exchanged and recognition claims made. It follows that an inability to recall either through a bad memory or because a member was not present at a particular battle can amount to, at best, "something to be accounted for" and at worse, "a sign of weakness". The same applies to those who are discovered pretending to have been present but who are caught out through their account of events being successfully refuted by someone who actually was there and who convinces the others of the truth of his own account.

However a degree of plausible exaggeration, especially over the numbers of the rival fans that were chased off or who chased the speaker, is often quite acceptable - in fact it is an integral part of a "good story". Yet blatant lying which could result in the listener being publically discredited when he passes the story on is not.(2)

Recollection can also work to sustain the poor status of an absent group member who may

have his 'infringements' of group rules repeated and dwelled upon. The following conversation took place between Millwall fans on a train to Portsmouth:

1. "G--- made a big mistake. Getting in at Kings Cross and he stayed on, just sat there.

They done him on the tube, they then caught him again in the street. He got about four

beatings"... Coming in a London Bridge there was about four or five of us and about three

hundred West Ham coming at us, they ran into the end carriage and worked their way down. G---

-- said they wouldn't catch him and he hid under the seat holding it down - he was sweating

blood in there waiting for them to get off! He could hear them singing like under the seat".

2. "Fuck that!".

1. "--- got done again.

2. "Yeah?".

1. "Yeah. They (W. Ham) recognised him, got him alongside the barrier and battered him...."

1. "Swindon last year was the best when were standing on top of the hill..."

2. "I never went. I think I must have missed that..."

1. "Yeah, there was me and ---- and about 14 of us and Chelsea were playing Bristol, about 20

Chelsea there and we met up with about 200 West Ham coming back from the League Cup final.

Millwall stood there. Chelsea just ran straight away. We just stood there and they came up

and there weren't none of their top boys and they chased P--- and he run like a cunt".

2. "Have you heard about P--?"

1. "No".

2. "He was surrounded by West Ham and he pretended to be a tourist!

1. "Yeah, but he bloody knows them, drinks in their pubs and everything, he was talking to

some Millwall, you know the boss eyed ginger haired one?".

This competitiveness leads to the development of strategies to "handle" any threats to one's recognised status. If an incident occurs on the way to the game itself in which one member of a group is made to "look bad" in the eyes of the others, then one strategy to neutralise any future stigma is to make a joke out of it. This is more effective than showing a tetchy

aggressive attitude which reveals the incident as potential material for "a good wind up" in the future. It also displays one of the approved characteristics of "being good for a laugh". For example, one Portsmouth fan managed to turn a potential humiliation on the way to Doncaster in 1983, to his own advantage:

"I thought I was being good smuggling them on to the bus like, you know what I mean?"

"Yeah, when they found them stuck down your trousers those coppers pissed themselves!"

The making of recognition claims is fraught with risks. If the recalling subject is judged to make "a big deal out of nothing" then the "inappropriate" style of his recollection is taken as lowering his credibility. Worse still, it is widely perceived as revealing his ineptitude at handling the shared competitive rules of the gang whose preservation is deemed to be "everyone's" concern. Such ineptitude can place the member on the margins of membership since other members who are well aware that they are judged partly by the company they keep, will shun someone who appears "a mouthy wanker". In this way the individual's present and future actions and claims are judged through the recollection of his "soiled" credibility.

On the other hand, those who CAN supply and assert an indisputable version of a particularly "noteworthy" episode maintain and even increase their standing in the group. This is especially so if the incident is especially noteworthy for the humiliation it inflicted upon a "high standing" set of supporters such as West Ham, Lincoln, Sheffield United, Leeds or Chelsea. This competitiveness-in-search-for-recognition, appeared clearly in the following conversation of Millwall fans travelling to Portsmouth in 1981:

1. "I done a West Ham geyser who was about thirty at that row in Kings Cross. I nuted him. Put him straight out. All I could see was bodies everywhere then the Old Bill started to help us out".

2. "It's like when Chelsea are in London..."

1. "You remember the time, that first time, when we came into the station and all Chelsea were on the station. They announced that there was a train coming in with Millwall supporters and to clear the station and they all went, just cleared out. Didn't want to stay and fight.

I yelled at them "why don't you stay and fight?" and they said "No, fuck off!".

2. "They were with West Ham when we went to play Chester... Shit-cunts make me sick!".

The tendency of the younger supporters to seek out and "court" the attention of older more experienced fans as the "select audience" for their own recollections appears to be a common aspect. Typically the audience is less than overwhelmed neither by these accounts nor with the youthful excitement with which they are told. At Doncaster v Millwall in 1982, this was most pronounced:

"You remember when we met up with West Ham at Baker Street?"

(No response)... T---- said "steam straight into them when they open the doors. We sprayed them with fire extinguishers and steamed in. They went 'Urgh' and just run".(3)

Again talk of past conflicts with West Ham appears to carry the most credibility among London supporters. Yet this "courting" is itself a form of recognition and provides the occasion to "act cool" and reassert one's "pedigree". The ability to understate the significance of a particular battle or the subjects part in it, also appears "cool" and can confirm or reinstate a sense of authority of the speaker. The same is true of a faintly tired and unexcitable reaction to other people's recollections which advertises the fact that the listener has "heard it all and done it all before". Even silence can be selectively deployed in conversations so as to place pressure on others to come out with a recollected incident that COULD impress.

However, there are limits to the status given by the individual having literally decades of personal involvement in hooliganism. Millwall have a tradition for violence from supporters in their thirties and even forties. Both Cardiff and Cardiff supporters I've spoken to have graphic recollections of:

"Middle age dockers running around with broken bottles in their hands".

"There all big geysers down there, you don't mess about with them".

The presence of such characters who join in the chanting and threats to the rival supporters even appears bizzare to some of the younger Millwall fans themselves:

"Listen to him he's forty years old and still at it!. His first conviction was against Aston Villa in 1967!".

S.50: THE CONCERN OF THE ANTICIPATING SUBJECT.

The perceiving and recalling of hooliganism is shaped by the subject who appears not "behind" these acts but within them as a structure of concern. To date the egological investigation has been one-sidedly directed at those voluntarily involved in violence. This section aims to augment earlier interviews by further unfolding the structure of concern operative mainly among those involuntarily caught up in soccer violence. The bulk of this material derives from the 1984 Chelsea v Millwall game and the 1985 Luton v Millwall match.

Before the 1984 game, my fellow passengers getting off the tube at Fulham Broadway, certainly looked concerned to avoid both trouble and attention from the police. As they entered the street, a number of these passengers nervously hesitated, considered the police presence and made their way hastily through them and the gathering groups of youths. The overall scene appeared as an irritation, a disruption of an established routine, something to keep out of. The same was true at Luton where a middle aged man leaving the station was punched in the eye. As well as blood, downright shock and disorientation resulted. Also the main shopping centre closed down at the sight of hundreds of unpoliced Millwall fans. Sainsburys too had to take prompt action to avoid having its drink looted. Perhaps here we find an interest in order and regularity, a concern to blend in with familiar ground and thus to avoid being singled out by either police or threatening fans.

At Chelsea the police appeared concerned to avoid anticipated trouble for themselves with superiors in the force. Any requests for information over arrests or policing strategy were greeted with profound distrust. A deference to the authority of higher ranking officers appeared as their dealings with supporters became harsher when higher ranking officers seemed to be watching them. On the other hand, any obvious impression of unrestrained counter-violence or "summary justice" against fans could count against officers in the Metropolitan Police's open promotion system. At Luton relaxation reigned.

Certainly as a researcher at both games I shared with others a concern for my personal safety and the preservation of my unscarred face, a desire to be recognised by those supporters I already knew to speak to and an avoidance of any potentially dangerous mis-recognition. In my presentation of self, a degree of anonymity was sought along with

recognition from those in whose company I felt relatively secure. As tension mounted in the streets surrounding Chelsea FC, I began to feel conspicuous and unconvinced of my ability to pass unnoticed between rival groups as a non-participating observer. At Luton I was caught between fighting rival fans without being able to tell them apart. Here further unwelcome speculations about Stanley-knives forced home to me the sheer physical threat that this phenomena poses. From the intent looking around of others, especially around the end of Chelsea's ground where Millwall were supposed to enter, it appeared that others shared this concern.

To those supporters awaiting violence, rival supporters, the police, police dogs and horses took on an ambiguous sense. On the main street worried glances were thrown out of pub windows at the slightest noise that could "spell trouble" from Millwall fans. The window itself seemed "double edged" in that it forewarned pub regulars of any possible attack, yet it also appeared as the potential source of lacerated faces and possible blindness.

A similar ambiguous meaning related to the presence of the police patrolling the street with dog handlers and mounted officers in reserve. Under most circumstances we anticipate that the police will intervene to some effect if any violence occurs. Yet here the very effectiveness of their counter violence appeared as a formidable threat if they happened to see you as a "hooligan to be sorted out". The highly tuned, but temporarily restrained, aggression of their police dogs meant potentially torn clothes, shredded skin and even a ripped throat. This is widely known. My own anticipations followed seeing their ferocious deployment upon some fighting Millwall fans during an earlier visit to Mansfield. Fortunately their cooling effect upon those who clearly share these anticipations and interests assured a degree of security at Chelsea that was quite lacking at Luton.

Similar meanings attached themselves to the presence of mounted police - three or four of which proved quite capable of holding back some thousand or so Millwall fans who were eager to get through to their train and perhaps beyond. Here it was the sheer size of the horse together with the threat of a hospitalising kick in the crutch from its back legs that was so effective. Also the elevated position of the rider made missile throwing supporters visible, who often cannot otherwise be attacked or even identified by police officers on foot. Further effective retaliation by fans is ruled out by the sheer bulk of the horse. These officers

therefore had a particular effectiveness - sorely missed at Luton - because of their ability to engender such anticipations of counter-violence.

By contrast, outnumbered police on foot or on motorbikes can be, and were charged at, punched to the ground and given a severe kicking. Perhaps these anticipations explain the greater confidence of the mounted police both here and during the miners' strike. This association and the frustration of their will to recognition was not lost upon the Millwall fans that mounted police restrained after the Chelsea game: "There's only one Arthur Scargill" was chanted repeatedly suggesting an effort to "outdo" the miners.

However earlier the LIMITS of their response presented itself as they galloped around the pitch to try to rescue colleagues who were getting battered at the front of the Millwall end of the ground. Here the comical character of a modern "cavalry charge" resulted in red indian "whoops" from jeering supporters. They knew that the enclosures designed to keep them fenced in also served to keep the mounted police out. Awareness of this worked to annul the threat to the hooligans' interests and their anticipations of counter violence and arrest. Like the trouble at Luton, this lost the police respect and bolstered the "resolve" of some fans to cause trouble. Therefore what WAS achieved by the police cavalry charge was a reinforcement of Millwall's flagging reputation for having a minority of violent supporters. This confirmation occurred in the eyes of journalists, their readers and those Chelsea fans considering the possibility of travelling to the return game at Millwall's ground. This was later confirmed by Chelsea's decision to ban the Sunday Express and the News of the World from its press box for their especially inventive coverage of the trouble their reports incite.

The violent set of both groups of supporters displayed an interest in obtaining and even forcing recognition from the watching media, fellow and rival supporters and the sub-culture of soccer violence in South London and beyond. This involved denigrating the immediate rivals by chanting about they "Ran from West Ham / Portsmouth", how they will not turn up for the return game at Millwall etc. The patrolling groups of young males outside the ground were looking out to impose and then broadcast fresh humiliations upon rivals. During the match itself stories were exchanged about how Chelsea fans "failed" to show up at key locations such as the Elephant and Castle tube and the Kings Road. After the game their absence from the Thames embankment was anticipated by one group who were out to ambush some Chelsea supporters.

These stories are presented in terms of "what we already knew about them" and what we would like everyone to know about ourselves. Such self-advertising took the form of claiming that Millwall fans FULFIL their reputation, while the anticipations of violence from Portsmouth, West Ham, Leeds etc. "are all talk". Similar conflicting claims inform chanting: "If your all going to Millwall clap your hands" was asserted defiantly by Chelsea supporters.

The CAPACITIES of the subject FOR WHOM the experience of violence is meaningful were presented as the progressive fulfilment of implicit meanings. It proceeded through increasing awareness of what has already been understood about the subject's situation concerning say the willingness of police to provide effective protection.

The PACE OF THIS UNDERSTANDING is also made available. On the basis of such rare reflective awareness, new anticipations can then gear themselves to these understandings and try to learn from them. These set down possibilities for realistic projects which take into account the current physical and financial limits of the subject, ie. police and clubs within their situation. Anticipation also suggests that the continuing cost of not taking effective measures concerning organisation of crowds and policing, might be far higher. Reflection upon the evidence provided by anticipated hooliganism is then one of the pre-conditions for successful practical action on prevention and deterrence.

Along with these interests, the anticipating subjects projected ahead of themselves their CAPACITIES to deal with the problems they anticipate. This "dealing" took the form of taking precautions about policing, who is let into shops and pubs, when these will open, and skill in handling fans or requesting further police assistance. Opposite Chelsea's ground, a middle-aged Asian newsagent told me that before every home game the chances of physical violence against himself or his newsagents shop depended upon how he handled the flood of supporters. His requests for specific police protection for the West Ham game had not been answered.

The off-licence expressed a greater interest in the threat to his and other businesses than had the newsagent:

"Bloody headache! Shops close down because of bloody football... I don't want to know about football grounds".

Despite competition with pubs for custom, he identified with their practice of bolting their doors and allowing only "regulars" inside. His anticipations of theft and violence seemed sufficient to outweigh commercial concerns as he directed his anger at me personally:

"Look at this I'm going to lose another hour's business tonight by closing at nine o'clock before THEY come out".

Another Asian newsagent manager then claimed he was not really bothered by the threat of trouble since he closed the shop before the fans are let out. Sheepishly he added:

"Then again it's not my business, if it was I WOULD be worried!".

This contrasted with the other shopkeepers I interviewed whose interest in soccer violence meant that they experienced it in terms of its eradication. The taxi-driver however did not anticipate the presence of violence as something crying out for government action - this was despite the fact that he thought the problem had become worse over the past few years:

"Nothing can be done about it. They've tried everything. People are frustrated. There are smaller crowds these days, less control over youngsters in general. It's a sign of the times. We're becoming more abrupt in our manners and our dealings with each other. You're not safe to walk the streets these days, it's not surprising there are places where cabs won't go to".

A common sense language using the words once, just now, right now, soon and later remained available to those interviewed. Their expressions did not however directly address the interests themselves since they were directed to the problem of avoiding or causing trouble in the future; yet they nevertheless displayed their own situated selves in the expression of an anticipated "solution". For example, the first newsagent I interviewed placed concern for his wife and family as his major worry. In this concern he was directed away from himself and towards others. But this was still the display of his situated interest as a father and husband. So in the same way that retention of earlier meanings appeared as a PRACTICAL

COMPORIMENT towards the present world, so it is with anticipated soccer violence.

In general we can say that by way of this comportment the anticipating subject holds itself open and prepares for further experience and maintains this openness. In it we can understand ourselves by virtue of our own capacity to be situated ahead of ourself through self-projection in different possible future scenarios. Already we have seen how the threat of violence was experienced in terms of commercial and policy interests with the second hand dealer demanding the closing down of the ground. Here he was projecting his situation ahead of the present and using this comparison to condemn the present situation. With all but one of the others this projection involved the future scenarios of remaining in business in the present location, restricting drinking time, setting up elsewhere and campaigning for a closing down of the ground.

These different scenarios involved if-then relations, ie. IF the subject sets up elsewhere THEN it may not be any improvement, or IF the shopkeepers remains in their current situation THEN it may improve or become worse. Anticipating a possibility we come towards ourselves as projected into the future and can picture how we would be in these various scenarios. The UNITY of this projected situation derives not from the what is comported towards, but from the modes of comportment by the subjects towards hooliganism, ie. anxiety, fear, tension, aggression, concern for profit, the character of one's surrounding world etc. Interests at work here are not then purely cognitive but include hopes, passionate desires, career aspirations and material needs.

Nevertheless the situation which these anticipating subjects projected was still something to be reckoned with due to the force of the historical circumstances already operative upon it. The taxi driver's attitude was almost 'sociological' in his resignation to the hooliganism. Certainly the situation can frustrate desires, realise fears, shatter hopes, freeze passions and entrench further the threat of violence and resignation.

In this projected situation the key concern varies from a specific collective group - the future for off-licences and other small businesses, to a generalised concern for humanity in an epoch characterised by a devaluation of values and a crisis in authority on the pitch, terraces, in schools, homes and penal institutions, or for our personal place within this legitimacy crisis. Whether the focus is purely personal or collective, the anticipating

subject nevertheless appears as always bound to definite spirals of evolving social relations
as potential agents pursuing ends upon the basis of practical concerns and evaluations.

5.51: THE SUBJECT AS WILL TO POWER / RECOGNITION - A RECAPITULATION AND PROJECTION OF THE STORY TO DATE.

So far the subject that inhabits our presentational acts has been revealed as an essential element of our total experience of hooliganism warranting foundational study in its own right. What has been revealed is a structure of concern that is always at the end point of a life-history which, through the operation of pre-understandings, nevertheless continues to determine the present. Such determination cannot be instantly dismissed as "ideology" in comparison to an experience untarnished by pre-understandings. Instead, the subject IS the total of its pre-understandings and all that is accumulated through them. If you take away these "prejudices" you take away the person having the experience of hooliganism. This was seen concretely through studying the operation of interests at work within both partisan and non-partisan experience of football and football crowds. Here it was found that the subject announces itself as that which "singles out" a thematic core and relegates other perceived elements to a nonthematic margin and background.

The basis on which singling out occurs provides a clue to the precise interests of the perceiving subject for whom both objects and other persons take on an equipmental role. In this role they are passively constituted as sources for an assertive recognition / vindication of the subject's distinctive form of life. What aims for recognition here, is the subject as an authoritative speaker occupying a definite status position within a group, itself also requiring respect and strategies to assert and so preserve its fundamental values and concerns. This framework was found to be operative within the competitive group recollection of soccer violence by various fighting gangs. Here recognition was obtained through the selective exhibition in an authoritative way of a lengthy "pedigree" of involvement in actual or potential confrontations with high "status" rivals. These are presented in a way aimed towards vindicating "us" against "them" and so confirm the pre-understandings that hold "us" together in the first place. This can involve a denigration of absent or present others along with strategies for "handling" this competitiveness. Recollections of trouble thus reveal a collective interest in the assertive preservation of the group, the group's key values, those of the supporting tradition which determines what counts as recognition-through-combat, and

the subject's status within the group / tradition.

Although the contents of anticipating subject's concern was various, in their different ways they nevertheless exhibited the essential structure of will to recognition / power. In other words, soccer violence was experienced in such a way so as to assert a recognition claim whose recognition would vindicate and intensify the distinctive form of life of that subject and that of the tradition which houses it. This common structure was visible not just in the anticipations of soccer fans but also in the experience of police officers, shopkeepers, commuters, journalists and local residents.

Anticipation also presented new aspects of the subject - its capacities and the degree and pace of understanding of these capacities and their expression in common sense language presented themselves to reflection. These aspects were revealed as being within a practical comportment towards the social world governed by circumstances largely outside its control in which the subject holds itself open to and projects fresh experiences. The pre-understanding of these experiences remains founded ultimately upon the subject's concern for itself and the recognition of its own individual and/or collective form of life.

A number of points remain indeterminate: The operative interests co-presented the subject as concerned for its physical safety and material wellbeing; what must be the character of the subject for whom these are powerful motivations? How is it possible for the subject to continue to re-enact pre-understandings that bear the stamp of both entrenched habit and virtual unthinking affirmation? The subject's personal situation has appeared as oriented primarily towards the vindication of recognition claims from others who are also experienced as already sharing in this pursuit as allies, enemies or strangers. Again what must be the nature of a subject for whom this basic structure of communality has always already happened? The essential pre-given character of the subject's surrounding culture itself raises questions as the specific form of that communality; is the will to recognition / power specific to the experience of soccer violence or does it also manifest itself in the "official" culture of soccer and sport and in the (non-experiential) political reactions to soccer violence? If it does manifest itself, then in what sense is this expression a "superior" motivation and can hooliganism be coherently interpreted as a re-enactment on the terraces of a pre-given determination of what is "interesting", "valuable", "worthy of recognition" etc? If not what

are the differences? These questions arise not from an inappropriate concern to displace attention from the particular theme or to "blame society as a whole" but from a cognitive interest to fully determine the web of mediations that make this particular subject the subject that it is.

In an effort to begin to answer this barrage of questions, four later sections set out the embodied (S.52), habitual (S.53), pre-disposed (S.54) and social (S.55) character of the subject for whom there is soccer violence meant in various ways as X, Y and Z.

Having unfolded aspects of the subject's structure as will to recognition / power, it is necessary to establish its specificity / generality in relation to this structure's immediate context in the official culture of football itself. This task entails dissecting cultural definitions that are almost more than those of any particular individual or group to whose consciousness they appear. The popular newspapers are one media through which soccer culture is both expressed and reproduced, and it is to these that this investigation will turn. It must be emphasised that the concern is not for accurate reporting of "what really happened" - in which case the tabloid press are a waste of time. Instead, it is precisely the inventiveness, biases, pre-understandings and sensationalism that, as symptomology of football culture, are interesting. For example, if deaths caused by soccer violence are three hundred times as newsworthy as those caused through failure of safety precautions in the workplace, then this high "value" placed on these deaths are clues to the structure of concern operative within this cultural medium's pre-understanding of "newsworthiness". Further as readership / read about, members of footballing culture are continually reproduced as such through this very reporting, so that the "human interest value" of soccer violence to which the tabloid papers aim to satisfy is partly an outcome of the values embedded within its own reporting. In short, for present purposes it is not that which is reported as news, but its (pre)construction as newsworthy that reveals the structure of subjectivity operative within soccer culture.

The operative system of concern that (re)produces "newsworthiness" is not itself reported as news - the essence of newsworthiness is no more news than the essence of chemistry is something chemical. To disclose this structure entails a movement through that which is determined as newsworthy to the criteria that initially determined it as such. This movement

is infinitely repeatable; yet a number of invariant elements emerge as such. One of these is the lower value attached to "good news" - an absence of bookings or sending offs, good sportsmanship between players, steady consistent talent - compared with their opposites. Minor incidents of soccer violence is always potentially front and back page headline material, whereas even the most memorable of soccer matches in terms of "mere" entertainment, skill and excitement value, will rarely, if ever be "promoted" from the sports pages into a "news item". Further the "shock value" of hooliganism is such that it is not so much an analytic concern for what happened that is communicated, so much as a breathless sense of "sharing in the action". The reader is invited in for a piece of the action relayed in racy one sentence paragraphs written under a shock-horror headline in short, snappy breathless style - an immediate celebration of immediacy. For example, the Daily Mirror's reporting of crowd violence during Millwall's 1985 visit to Luton followed the standard pattern. The headline was the "bait" aiming to grab the attention of even the most seasoned reader. By itself it occupied four times the space as that which it announced and listed the events in terms of their perceived newsworthiness. Here pitch invasions are rarely "old hat", ones that stop matches are more highly rated. Equally in the absence of deaths, inter-fan violence - "brawling" is not that sensational compared with police officers being kicked unconscious. Thus the headline ran off these events in their order of eye-catching appeal so that: "POLICEMEN KICKED UNCONSCIOUS"; was followed by "20 ARRESTS"; and "REFEREE HALTS MATCH AS BRAWLING SOCCER FANS INVADE PITCH". This paper added as a sub-headline; "AND THEY CALL IT SPORT"; yet this paper employs one journalist "Harry Harris" to report on soccer violence and report on matches on the basis of their violent potential. Another time when soccer breaks on to the front page is when those involved have the dubious recognition afforded them by "feature writers" who specialise in players' divorces, illicit affairs, internal feuds, bizarre sickness epidemics, television black-outs and so on; (Times, 17/9/83).

Another related value is the promotion of a militarised consciousness within the the game through the deployment of a militarised vocabulary. Already the gift of language has appeared as one of the prime means through which meaning-tradition is encapsulated, preserved and passed on. Thus the militarisation of the vocabulary available to describe football is at the same time the militarisation of the consciousness of those participating within the described

culture. This militarisation takes the form of describing the experience of defeat in terms of "death" or "having a knife plunged into one's heart". What is meant is not death in any biological sense, but the end of any plausible recognition claim. Thus the struggle of Tranmere Rovers manager in 1982, Bryan Hamilton, to keep the club in business was announced in terms of "DEATH WATCH!".

S.52: THE EMBODIED SUBJECT.

In no way can analysis overlook the role that the lived-body plays in the presentation and shaping of our experience of hooliganism. Here the "lived-body" means the body as a perceived phenomenon, rather than the physical "thing" treated by hospitals. The perceived body HOUSES not only perceptions of hooliganism but also recollections, anticipations, imaginings etc. In all these acts, we always implicitly experience our body's being-with-us, its vulnerability to being kicked, stabbed, lacerated, fractured and scarred. Its presence is so overwhelming that it is never looked for; (M.Ponty, 1962, p.94). During many matches there is the experience of BEING that vulnerable and fragile body for both ourselves and for others around us. Through the experience of our body's sheer physical presence as a "target" for kicks, blows and stabbings, we appear as being already thrown into the primitive world of crowd confrontations; (M.Ponty, 1962, p.206). This bodily presence maintains its integrity and endures throughout changing circumstances before, during and after the game. It is therefore impossible for me to vary the angle, side or aspect under which my body appears to me as "hopefully inconspicuous" among rival gangs of fans in search of each other. Even in a crassly literal sense, I can never see myself as they can see me. Therefore we are always incompletely aware of the medium through which soccer violence becomes real for me.

It is this lived-body which provides a pre-condition for our perception of any incident. We cannot see, hear or feel any act of soccer violence without it referring back to our eyes, ears or skin. Within any crowd confrontation there are changing sensations of space, time, colour, noise and lighting that unite the texture of our bodies with that of our surrounding situation us. My body is open to these experiences which it perceives as "before me", and reacts to them; (M. Ponty, 1962, p.164). If sensations of my own body within this situation are considered, they are entirely different from those of my surrounding situation. They differ by means of the meanings that pass through them; hence the sensations derived from a present situation of say, rioting fans, appears only abstractly by an analysis of the consciousness that terminates in the colours of cut heads and the sound of breaking windows. The body's sensations of exhilaration and dread do not go beyond themselves, but rather directly reveal my embodied existence to myself.

But this disclosure of my body in the course of soccer violence's perception, still remains a function of the perceived body directed towards "motivating" circumstances. For example during any incident, what I see attentively, or strategically fail to notice, appears as the consequence of a certain directness of my body towards the incident that "catches" / "repels" its attention combined with a motivating set of concerns. Thus in the stand at Sheffield Wednesday, only a small number of people will usually stand up to look at terrace confrontations. Those that do are occasionally scolded by others with such expressions as: "Sit down, you are as bad as they are".

The very directedness of bodies discloses a definite structure of motivation. Motivation here is the experienced reference to a motivated order of possible perceptions. Thus some of the most avid readers of reports concerning soccer violence are those who participate in it. The appearance of the reports to perceptual consciousness appears here as clearly an outcome of a motivated bodily turning-attention-towards that newspaper.

The unity of that which is experienced as hooliganism and acts of interpreting events AS examples of "hooliganism" appears most concretely here. The situation perceived as "violent" and the perceiving subject's body, are forever entwined with one another. Here visible incidents appear together with the body which, from its own perspective, perceives the visibility of both that situation and its own situated self. On this basis the subject can then make sense of "what is happening". For example, when I saw an injured Southend supporter touch his wounds, his body must have appeared to him as both touched-body and touching-body; (M.Ponty, 1969, p.146). The "doubled" body which reveals itself through touch / touching is that of the perceiving body which "has" sensations. This experience testifies to the privileged position of touch. The eye that sees crowd violence is not seen in the visual field and so lacks the double role of touch which refers the touched back to the body which touches. Sight does not DIRECTLY confirm the owned character of the body. This body is also reversible in the sense of unifying the body-as-perceived and body-as-perceiving its own injury. The lived body is therefore both the "seat" of perceived hooliganism and also the MEANS by which its role can appear to our analysis of the subject's structure in the first place.

In our perception the extension of weapons, clothes and other physical things associated

with violence, and the localisation of our visual, auditory and tactile sensations of them, are elaborated into a flowing sensual schema. This schema in turn moves beyond itself into the "same thing" felt, seen or heard by an "owned" body. Here the subject shows itself as spread out in the lived-through space of the body and not confined to any one place inside it. Reciprocally, the body is lived through as the "internal space" inhabited by the supporter. The obedience to their owner's will of my eyes and ears that look and listen out for any "trouble", unite with the rest of the senses to confirm the BELONGING of my body to myself.

Other sensations, implicated in processes of evaluation and judgements concerning the "sickening thuggery" of some supporters, participate in this assembly of the perceiver as embodied; sensual feelings of tension and release, pleasure and sadness, comfort and unease, are the matter of intentional subjective processes where values are elaborated. These are both directed towards clashes on and off the pitch, and exhibit an immediate though diffuse localisation in the subject's body. For example, displeasure during the routine crushing by police horses of visiting fans while leaving Rotherham's ground, directs itself towards the real situation of "crowd control"; while it brings my crushed body to my consciousness.

Yet this sensation of displeasure and anger is not known directly since it is only indirectly localised by its focus. It is my consciousness which has to determine the sense of "what is going on" by making certain qualitative distinctions between the "natural" pushing of a crowd and my present "artificial" and "unnecessary" situation. By themselves the sensations of my crushed body are meaningless and blind. The sensations offer us the act of judging the situation to be "unnecessary" as an ascribed property of my experience.

Thus the overall perception does not support any reduction of the perceiving subject to the merely physical level, nor this physical level to the complete sovereignty of a "free" subject. Without any reflective thought it can tell us when to run, where to and how fast; when and how to bluff our way out of "tricky situations" involving say, walking through rival fans without having to fight by "looking cool". This pre-rational operative awareness does not appear explicable as the work of a distinct and non-corporeal mind somehow operating "in" the body. Within the concrete realm of lived experience, a unity of the psychic and corporeal appears which can be separated from each other only by abstraction. This body is part of the same animated nature as the grass on the pitch, and yet the subject which inhabits it is the

centre around which the rest of the world is grouped. Through blows, kicks and stabbings, it is open to causal relations and yet it is the point where biological causality emerges from a physio-psyche realm and moves to a specifically cultural significance in which scars are worn as signs of distinctions.

In situations of violence, our bodies can reveal a certain "know how" that is pre-rational. As the pre-condition for seeing hooliganism, the "hybrid" body leads to a kind of internal cleavage that separates the "normal" from the "abnormal" perception of it. In the same way that in court cases occasionally challenge as "unsound" police perceptions of an incident in terms of "bad" conditions of light, haze, perspective etc; so too does the physical circumstances of the supporter's own perceptions become crucial for judgements concerning "what really happened" at a certain game. At Doncaster in 1984, the perceptions of the drunken Millwall supporter who finally passed out, would have been untrustworthy even if he had been actually aware of the effect of the drink and still tried to "see straight". In such situations the body appears in the reeling perception as an "abnormal" circumstance. It breaks the body's normal habit of omitting itself from what the perceptual field. His "reeling perception" of what is going on around him does not refer to conditions exterior to itself such as in "bad" lighting which alter a still "sound" perception. Instead upon more sober reflection, the "distortion" appears as immanent to the perceiving body itself.

Even when the body is disclosed, conditionality upon the "normal" body does not co-ordinate itself with the perceived incident and remains unreal in relation to it. At the time the terracing appears as ITSELF reeling to the supporter whose drunkenness is not itself visible IN the perception of the terracing. Such analysis of the reeling terracing suggests that the normal functioning of the body rarely itself appears until it is interrupted through "abnormal" functioning. There is nothing in the perceived game to suggest that it is seen by my eyes in a wide awake state; only upon tiredness or drunkenness does its blurring bring my eye-sight into focus. In short, this prior constitution of "normal" conditionality is the primal state in relation to the deviant modifications brought about by supporter's drunkenness or tiredness of the perceiving subject.

These anomalies cannot then be placed on the same plane as "normal" perceptions of soccer violence. They imply a regular appearance for a "healthy" body so that the tiredness

underlying my blurred vision of an incident appears against the background of the average functioning of my other faculties, ie. I CAN still notice the effects of my tiredness and effect some sensible response. This normal constitution exposes the "abnormality" as a modification of the "same" event normally perceived. This implicit reference to normal perception of the "reeling terracing" is the other face of the experience of the non-material or "irreal" in appearance. It thus flies in the face of those who have tried to relativise "normality and abnormality" - and hence heroism and hooliganism - by reference to merely empirical variations in experiences.

My body also provides the zero point of origin from which I see only certain events as those of "the undoubted reality of football hooliganism". It includes a concrete relation of orientation to any violence occurring within my field of perception, eg. to the right of me, to "my" left, "fortunately far away", "uncomfortably" near etc. My body provides the "here" of every incident's "there", the place from which a "far away" confrontation derives its distance.

The mobility of our bodies is perceived in its "aesthetic" function of "showing a presence". Such a presence is an integral element within the same violent situation that it is actually perceiving. This double-role is only possible because in every crowd confrontation there is both the body that "has" the sight of it and the one that "does" the perceiving. The body then is the means by which our consciousness is and feels itself to be situated within a crowd situation experienced as a source of potential violence.

Through beckoning, insulting or peaceful gestures, it also appears as the means to begin, move towards, discourage or hastily avoid such violence. In moving towards or away from trouble, we experience ourselves as an agent who moves "our bodies" directly and who are moved by it in the general pushing and shoving on the terraces. Such agency is clearly subjected to very real limitations deriving from the subject's agility and the degree of segregation and fencing in the ground. Thus in court, responsibility can sometimes be successfully denied.

There is also the body as a means of displaying physical presence, to forcefully point out that "we've turned up again". In 1983 this integral element appeared in chants from around Fulham's ground such as; "Millwall here, Millwall there, Millwall fucking everywhere". In these, supporters proclaim and confirm themselves to be "loyal supporters". Their sheer

presence allows travelling Millwall fans to feel justified in repeated chanting at their rivals: "You never come to Millwall". It is almost as if the performance of the supporters can make up for that of their team.(4)

Bodily presence tells police and other supporters what "we" would like "them" to know about ourselves and our intentions towards them. The way our body is dressed, its size, shape and degree of muscle appearing through that style of dress, the presence of scars or a certain skinhead or punk haircut are implicitly understood to mean something. During the 1960's there was a distinctive skinhead uniform of cropped hair, a "crombie" style coat and narrow Levi jeans raised above the ankle by thin braces to display Doctor Martin boots, often with bruising steel toe caps. The presence of such characters behind the goal was widely recognised by opposing supporters as "the-boys-to-be-challenged". Such a uniform was not of course primarily associated with soccer violence. Instead, it was linked with a distinctive celebration of an assertive traditional working class masculinity whose values were increasingly under threat.(5)

The revival of skinhead phase in the late 1970's had largely lost the Crombie coat, but gained a green paramilitary style "bomber jacket". Again there were connections with soccer violence and racist movements such as the National Front and British Movement. Their presence was especially evident during the early 1980's among clubs linked with the most vicious and organised forms of soccer violence such as Chelsea, West Ham, Portsmouth and Leeds United. During the last few years the "born again" body in skinhead uniform appears to be have died away among fighting gangs. In its place has been a new uniform of expensive Italian sportswear - Gallani jerseys, Pringle pullovers, and top class training shoes. These clothes have even been the subject of robberies by Liverpool supporters from visiting Manchester United and other fans. Also certain "away-day" supporters travel to London to rob people coming out of "classy" sports shops.(6)

S.53: THE HABITUAL SUBJECT OF HOOLIGANISM.

To date the operation of pre-understandings has been described, but in depersonalised terms - as if they were divorced from a subject who has them as expressions of its own living tradition, ie. "self". What is more the essential character of the subject which is expressed in this expression and whose structure makes this possible, remains quite unclear. This want of clarity is no accident. Within our experience at football matches, the presence of a subject certainly appears to be "non-real" in comparison to any crowd violence it actually perceives. Nevertheless, after suspension of the natural attitude and its affirmation of various implicit "theories" about the nature of reality and the ego, the subjectivity of the subject has still presented itself "in" experience. It has appeared as an operative system of concern and as the "terminus" for all the presentations of a living subjective life; (Husserl, 1913/31, ss.57, p.80; 1933/77, s.31). Here it is the durable me myself that I recognise and rediscover as this terminus of apprehensions - a subject that is both already determined as X, Y and Z but never FULLY determined. However the subject is not only a reference pole but also a "substrate of its permanent properties" that amount to a personal history, style and character of a person or group; (Husserl, 1933/77, s.32).

Anyone perceiving soccer violence can reflect upon abiding and distinctive characteristics, in both what they see and in their particular way of interpreting it, that endure throughout psychic life and activity. Whether these subjects are fans, journalists, club officials or members of a television audience, they become sites where the nature of "what really happened" in those events is continually constructed in a distinctive and characteristic style. Although the contents of this style of attending to crowd behaviour varies from fan to fan, journalist to journalist and club to club, the necessity for SOME CONTENTS of SOME STYLE is not contingent. It is the possibility-condition for all merely factual variations; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.75). The course of determining "what really happened" on the terraces is thus guided to empirically varying degrees by these HABITUAL STYLES of interpreting crowd behaviour.

Over time and across a whole series of crowd incidents, our enduring unity reveals, amid all fluctuations, a certain way of being and reiterating ourselves as "one who is concerned

about the game". Such characteristics can refer to hearing, sight, memory, strength of will, loyalty to the club, reliability under stress and aggravation from rival fans, degree of "bottle", endurance of bad weather, capacity to consume drink and willingness to use weapons. These qualities appear necessarily as experienced unities concerning the typical manner of fans'. willing, acting and thinking life, eg. an inclination from BEING "reliable under stress" to HAVING this capacity on hand as its own; (Husserl, *ibid*, p.119). This typical style unifies and totalises our specific motivations, attitudes, decisions, various perceptions of crowd activities and other acts such as recollection, which are founded upon these perceptions of crowd trouble.

There is no need for all aspects of habitual activity to be egalitarian or democratic in their directedness. Rather, it has already been shown that practical interests, concerns and commitments towards the team, club and rival fans guide their SELECTIVITY AND DISCRIMINATION. From all the various perceived features of another set of supporters, I may habitually "know" them by one alone - one that "strikes me" as distinctive. The "name" travelling Portsmouth fans have acquired for carrying knives is only one example. Among some younger Brentford supporters, during the 1960's, Millwall fans were associated with gory stories concerning the possession and use of meat hooks as weapons. Even today these supporters regard a visit by Millwall as something of a risky occasion. A turnstile operator told me: "I don't know why but Millwall fans just seem to be a cut below everybody else in their behaviour, in the way they shout, swear at home supporters and generally carry on even in the seats where I go". Older Brentford supporters confirmed that this "name" for rowdiness took shape for them "when I used to go as a boy in the 1930's". A process of SINGLING OUT may then be a crucial component in the formation and reproduction of habitualities through which reputations for soccer violence becomes "an issue". From "issues" habitual responses can develop. One vocal Brentford fan visiting Chesterfield in 1982 recalled:

"It's not so bad when we go down there because the police meet you at the station and have got it all sussed out. There used to be it by now see, but when Millwall come to Griffin Park they go everywhere. You just stand there and keep your mouth shut!".

A long standing Sheffield United fan asked me:

"What do they say | about Millwall? I've got a real soft spot for Millwall fans... The swamp at the bottom of my garden!".

Furthermore, the very basis in practical concerns upon which this occurs may be the result of previous habitual practices of selective perception, ie. of "looking out" for noteworthy or newsworthy incidents. In this, once a team or set of supporters have acquired a "name" for violence, it tends to stick as habitual perceptions and responses die hard.

On the other hand, such habitual responses to a team's "name" can be positively deployed. Habitualities in both activities and ways of perceiving crowd behaviour have definite consequences. Self-assurance in fans' general attitude, decision making and actions concerning the practicalities of supporting their team home and away, derive from by their typical style. One motto I saw on a Millwall fans tee-shirt read: "Millwall... enough said". Others may attempt to link themselves to what they see as a vindication of "national character" in the Falklands war. After this war certain London skinhead fans were wearing tee-shirts with "Made in Britain, tested in the Falklands" blazed across them. It is an excess of such self-confidence in "southerners" - especially "cocky cockneys" - that appears to irk fans of northern clubs so much. Perhaps here, there is a connection with the reputation that London has acquired among visiting supporters for being the "worst place to visit" because of the constant possibility of multiple ambushes by different groups and alliances of fans.

An awareness of group characteristics allows us to predict that if a certain provocation is directed towards one set of supporters, then a violent response is probable. If for instance, Cardiff City fans are taunted with celebrations of the Aberfan disaster, then a "cause for revenge" has already been established. In turn, Cardiff fans taunt English supporters for being afraid of the travelling Scots, and for failing to make their presence felt at Wembley during the traditional England v Scotland game. During their visit to Sheffield United in 1984, Cardiff fans were winding up home fans by calling them "scabs" and chanting about the superior loyalty of Welsh miners compared with Yorkshire miners. Derby fans visiting

Rotherham in the same year taunted home fans - some of which were striking miners - with celebrating chants of "Super Scab" referring to the return to work movement among Derbyshire miners. Chelsea fans at Sheffield Wednesday in 1984 continually chanted "Arthur Scargill is a wanker" - much to the amusement of the local police. Certain new words are invented around tunes of popular songs to celebrate the deaths of rival fans in an effort to goad them. These are often sung even when another team are the opposition. This may work as an affirmation of self-identity through a common display of shared hostility to particular rival fans. For example, young Millwall fans celebrated the death of a West Ham fan in Europe during their home game against Portsmouth in 1982.

Only through becoming aware of this typical style of being can police prepare crowd control strategies and build up an image of violent "firms", such as West Ham's Inter-City Firm, who stabbed to death an Arsenal fan in 1983. This image may even allow detectives to distinguish the violent acts of this firm from those of others, without any first-hand perceptions of their own to rely upon. Here, the group subject of hooliganism reveals its identity, total individual character and peculiarities that permeates all its activities. Again, this knowledge may permit certain informed guesses as to future prospects for the "typical" conduct of both this firm, other rival outfits, the police and others. For example, before the visit of Chelsea to South Yorkshire clubs, local police contact local publicans warning them that fans may travel up on the Friday "to make a weekend out of it". Without this "sussing out" of habitual characteristics by the police, the massive and quite elaborate security precautions that we examined earlier as "anticipated soccer violence" would not be possible.

In continuing these habitualities in future perceptions of violence, the fan appears as the one who has been and who still is being "traditionalised". In this way a unified sense of self emerges through an implicit self-awareness of being the continuing end-point of living tradition. This is not limited to crowd violence or supporting a team but includes habitual styles of attending to surrounding worlds of community in the local world.

Habitualities can therefore create not only a sense of continuity across generations in a local culture, but also in the local and national world experienced through the derived way of interpreting life in general. In this way Millwall maintained a continuity as a "dockland team" with dockland characteristics among its supporters even after the recent closure of the

Surrey and Millwall docks. Habitualities thus play a mediating role joining the surrounding local, national and international world to the supporters life in an almost organic manner. Even "new developments" within hooligan sub-culture become "News" only from its being cut out of the familiar country of everyday violence. In 1984 the use by a group of Millwall fans - the "Bushwackers", of CB radio bugs to track and ambush rival supporters coaches is a case in point.

The subject therefore has a specific social tradition which cannot help but be selectively drawn upon to create a unique "I" - this particular person - which persists in consciousness as habitually the same. A self conscious sense-history of the subject's tradition, would search out its passive and active origins. It would reveal that a unified "local community" and "localised self" are progressively acquired as "continuing to remain the same" so that the issue of temporality, genesis and temporal constitution of habitualities are raised; (see below).

There appears to be a dynamic relation of mutual dependence between the active and passive temporal constitution of habitual ways of experiencing soccer violence. The same applies to its enduring qualities, eg. a passionate identification with a distinct club and area. Here, the subject never seems capable of totally spontaneous action. Fans are as much "had by" as "having" their typical styles. For instance, their bodies appear to be implicated in habitual movements and significations. During the game its actions of displaying challenge, defiance, surrender, applause, ridicule, despair and joy are all reiterations of an already established code or "body-language". Their signification for themselves and others has already happened. The perfect voluntary movement would involve the body being completely effaced in both its habitual and organic functions. Yet both in watching a game and during any confrontation before or after it, my grasp on my body remains a constant regrasping. Running, pushing, chasing, keeping up with others, chanting, shouting and gesticulating remain a constant effort.

Here, any voluntary life continues to be permeated by a permanent struggle with what has already been established as to the habitual nature of football crowds in general and one's "own" fans in particular. With the ever deeper entrenchment of habitualities, any element of choice in the original placement, becomes more and more obscure. What evaporates here is any

remaining sense of "freely choosing" to follow one's own team rather than its local rivals, ie. of supporting Millwall rather than West Ham. This automatic entrenchment even takes place where the habitual interest in soccer violence is transitory, so that it is satisfied if not by a single fight, certainly by a few seasons of active participation in violence.

The expression "trying to BREAK a habit" captures something essential here. It emphasises the need for the most strenuous exercise of will to be brought to bear to shatter it, along with the ease of involuntarily "slipping back" into an unwanted but habitual "way of life". In this phenomenon we perhaps witness the reason why a "bad name" sticks to Millwall, Chelsea and other clubs both in and out of the popular media. It was certainly this danger that motivated Millwall to refuse permission for their 1984 FA cup game at Weymouth to be televised. The official reason was that the club were concerned about the attention being focused upon their fans - especially following the dramatic violence in the previous season's trip to non-league Slough Town. What is more, any "action replay" on television of that earlier violence could have damaged all the hard work this club has put into trying to improve its image in the media and beyond.

Typical styles are implicated as necessary structures for the lived-through time in which perceptions of soccer violence elapse. Finding a rivalry between say Arsenal and Spurs fans, to be familiar, predictable and "the same as before", brings home our own integrity and coherence as the "same" subject within a continuing perceptual process; (Husserl, 1952, p.113). Such coherence is not constituted in the material reality of the factual subject, but emerges from the self-constitution of immanent time. Habitualities allow recollections, judgements, anticipations and fantasies about the phenomenon to endure in such a way that the perceived meanings of different confrontations can be recognised in their permanence. Here is one way in which the "obviousness" of hooliganism as a "social problem" becomes constituted.

Every synthesis which constitutes a supporter's single continuous self watching "his" team, takes place on the basis of determinations stemming from past and sedimented perceptual habits. These appear as dispositions which accrue to the subject from a definite tradition, and by virtue of the fact that it has itself carried out the respective syntheses. The fan only belongs to "his team" by recourse to a reiteration of these "roots" of tradition. This reiteration of tradition represents a peculiar recognition of, loyalty to and assertion of

one's roots and therefore one's self - a loyalty constantly at stake and under threat from others. Therefore any supporter who originally was placed into certain "life-styles" through its factual situatedness in a certain town, with a local team, traditions of play and support, CANNOT BUT develop a habitual way of seeing football, other teams, rival supporters and their areas.(7)

In continuing these in future perceptions of violence, the fan appears as the one who has been and who still is being "traditionalised". It is this temporal / temporalising process which constantly reinstitutes the unified sense of self as the continuing end-point of living tradition that was examined earlier. Thus tradition is not simply "given" but given-as-progressively-giving a unified "local community" and "localised self" as continuing acquisitions. This acquisition appears as the result of a SEDIMENTATION OF SENSE, so that every step of receptive experience, every step of predicative judging about the fighting capacity of rival supporters, has its LASTING RESULT.

Whatever the precise combination of active and passive genesis in any one case, it is through sedimentation that we acquire our place as the subject of local tradition. Habitualities reiterated by acts of hooliganism are realised by the future course of experience in the most diverse fashion. Aspects of these, such as "what everyone knows about Millwall fans", are pre-determined in advance and only passively taken over as "common sense". Some journalists have sometimes used Millwall fans as a symbol to evoke everything unpleasant about human life. Thus "ghouls" who rush to look at the consequences of aircrashes have been identified with Millwall fans by the Evening Standard journalists; (2/4/80). English journalists covering the Queen's tour of Australia, were reported to be locally regarded as 'a rabble of plague rats and Millwall supporters' by an Observer journalist writing in the Colour Supplement; (4/1/83).

Other habitual ways of seeing soccer violence at least bear some impression of the wilful acts of a conscious, willing and rational subject who is aware of the responsibility that accompanies language use. Parts of this constitution of habitualities may, on certain occasions, be susceptible to rational decision making and reflection by a consciousness capable of a degree of self-awareness. This occurs when supporters try to grasp the role of their own habitual styles of perceiving the world of football. Such a degree of self-

consciousness is hardly common among members of fighting gangs. When it does occur - as when Robert Maxwell attempted to merge Oxford United with their local rivals Reading - this can give rise to a repeated running through of the syntheses that start with the original grasping and can go on to a fresh recall of this original presence. In this way the loss of a distinctive and habitual way of being in the local world through identification with the club forces reflection upon this "being-in" itself.

Nevertheless such active and rational constitution of habitualities is only possible on the basis of a passively pre-given pre-understanding of what local identity already means for that reflecting supporter. This leads us to a kind of non-rational residue which excludes the active constitution of the subject at the foundations of the habituality. The question "why belong at all?" receives no answer. In and for itself the need for local identity is non-rational until actively integrated with an essential and meaningful form.

We can now address the original production over time of habitualities in two senses; the temporal originality of their production on the basis of a self-evident presence of pre-rational substrates such as "local identity", "commitment", "passion" and "glory"; and secondly, the constitution of habitual FORMS attached to these formless and pre-rational substrates as ultimate core material for DERIVED FORMS, ie. the brute experience of needing to achieve SOME identity ENSOULED IN CERTAIN MEANING-STRUCTURE. Here, the notion of habituality mediates between constitution in perceptual consciousness of transcendent "incidents" outside of itself, and a constitution OF THE PERCEIVING SUBJECT ITSELF to whom these transcendent events appear AS "independent", "real" etc. These two constitutions coincide in the habitualities of soccer violence that have been examined in this section. The very unfolding over time of the perceiving subject shows itself to be internally structured and stratified by the power of sedimented habitualities.

Therefore this investigation has uncovered temporality as the medium of a subject whose significance is always "on the move" and entails a "sense-history" to grasp it. Thus the defensiveness towards outsiders - especially police - of dockland clubs such as Millwall is explicable in terms of Dockland's tradition of hard-fought unity in the face of adversity. Any sense-history of the traditionalised subject would have to isolate these habitualities. Then it could go on to disregard any sense of their "natural character", in order to trace out

the genesis of their forms "in the actuality of their becoming"; (Husserl, 1948, s.50). The aim of such a sense-history would be to re-capture the original production of sense without uncritically using sedimentations that derive from undisclosed interests and evaluations. In other words, that which is seen as "at stake" in soccer violence - traditional local pride / recognised reputations - cannot be explicated in its own terms. This is because its very weight as an acquired tradition ingrains it as unproblematic and immunises it against reflection. However informative and interesting, such an empirical sense-history would not answer the questions dictated by the whole line of our earlier investigations concerning the possibility conditions of empirical experience. What has emerged is the question of which further essential characteristics MUST be possessed by the subject for whom soccer violence exists as X, Y and Z, that allows access to tradition and "history" in the first place?

In short, we have seen that soccer violence is one decidedly primitive means through which local identity is temporally projected, achieved, reiterated and its originating traditions vindicated. However, its TRUTH lies in KNOWLEDGE OF THE SELF-CONSTITUTION OF THE SUBJECT'S TIME.

5.54: THE SUBJECT OF CONVICTIONS.

What is at stake in soccer matches is not just the result of a game; but the continuation through habitualities of a tradition that houses the very identity of people as fans. The end-points here are the partisan and practically oriented convictions of the subject. This discussion traces out the interrelationship of the subject's convictions, tradition and practice.

We can see an outbreak of soccer violence for the first time and then recall the impression it made upon us. If we carry this out, we see that the original perception was not "wasted" but "lived on", ie. perhaps as a "conviction" about the "state of British football". Such convictions are deepened by later more assured, perceptions of hooliganism as "the same" all too familiar thing. In the earlier section on the grounding of understanding upon pre-understandings, it was seen that in every perception, there appears more than is actually presented "before our eyes" at any game. This is precisely because every incident is not a solitary occurrence isolated in itself, but is always already a theme in its horizon of typical familiarity and precognisance.

It was not possible at that stage to account for this remarkable feature of experienced hooliganism because the habitual character of the perceiving subject was still undisclosed. Now we can say that this horizon of typical familiarity is founded upon the essential structure of subjectivity per se. It amounts to the precipitation of the active bestowal, allotment and receipt by the habitual subject of an already established sense of what soccer violence has come to mean for that person.

However the conviction itself is always capable of being re-awakened and re-activated. It does not essentially require future perceptions of football, violence or anything directly associated with soccer hooliganism to trigger off reactivation. Often though there will be a movement towards recalling past perceptions or towards second-hand reports that have previously "triggered off" fantasies involving being a victim of such violence. In fact, and for essential reasons motivated largely by a will to recognition, football fans are often most keen to discuss past experiences of crowd trouble and their convictions of "what it is really all about". The same interest structure that motivates this discussion also motivates non-

disclosure of experiences which would result in a degree of humiliation and withdrawal of recognition. Such a selective concern also makes the topic "newsworthy" for the popular media. Convictions thus do not ground the subject, rather as an operative system of concern the subject grounds any possible conviction.

In discussions by fans of incidents, their original experience which provide the basis for convictions and their original meaning for the subject presented in it, may become forgotten; yet the resulting conviction itself can still remain "on hand" as a persisting belief for an enduring subject. Again this phenomenon reveals the founded character of such persisting convictions upon the founding structure of the subject. Where the original experience of hooliganism has not been lost, we can turn again to this awakened experience and make it more distinct and clear, perhaps almost "restoring" the incident to its "original state". This possibility endures even if the later confirmation "of what I saw with my own eyes" only occurs in fits and starts. The capacity to reflect upon past experiences in order to reactivate, clarify and make distinct their significance is a vital ability of the subject if its assertions expressing convictions are to be based upon concrete evidence.

However the subject's own convictions are not just directed towards past experience and its reactivation through recollection. Instead, they open up a prospect for its future, a realm of possible experience following well worn and known paths. For example, the popular conviction among northern supporters that London is "the worst place to go to" is not just of "historical interest"; rather it projects the subject into the capital's unpoliced tube system, ambush prone subways and vulnerability in traffic jams surrounded by the the glass windows of a conspicuous coach.

If we contrast this with the experience of regularly watching a team at home, there is an emotional investment placed in the pub where the subject is "reunited" with friends, in the confident walk along familiar roads to the ground and in the nods of recognition from the turnstile operator, lottery ticket and programme sellers. Depending upon motivating interests and concerns, the subject often has a "usual place" inside the ground where others of similar motivations will also regularly stand. The surrounding local world around the ground and the ground itself becomes increasingly "mine" and "ours" through the growth and common display of familiarity; it deeply enters into and permeates the sphere of "my own realm" that institutes

a sense of entrenched belonging through habitual frequentation and committed support.

Through this belonging - founded upon the structure of a "convicted" subject - fans inhabit a subject-related situation recognised as "our world".(8) There is something profoundly reassuring about climbing terracing, worn down over decades by thousands of other supporters, to see the self same pitch from the self-same perspective. Perhaps this makes sense of the fact that immediately prior to the demolition of Bradford Park Avenue's ground, some more elderly supporters went to stand for the last time on "their" part of the terracing - as if to pay their final respects to a slice of their own world, life and significance as a Bradford supporter.

The intersubjective character of this experience stems from shared acts of perception, linguistic expression, anticipation and recollection of soccer violence. These acts are already entangled with common evaluations, beliefs, and convictions concerning what amounted to "right behaviour", "wrong, but understandable", "incomprehensible madness" etc. Here, the subject's motivations are shared, followed or contradicted by other fans who in turn, recognise this subject as "another supporter".

These others look upon the subject's expressed convictions and those experiences which are re-activated to "support" them, with varying degrees of tolerance, accommodation, indifference, disagreement and downright hostility. Certainly the greater the depth of past familiarity with the activities of the club and its fans, the greater the degree of POSSIBLE recognition given to any convictions that are expressed. This is implicitly understood so that some speakers actually preface their convictions with phrases such as "In over fifty years of following this club, these are the worst set of fans we've ever had". This particular conviction was expressed to me by an elderly couple at Slough Town in 1982 during a pitch invasion by Millwall supporters and assaults on rival Chelsea, Slough and West Ham fans.

Equally however, it is implicitly recognised that because convictions are founded upon prior experiences - themselves founded upon past pre-understandings and concerns - the conviction can be judged "irrelevant to modern times". Here the speaker's authority can be written off as "the mumblings of an old fool". Those youths and young men who are engaged in the process of gaining recognition for themselves through soccer violence thus have an interest in such a dismissal. At the same time, they themselves show a concern to resist any

effort to have their own convictions written off in the same way by still younger fans.

Perversely, these "youngsters" are often kept in their place through being cold shouldered by their more experienced elders.

Because we have convictions as persisting properties of ourselves, any alteration in them by supporters or other concerned parties, amounts to a change in one aspect of their total personality. Convictions thus determine the "position" of the subject in relation to this or that incident of violence which it experiences. Only if the supporter or journalist ALREADY HAS THE CONVICTION that some violence against the police can be justifiable following "gross provocation", CAN any incident be seen as "regrettable, but provoked by over zealous policing".(9)

The underground force of convictions upon perceived hooliganism is such that we often feel able to say WHAT FANS ARE through reference to their convictions, ie. "loyal", "chauvinist", "racist" etc. These ideas concerning Millwall supporters' distinctive group personality and character were those of an ardent feminist who lives in East London. They not only refer to this field of their perceived convictions - through their chanting and reported activities - but also point back to her own convictions for which "racism" and "male chauvinism" are "real issues". Her comments on my research present the outcomes of her feminist convictions, the convictions themselves and the motivated interest to display these and present herself as "a feminist critic of chauvinist culture". For her though, there simply WERE "obviously chauvinist supporters", such is the strength of the natural attitude even upon self-styled "radicals".

Convictions therefore shape both the process of perceiving soccer crowds by singling out certain activities as "issues" motivating expressed judgments and calls for "practical action", and secondly, the events which are perceived as "misbehaviour". These calls for practical action frequently demand long prison sentences, reintroduction of national service and so on; (see S.4 above).

Because the subject's integrity is at stake, the expression of alternative convictions are of some concern. They can generate irritation, an experienced threat to its founding tradition of past experiences, open verbal conflict and the need for the resolution of these through change in convictions by the other party. Behind this seems to be an interest in the

ENDURING INTEGRITY of the subject, both in the sense of maintaining a unified and consistent self over time, and also a degree of authenticity and truth. The total breakdown of this "self preservation" can result in the lucid, disturbing dis-orientation, which psychiatry still perceives as "schizophrenia".

Often changes in position may only occur after great resistance from the "weight" and "drag" on the subject exerted by already established convictions. This resistance cannot be condemned as purely "negative"; it is the concrete that holds together traditions of pre-understanding, the basis of club loyalty, plans for practical action geared towards the familiar aspects of home and visiting crowds and all friendships existing within them. Although changes in convictions of both violent soccer fans, other supporters, club officials, the police and the wider society may be the outcome of considerable internal and external struggles, for essential reasons their possibility can never be ruled out altogether.

Both perceptual habitualities and convictions concerning soccer violence, do not appear as purely abstract and theoretical forms of life. Instead, they address the practical world of our material, instinctive, biological and social needs. They focus upon our dealings in and with our surrounding local world. Through these we reproduce our distinctive local form of life. The focus of our dealings - precautions when travelling away from home, the avoidance of identifying scarfs, non-attendance at certain "risky games" and so on - do not themselves "cause" the concern of fans, any more than an unlocked door by itself causes burglary. Here we may feel a strong force of motivation, but this is not a cause in the sense of a mechanical cause which operates irrespective of human will or purpose. The target of our practical dealings nevertheless casts further light on the system of concerns, interests and practical comportment of that subject.

Such dealings do not settle upon just one item, event or series of events but are geared towards a specific practical context that is already discovered. The successful attack on a high status group of rival fans realises a signification that has already been achieved by a wider sub-culture of violence. The shoplifting of expensive Italian sportswear by some Liverpool fans in London's Soho area, achieves a status that has already been predefined. Our dealings then are geared towards a gradated totality of usable items and achievements whose usability has already appeared, and which disclose the extent of the subjects practical

involvements.

This disclosure of involvement by reflection upon convictions is grounded not only in perception, but in all intentional acts and combination of acts, ie. anticipated desire, desired anticipations, imagined willing, judgements about imagined confrontations. Here, imagination is especially involved in the presentation of the stages of a future shoplifting or fighting project based on the imagined scene of its successful result. This appears "as if" it was real.

Another aspect of temporality is involved, that of forgetting previous concerns and anticipations and thereby "throwing oneself" into this involvement, and away from introspection. Yet this throwing of oneself away from the present self, is at the same time a throwing towards its possibilities and projected concerns. Time also appears when the awaiting and retaining of practical involvement are "surprised" by say, the failure of a planned ambush due to some "unforeseen event" such as a football special being delayed, or by the dropping of the project and resignation to the current frustrating situation. Here, the intentionality of perceived hooliganism has itself disclosed its grounding in time.

The appearance of the delayed train to those inside, shows that our involvement with it is characterised by an awaiting and a retaining "in mind" of this ambush. It is only through the unity of awaiting, present and retention, ie. a retention that awaits, that the "usability" of perceived objects such as trains, bottles, Stanley-knives and so on, shows itself. Absorption of a practical subject in such an object is equally absorbed into the CONTEXT of that object, ie. the total ambush scenario. Involvement "into" sport by my criminological research is at the same time involvement in and with these worlds. Even academic life is therefore oriented by the practical and involved concerns of its members. This applies whatever the attitude adopted to the worlds of academic research or football, ie. "radical criticism" as much as the most entrenched conservatism. In becoming aware of the operation of convictions within perceived hooliganism, their very presence to the perceiving subject PRESENTS TIME AS THE MEDIUM OF THAT SUBJECT, OF OTHERS WHO ARE SIGNIFICANT AND THEIR DISCLOSURE THROUGH SELF-CONSCIOUS REFLECTION AS MEMBERS OF THE COMMON WORLD OF FOOTBALL.

3.55: THE SOCIAL SUBJECT.

The social character of the embodied and concerned subject to whom soccer violence appears has yet to be unfolded. A number of questions emerge at both constituted and constituting levels of football culture. In what sense is experienced soccer violence essentially an already social experience? How does the relation to a group of other fans, who can exchange their experiences of hooliganism, enter into the social determination of its significance for them? How is its "objectivity" as "real", "terrifying" and so on achieved? Is it possible to broadly and systematically explore in individual perception the communal formation processes of the phenomenon as a "day out with the lads", as "a social problem", etc? If so, how in each supporter's embodied perceptual awareness, do certain others take shape as being "one of us", existing for and within the "same" world of football that I experience as "my world to?".

At one extreme, specific acts of perception present myself as an "active agent" for this presentation of hooliganism, and at the other, a "passive site" for its appearance. Examination right across this whole range, reveals that nothing in what I experience shows that I alone monopolise this experience, or that I have personally invented its meaning-content. Instead, my ability to articulate and communicate in and through language, what I have seen, felt and heard, discloses the learned, already-shared and social character of the phenomenon. I experience myself as already participating in the intersubjective construction of "what really happened" at that game. As a participant I appear as one of many SITES through which cultures of soccer violence, football and the all embracing wider cultural mediations achieve their meaningful existence. Through participation in this "social construction", I can also retain a sense of seeing and hearing about the "same" pre-given incidents as other perceiving, listening and reading subjects.

Furthermore, even with imaginative variation of ANY POSSIBLE experience of ANY subject, it still reveals itself to be "with-others" in a shared social world. I experience hooliganism as an already-started, articulated and available cultural meaning, name and significance. My articulation can always draw upon this "deposit" to almost automatically see and confirm the phenomenon as "mindless", "moronic", "sickening" and an "international disgrace".

Within the confines of my co-perception, and prior to any confrontation occurring, I

perceive as already socially signified, the following: The media "build up" to both possible footballing and terrace confrontations, the team news, which "firms" of supporters have said they are going to attend, where and for what purpose, the actual trip to the game, the police "welcome" at tube or railway stations, my effort to meet up with friends at pre-arranged locations and the queue outside the turnstiles - in short, everything whatsoever connected with the game.

Through membership of a group of football supporters, I identify myself in an already established way with a certain pre-defined area and achieve a definite identity. Such identity appears to be increasingly at risk through changes in the local economy, steady erosion of traditional habits concerning "the weekend" and the "appropriate places" of married men and women within it. What is more, I experience the "weight" and "depth" of such meanings as themselves already intersubjective prior to any reflection of mine that sees them as such.

Within this intersubjective sphere are also found many institutional elements constituted on the basis of definite practical orientations. These include the power of the police, underscored by the counter violence of truncheons, police dogs and horses, to segregate, search and direct our bodies. Here, I am implicitly aware of soccer violence as a fertile ground for "law and order" rhetorics aimed at capturing and using this state power for definite social interests, concerns and practical ends. The outcome of such seizure could well be a tougher sentencing policy over "violent crime" and possibly the creation of a distinct offence of "football hooliganism" to supersede the use of the 1936 Public Order Act.(10) Also perceived is the way in which actual and threatened violence between players usually - but not always - manages to avoid being seen and acted against as "hooliganism", while the same or lesser crowd behaviour, ie. simple v-signs and "obscenity" is so determined.

The police, courts and media also appear as institutional REGIONS OF INTERPRETATION which will generate definitive and overpowering determinations of "what really happened". At any game I know that I could be processed according to a system of rules which sustain these institutions' own cultural reproduction. I also perceive the club itself as a concrete cultural organisation - a focal point for certain local tradition, customs, identity, pride and possible disgrace. I am also conscious of the dependency of my "own" club and others upon commercial sponsorship to stay afloat at all, and the consequent devaluation of the game into

➤ mass advertising and media spectacle.

At the level of lived experience, these institutional and collective moments are implicitly understood as "hard realities" that determine the social life in and around the game of football. These higher order entities can be described in the way in which they appear according to their fundamental types and in their proper order of cultural assembly and formation; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.152).

The significance of crowd trouble is therefore determined by institutional processes operating far beyond its immediate setting. Resulting determinations are then presented as "news of general concern". Even first-hand accounts, based on my own perceptions and perceptual judgements, are projected as subjective appearances of an already intersubjective reality. They are both selectively presented and interpreted by any audience.

Because I already know from past social dealings that different concerns and orientations shape perception, I cannot be sure that others see incidents the same way as I do. I implicitly understand that for those who sought the confrontation, it is seen as the "highlight of a day out", whereas both their actual and possible targets might well be having their worst fears realised. Yet I still experience others as engaged in an interpretive process to make sense out of "what is really happening". I also experience other supporters as themselves experiencing in the self-same interpretive way that I see them - as "another supporter", as "potential victim", "onlooker" etc.

At the prior CONSTITUTING LEVEL, the subject is not just the ego of an individual; but the ego in whose stream of consciousness, both the constituted social and material world of football first acquires the sense in and through which they exist for that subject. This includes the same subject constituted as an embodied material object dwelling within it. I CAN ONLY DETERMINE MYSELF AS ALREADY SOCIALLY CONSTITUTED THROUGH REFLECTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THIS CONSTITUTING FLOW OF CONSCIOUSNESS.

Evidence of both levels need not be harmonious and, by virtue of the essentially competitive nature of hooliganism, rarely is. I have never heard accounts about confrontations from both groups of fans that even roughly agreed with one another concerning numbers, weapons, order of events and the significance of the outcome. Deliberate lies, contradictions, conflicts of interpretation, misunderstanding and breaches of agreement

between understandings are just as much aspects of this experience as their opposites. Unresolved conflicts of evidence, devaluings, the flow from accepted wisdom concerning "what really happened" to discounted myth, are all indispensable topics for a study of this sub-culture; (cf. Husserl, 1913/31, s.151). It is only as AN OUTCOME OF THIS CONSTANT CONSTITUTING PROCESS THAT FULLY ACCOUNTS FOR WHY I DO NOT EXPERIENCE THE INCIDENT AS PURELY MY OWN BUT AS AN INTERSUBJECTIVE EVENT WHOSE SIGNIFICANCE IS ALREADY CULTURALLY PRESCRIBED.

Thus the "objectivity" of perceived hooliganism itself is contemporaneous with intersubjectivity as a constructed unity of a higher order. The wider intersubjective world of culture, into which soccer violence makes its dramatic front page impact, corresponds to a distinctly collective experience. This constituted intersubjectivity is related to:

"An indefinite plurality of subjects that stand in a permanent relation of actual or possible mutual understanding"; (Husserl, 1933/77, s.56).

Constitution is constantly mediated through actual or possible "empathy". By empathy the "I"-pole of hooliganism is indirectly multiplied, within the witness' ego, with certain confrontations. These confrontations are reflections and residues of other subjects with their own "I"-poles. The "I" is not merely the pole of fleeting perceptions of sights, sound and touch which merely come and go. Instead, and as we have already shown in section 54, every perspective upon an incident leaves a residue in the "I", a tentative CONVICTION.

Evidence for the social character of the subject that perceives soccer violence begins in its most concrete form with the experience of other fans' bodies. These appear as bodies that are physically "there" like any other object for any onlooker to perceive. Along with one-way streets and police barriers, I experience other supporters' bodies as "obstacles" hindering my journey to the game. On the other hand, upon recognition the "person" of that body is no longer "there" for my consciousness as a merely physical object whose significance derives from my concern for getting to ^{the} game on time.

Already it has been shown that we experience other fans as both consciously real in their conjunction with physical nature, and as interlaced into ONE UNIFIED WHOLE with nature. When I analyse my perceptual presentation of other fans also witnessing a crowd confrontation, I

find it impossible to trace a dividing line between other supporters as "persons" and their surrounding physical and biological nature. Furthermore, I experience other witnesses in a unique manner not only as spatial presentations but as living and conscious persons also perceiving the self-same crowd trouble which I perceive. Hence the person who animates the perceived body as "a fellow supporter" and as "an old friend", is exhibited only INDIRECTLY by his directly perceived body.

Such unity is continually constituted in my own perceptual consciousness of him on the basis of a "pairing". By means of resemblance, the localisation of my specific "personality" in an inhabited body that I perceive in and around myself, is carried over to other perceived analagous bodies. The indirect presence of another supporter's personality has its original reference in the grasp of MYSELF as a unity of the subjective and objective, the "person" and body-object. ONLY AS A RESULT can I recognise my friend not as a mobile physical thing, but as an "owned" body, already equipped with a distinctive subjectivity. If I watch him being crushed up against a wall as a result of police "crowd control" I can shudder in pain which I "by proxy" feel. The crushing of a police barrier under the weight of the crowd would be an experience of a quite different kind.

This process of transfer has come to be so extensive that, step by step, I have learned to co-ordinate or "pair" the "personality" of the other supporter with that of a certain perceived body. This amounts to an "appresented", ie. indirectly presented, localisation of the person. Such localisation is lived-through by the perceiver on the level of tactile and affective processes so that I am "drawn towards" supporters I can "identify with". I realise that they sense and think in much the same way as I do. I perceive that their bodies too, are "psychic fields" just as mine is a field of sensations.

The range of this transfer action is not limited to recognition between friends - it is potentially boundless. All co-presence and being-together in a crowd is transmitted through empathy. The arms that I now see resting on crowd barriers "appresents" to my consciousness the effect of limited security, rest, physical support and all I associate with such physical contact. On the basis of this indirect empathetic experience, I suddenly feel uncomfortable and need something to rest my body up against.

From this perceived arm and a thousand and one other such empathetic experiences gained

while standing together in a football crowd, a whole shared world is born. A world that I can only become indirectly and progressively aware of through various signs. Bit by bit, a whole grammar of common expressions giving voice to shared identifications, rivalries, pre-understandings about various players, teams and sets of supporters are formed. These are confirmed in the language of football chants. To understand these signs is to understand those around me as other supporters like myself; (Husserl, 1952, 168). As a result one can get "swept away" with that crowd and see those around one undergoing the same processes. A kind of group identity takes over that almost automatically responds to rival supporters' chants and actions.

The first consequence of empathic identification with others is its return effect upon individual experience. I come to learn about myself through experiencing empathetically my fellow supporter's pain from his bruised rib-cage. I grasp that I too could directly suffer in his situation and he could then suffer empathetically or rejoice that it has now happened to someone else. Also I learn how to effect changes in others, eg. to make them apologise by pointedly displaying my pain as someone clumsily places their weight upon it.

A second consequence is that by sharing in the manner in which others perceive the game, I place myself outside myself by "projection". I succeed in objectifying my own body so that I implicitly know how to "appear cool" when finding myself surrounded by opposing supporters. I anticipate its aspect for them. I can then see physical characteristics like facial scars as "repugnant" in other supporters, picture their presence on myself and experience self-disgust. This transfer is only possible by seeing myself at a psychic distance with that characteristic. (Our widespread fascination with mirrors is only symptomatic).

From perceiving another supporter's face in his specific situation, I represent my own face as scarred situated "over there" for "any onlooker". At this moment everyone, including me, is pictured to be "outside". Here I "objectify" my appearance, manner and image. I then come to see myself as I imagine others would. In this position I am at two extreme poles; as body-object, the object of "anyone's" stare, and also as a member of the culture which sustains "repugnancy" as the meaning of scarred faces.

So far the subject of soccer violence has presented itself as an always already social being who shares a pre-given web of pre-understandings with other participants in the continual collective and institutional elaboration of a distinctive social world. The objectivity of any subject's experience is founded upon this constituting intersubjectivity; while the presence of friends, rivals and strangers is constituted through empathic identification founded upon "pairing" of bodies with persons. Self-understanding and self-objectification are the consequences of this identification. However this explication has been from the perspective of an individual's relatedness to his or her culture. What is now required is an analysis of football's "surrounding world which unfolds the following: Its essential character AS a cultural world, the role of members in reproducing it through their motivated vindication of this world's pre-understandings, its necessary elements that determine the character of any adequate analysis of it, this world's determining principles and relationship with material nature.

Football has a definite cultural significance and - for those who are motivated to see their world through its interpretive schema - the world of soccer has a violent significance. As Husserl notes:

"No ego can become a person in the normal sense for itself and for the other, a person banded together with other persons, unless understanding should institute a relation to a common surrounding world"; (1952, p.191).

However, for those who do not, hooliganism is by no means the paramount or absolute reality; it appears as just one interpretive schema among many. Football matches are experienced with all the aesthetic, artistic and sporting qualities that hooliganism brackets off. It can be valued, judged, or simply appreciated as it appears through purely footballing concerns. From this perspective, soccer violence is simply extrinsic to the nature of the game, meaningless, moronic and to be deplored.

The cultural realm in which the subject's concern and interests are located and to which they are directed, is thus a subject-related world. It surrounds the subjects that it relates to and which relate to it through interests, valuations, aspirations, concerns and practical

compartments. Through this relating, entities are created with certain cultural meanings for those who attend to and take seriously the particular sub-order of reality which is constantly reiterated as "the world of football". The subject-relatedness of this sub-order is an interpersonal one within a common surrounding world of shared significations of sport, the accomplishment of local identity and pride through football, assertive and combative masculinity, recognition of glories etc. It is founded upon the single fact of a mutuality of subjectivities and their always, already social character.

These various and overlapping cultural worlds are always, already social objects, solidly pre-defined for an individual supporter or member of a "firm". Continued membership requires strict obedience to the "laws of compossibility" for that world. As a result effeminacy, cowardice, being a tee-totaller etc. would not square with the prevailing current sense of what amounts to a "useful member of a firm". These particular valuations that are actively elaborated by motivated firms, are partial accounts of the generation of our cultural world as a whole.

In this sub-cultural realm, all violent confrontations - even those between rival supporters of distant or foreign teams - are meaningful in a double sense; they are only accessible upon the basis of the prior projection of what soccer violence essentially means as this and not that, ie. positive and negatively determined. There is also a second sense in which intersubjective meaning is involved in this realm exclusively. Events and actions are pre-understood by the members as meaning this and not that, so that action is always already oriented to this pre-understanding; where following a team and fighting other supporters are cultural activities of a certain order, so supporters deal with and interact upon this basis. This characteristic is distinctive to the cultural aspect of this sub-order. Presumably this is different from the violence understood and projected for natural science in terms of lead levels in the blood whose molecules do not mean anything to one another and whose interaction upon each other is meaningless to them as they have no consciousness or pre-understanding.

Analysis of the social world cannot be content with a simple (and potentially endless) description of the sense made of these worlds from within. It ^{must to} go on ^{to} EXPLAIN their emergence, modification and disappearance through disclosure of the temporal conditions of possibility of these appearances. Therefore both the conscious motivations and pre-understandings of the

members must be faithfully re-constructed in their DEVELOPMENTAL LOGIC along with those that consistently appear to the observer but not the members themselves. Temporal laws of compossibility lay down the historical conditions of possibility for the reproduction of a social world AS THIS WORLD AND NOT THAT - as soccer violence and not just passive support. The explication of these laws are hardly everyday concerns of the members of the culture in which they operate. Nonetheless it is only on their basis that members can understand themselves as such in their being and acting with other members and "outsiders" within multiple and developing life-worlds.

Motivation is the fundamental law that directs both the original projection and communal elaboration of this world as that of "football", "support" and "violence", and the pre-understandings that underlie the network of meaningful exchanges and interactions within them.

The cultural world of hooliganism is certainly materially embodied in a material world, but not as a thing as it is only localised, but not extended in space. Without doubt, at a football match the motions of my body in its pushing, pulling and lifting take place in space. However the being at my disposal and command of my hands, mouth, eyes etc., their ACTING upon commands are not themselves motions of merely material things in space. The localisation here is only INDIRECT through the incorporation of my body organs in a definite spatial position. This indirectness of localisation in space applies equally to the localisation of the world of hooliganism in "objective time", ie. the time built up through the interweaving of intersubjective objectifying determinations of time. The culture of violence merely partakes of spatio-temporal localisation by virtues of its being always already an inhabitant of a supporter's situated body.

Within the wider elaboration of hooligan sub-culture, the place of an individual member is double edged; at one extreme "the individual" who is held legally and morally responsible for "misbehaviour" in and around football grounds, appears only through the acts of social individualisation following the dictates of a specific historical doctrine of "Individualism". At the other extreme, "Society as a whole" itself becomes what it is through supporters' practical elaboration/projection of their lives and the senses they make out of these elaborations. At this pole, the world of established culture is perceived in an originary manner only by me. No one else can have my experience of it for me. The SITE for my analysis

of hooligan sub-culture can only be MY consciousness. It is still I as this unique individual, who has the task of constituting it in the complex exchanges of intersubjectivity and of finally subordinating it to my own unique ordinary consciousness. Yet WHAT and HOW it appears to me to be, already presents itself as a "gift" from the intersubjective stock of constituted meanings of "sport", "football", "violence" etc.

This applies to the very terms and language in and through which I understand myself to be a "unique individual". I appear to myself as always already intersubjective through intersubjective manners of appearing. Thus, on the one hand there is the projection of established meanings through intersubjectivity; and on the other, the flowing of individual and group perceptions, interpretations and actions in and around football matches back into culture. As a result only the idea of intersubjectivity as BOTH constituted and constituting seems adequate to this two-way temporal process.

The level of projection and interaction are not discrete levels but interact so that projection works through the network of exchanges in its constitution of a surrounding world of communication. This can be seen at work through face to face conversations between members of gangs and between gangs themselves. Through their mutual understandings and motivations, members come to understand the "same" world of soccer violence and their own, often conflicting, places within its hierarchy. The example of a member being expelled from a gang illustrates this. He is the one who is summoned to appear before the others, to explain why he let the others down when they needed all the help they could get, to answer questions put by the other members who are mutually understood to be the ones to whom he must account. Both "deviant" and "normal members" appear to understand themselves in these terms. Both know what these terms mean concerning power and authority within the gang. Their resulting body postures, tones of voice, seating arrangements, sequence of conversation, interruptions, explicit statements and expressed intentions all work to reinstate and mutually confirm these pre-understandings. This holds good even if the member finally tells them to "stuff their gang" as he leaves "their" pub. Through a thousand and one such "trivial" interchanges, the "world of hooliganism" is re-made and its internal relations of power, status and credibility re-produced.

Becoming appears as the primary determinant within the intersubjective realm with change in

strategies, dress and forms of fighting. In fact consistent change is the only constant, with today's headline news tomorrow's "contemporary history", with songs, ideas and convictions going out of fashion before many more provincial supporters have realised they were ever in fashion. These ever shifting layers of hooliganism's significance are constantly remodelled by the exemplifications of the essential historical nature of intersubjective dwelling in the social world.

Hooligan culture like that of footballing and the wider culture that embraces both, is not self-sufficient. Instead, to remain the way it is this culture requires expression and re-making, through the indispensable vehicle of human passion, will to power and recognition, rationality and consciousness. Yet it is not reducible to any specific and finite cultural forms of "sport", "violence", "combative masculinity" etc. as it underlies their very formation process. No particular culture or sub-culture has intersubjectivity as its plaything, but only comes to its own essential meaning through comprehending itself in critical reflection, in rational categories, as part of a larger whole that includes physical nature.

S.56: THE SUBJECT OF TIME.

So far the phenomenon of hooliganism has shown itself to involve the animation of sensations by a meaning-content which includes certain predicate senses derived from a living tradition of pre-understandings. The animated sensations of violence appear in "clock time", while the process of their animation take place within "immanent" time. Within perception, animation of both individual and collective entities is a temporal process of definite duration and magnitude founded upon a "now-structure". This "now-structure" is also oriented towards FUTURE EXPLICATION of hooliganism - with its presently implicit horizon of meanings - and the fulfilment of its possibilities. However in order to deepen our account, further analysis of experienced hooliganism's temporality was then left in favour of a structural examination of the subject in its shaping of experienced crowd violence. This led this investigation to consider the founding level of the embodied, habitual, 'convicted' and social subject for whom hooliganism and its temporal structure intelligibly exist. Yet how can this subject of hooliganism gain access to the temporality of experience WITHOUT ITSELF being a temporal being that "moves through" time? How can any purely STATIC analysis of the subject now be sustained? The aims of this section are as follows:

1. To examine those questions which present themselves once the temporal structure of the perceiving subject is uncovered.
2. To show that like experienced hooliganism itself, our self-identity as the subject who perceives it, derives from a synthesis within a flowing temporal stream of experience.
3. To uncover time as the ground for the subject's interests, concerns and practical compartments towards the social world of football.
4. To disclose that the time utilised by fans' practical compartments is strictly finite, and that finitude provides a horizon for all supporters' orientations.
5. To show at the intersubjective level, that empathetic identification with other supporters is grounded upon access to our past. This access occurs within the present and only by an association of a particular present experience with one of the subject's past.

Concerning the first point: What must be the temporal structure of a subject that is able to gain access and grasp the temporality of its own anticipations, recollections and perceptions of soccer violence, and perform reflective acts of SELF-comprehension? Is it even accurate to talk of "the subject" of perceived hooliganism, as distinct from temporal / temporalising intersubjectivity and its resulting world of football culture, language, work, social interaction, power and conflict? Can any consciousness of temporality avoid being merely the plaything of time itself? If not, then WHAT DIFFERENCE, if any, does this self-consciousness of the time of the subject make to our lives as temporal subjects?

Systematic unfolding of experienced hooliganism seems to have placed our inquiries into a minefield of questions whose very formulation has only now become possible. This inquiry will begin with the temporality of the perceiving subject, and only then go on to unfold intersubjective temporality. No prior commitment to methodological "individualism" is implied in this methodological starting point. We begin with first-hand experience of being a fan simply because other people cannot have, explicate or reflect upon our experience of ourselves as the temporal subject of soccer violence in the same direct way that we can. This priority applies both to the social aspect of football crowds we experience, and the social character of their confrontations being apperceived as "hooliganism".

Contrary to commonsense, the subject's self-identity is far from being a uniform span between life and death. Instead, it is always life as lived through the immediate now of a present situation. Within the common sense of the natural attitude, self-consciousness of acts is barely a possibility - typically we merely "live" in our acts; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.37). While the hooliganism that is experienced appears at one pole of consciousness, the experiencing subject appears at the other. What is left over following the suspension of the natural attitude, is the experienced world of soccer crowds only as they appear to the conscious subject who performs this suspension.

After suspension, what we experience is treated only as a phenomena, and this includes our taken for granted selves as perceivers. Here, the subject can only call itself "I" with a necessary equivocation. While this subject can never lose its unique character for us as that which perceives and reflects, it does still lose its contingent factual characteristics, interests and evaluations.

All incidents that present themselves directly as more of the "same" crowd trouble, can also allow for self-reflection upon the synthesis of the identical subject which endures as HAVING that experience as its own. However as the subjective terminus of all experienced hooliganism, we are not ourselves a lived experience found in this stream as a real moment. Rather the subject is:

"The unity of immanent time with which it constitutes itself... the identity of immanent time"; (Husserl, 1952, p.102).

All my lived experiences of football and crowd violence are related to me, as the same "I". I who now perceive a match appears as the same "I" who recalls this perception and which appears in this recall as the "I" who HAS PERCEIVED the game in the past. I can recognise their absolute identity in reflection. As supporters we appear to ourselves as active beings who, in relation to the game, feel sensuously, interpret perceptions, distinguish, generalise, express desires, will the team on, form new ideas, reflect on the pattern of play, judge performances and argue with other fans' judgements about the team's play.

At the same time, the game causes us to endure tension, pain, despair and suffer from hopes and passions for glory that forever overstep their present achievements. We strive towards goals of local and national supremacy set by local rivalries, and motivated as much by warlike instincts as rational reflection. Inevitably we are condemned to respond to both the game and the effect it has upon us. Even if we consider just one episode in a game - the award and taking of a penalty - our involvement necessarily appears as a TEMPORAL STREAMING, as constantly changing, rising up and falling away again.

The future and the past embed themselves in the present experience of supporters. Every shout, chant, groan and clap directed at the game or rival fans beginning here and now, sinks further back to deeper and deeper levels of retained experience. This moves on from what has "just been" to something "once happened". Past and future do not lean exclusively upon our immediate present as if it were a crutch, but they can occur meaningfully only in a subject THAT IS ITSELF A TEMPORAL BEING. We can never appear to ourselves as past because the past does not appear as such, but as having been there. As supporters our past is not past in the

sense of something dead and buried, but is rather derivation from such a past. It is a tradition which we help recreate through habitual activities and inactivities, and one which determines the general outlines of the future inside the present. Living tradition means a CONTEXT OF EVENTS AND EFFECTS WHICH DRAWS ON OUR PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE. When taken up and lived, fans' traditions of support disclose our current possibilities taken over from an inherited tradition of local identification.

Past experiences of oneself supporting a team are no longer "real", nor are those still to come. Yet both birth, death and all that is in between, have presence for us through the present, as the target for our concerns and practical comportments towards our surrounding world. The subject is not just BETWEEN life and death but IS this between, the site from which their distance is measured. The subject "hops" between these successive nows and through their sequence. In spite of the constant changing in fans' experiences through childhood, adolescence and adulthood, there endures not just a disconnected series of phases but a sense of continuing self. Therefore differences can appear not just as the sum of fleeting realities that come along successively and disappear; but as different phases of SOMETHING WHICH KEEPS ITS IDENTITY THROUGHOUT ALL OF THEM. As "the same" fan we therefore appear as a continuous achievement necessarily performed in and through time.

Fans' self-identity occurs through a synthesis which pervades the temporal streaming of lived experience and which provides a pole of identity from which everything else is "objective". The subject is essentially stretched and stretching along in time regardless of the distinct way it "occupies" this stretch; a way which necessarily PRECEDES any use of clocks to measure and quantify this time. Persisting identity is therefore only thinkable as the TEMPORALISING OF TIME; the distinctive life-form for all human subjectivity.

The subject of hooliganism is concerned with itself, its public image, ideas and view of itself. This applies whether these centre around either a selfless, law abiding and lifelong devotion to one club, or their opposites. Both require a continuous form of "maintenance". If not the desired "image" and public presentation may not be kept up. Only on this basis CAN the activities of English fans abroad be seen as a "disgrace to us all". We necessarily reckon with and regulate ourselves through the time that we "have" and "use up". This reckoning allows access to hire vans, match tickets etc. as the focus for our various projects

and on which we allocate our time.

Allocation of time occurs selectively on the basis of established concerns. Some possible activities are "ruled out" because we do not "have" the time. Through reflection upon this hierarchy of time-allocation, the subject can become aware of its specific valuations and priorities. The valued activities are also encountered within time as are the priorities themselves. Remarkably such everyday reckoning does not require an explicit grasp of what time is. Time thus appears as the meaning of supporters' interests - as a frame of reference and horizon for projects which reveal the temporal phases of past, present and future. The internal horizon of the now is the "today". In relation to an immediate now, the concern for time takes the form of planning, taking precautions, preventing, anticipating, pre-empting, catching up, awaiting, retaining and forgetting. Only on the basis of this now-structure we can talk of Manchester United fans' "recent violent past" and refer to hopes for "later on", for example.

We are subjects of strictly limited time who take the world of football that originally took shape for us as a norm to judge "new-fangled developments" such as widespread gamesmanship, "live" coverage of specially arranged Friday evening games, shirt advertising and so on. The bench-mark here is "what happened in my day".

There is thus a SHORTAGE OF TIME for young fans to make an impression in a world still "taking shape" for them. Even without help from rival fans we head towards our deaths with varying degrees of acceptance and oblivion. Impending death appears in my concern to avoid "wasting time", to do "appropriate things" for my age. We define supporters by their closeness to death, ie. "senior citizens" are closer to death than fans who are "middle aged" and therefore at "half-time" in their life span. A violent death of a young fan at home and abroad is judged "especially tragic" as "he had his whole life ahead of him". Presumably the degree of tragedy decreases the older the fan is. Lifelong support is defined by death. Death thus completes and haunts our existence like the final whistle completes a game that has always been played out in its shadow. It provides an immediate horizon for all support by fans and a wider horizon in which to "use up" time in working and leisure activities. Even the flimsy match programmes read and collected by supporters can acquire a permanent significance for later generations that was not present for the games' immediate audience.

Both the finitude of fans present situations and progress towards death bring home its limited span of time.

The subject's temporality also presents itself when we consider our experience of identifying with and "helping out" other supporters we see as "one of us". To grasp this, we need to draw upon our past experiences of ourselves and others in order to be able to honestly say to a victim of soccer violence: "I know how you must feel". In this drawing upon our history, we appear as enduring through our pasts and capable of placing ourselves at a certain distance from the present. We can therefore "call up" another "I" as present along with the "I" doing this recollection. This empathising with another is only possible because of our previous act of associating another supporter's plight with one of our own.

Association is not however bound by any strict sequence of clock-time. It is as if the whole of our past has to be scrutinised in the order in which previous incidents occurred - like the rewinding of a recording on a tape. Association is experienced when one place, name or comment involuntarily "triggers off" a connection. It is a mode of PASSIVE SYNTHESIS based upon the lowest synthesis of time-consciousness where there is no appearance of any creativity and free willing; (Husserl, 1948, s.42). In fact, we can witness ourselves as being prone to associations we would far rather avoid, eg. when the mention of a place evokes a past humiliation involving a team or set of fans we would prefer to forget about.

This does not mean that choice in association is impossible. We can and do realise a desire to recall the details of past successes in their precise order of occurrence, due to an association made by seeing a present game. At first, only "highlights" may appear and these without any order of succession. We then have to actively strive for a complete and correctly ordered recollection until this finally takes shape. Our conscious activity here can link the appropriate details by recalling whole passages. From these memories, associations can be deliberately launched which make vivid the connections of past incidents to our present intuition.

Yet even this deliberate striving is only possible on the basis of an associative awakening that has already passively taken place. Associative connection is based on such incidents and links being CONSTITUTED IN ONE TIME-CONSCIOUSNESS. Association therefore brings past and present together into a unity relative to present consciousness. This unity allows us - the

subject of time - to determine their temporal order.

We maintain ourselves for ourselves and for others by reckoning with the strictly finite time we have as our own. This reckoning involves a selective drawing upon our lived-tradition through a largely passive association of one city, team and supporters with others. Time is thus the medium for both the subject and for the appearance of the subject to itself. However the possibility conditions of all this - the essentially projecting, enpresenting and drawing upon character of the subject - remain opaque.

The completed picture of the club we follow and its other supporters is disrupted and broken up by our flowing subjectivity. It unsettles this established picture by introducing into its present state of affairs the phenomenon of perspective and negation. This work of negation occurs when subjectivity projects a blueprint for the future of the club, team and supporters. In projection, the disruption appears to concerned parties as if it was already happening.

Earlier in our account we saw that on the basis of being-temporal, a subject can be "taken back in time" and reminisce, perhaps about "how the game used to be played in my day when it was safe to take the children to a game of football". This "backward movement" in immanent time allows supporters to be able to say: "I can see it now". Then the subject can happily ignore the selectivity of all recollection and go on to use the recalled past as a benchmark from which to confidently pass judgements on "the decline in the game as a spectator sport". Regardless of WHAT changes in the present arrangements are projected forwards, or WHICH aspects of the present are damned by contrast to the game that originally took shape for that subject, football's PRESENCE already contains aspects that DISOWN its present state.

To understand how this is possible it is necessary to re-examine the temporal streaming of the subject's presence to itself. During a game we become one with our commitments - a oneness which endues through a flowing stream of changing tensions, anxieties and so on. The temporality of the streaming consciousness of the subject holds together the fixed form of an ever-new-now. This is always flowing away from the "just coming", on the basis of the streaming away of the "just past"; (Husserl, 1925/77, s.24). In this flow, irrespective of the specific contents that disrupt the settled character of football crowds, THEY REMAIN SUBORDINATE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE FLOWING ITSELF.

Anticipation of our future situation as supporters either in a higher league or a cup draw

against a top club provides the material for PRESENT concerns. As a display of bravado football fans chant: "We want X-team in the cup". For Millwall this would be West Ham or Chelsea, for Leeds fans this would be Manchester United or Chelsea. Sentiments to this effect were expressed at the 1982 Millwall v Portsmouth game. Such gleeful projection of future confrontations by fans emerge as likely or impossible only upon the basis of the supporters' consciousness of both the team's and their own past achievements, abilities and limitations. (11)

This intermingling of the past, present and future is not some accidental character of one team's fans, but an essential moment of ALL football consciousness. For instance, coaching which focuses upon the present weaknesses of the team for the sake of forthcoming games, derives its awareness of the task ahead and what will be needed to meet this challenge ONLY FROM the continuing presence of earlier observations. It is their lack of past experience which justifies giving new managers "time to accomplish something".

Whether glorious, mediocre or dismal, the future projected by supporters appears in a series of gradations heading towards their deaths at the end. This does not mean that nothing whatsoever is projected beyond the deaths of the projecting subject - involvement in a club's triumphs and traditions is itself a form of immortality in a cultural sense. Television now means that great performances, FA Cup upsets and "memorable games" can "live on" long after the death of any witness. "Immortal memories", "unforgettable incidents" and "timeless moments" are now part of the limited vocabulary of television, radio and newspaper reporting. BBC Television's "Goal of the Month", and "Goal of the Year" awards are merely factual exemplifications of this more essential temporal process within football culture. The same potential immortality applies to crowd confrontations, pitch invasions, demolition of parts of the ground, attacks on players and so on. Millwall's official discouragement of any television coverage at home or at some away games only makes sense against this motivating background. It also raises the issue of the more general motivations of soccer violence - both as a real activity and a "newsworthy story".

The continual placing by anticipatory projections of the temporal subject into different possible crowd situations, is not purely a theoretical matter. It involves the securing of the MEANS for the goals, practical relations and evaluations of the opposition. The

anticipated decision to either attend or miss a certain game where there might be crowd violence involves a series of if-then relations. These relations concern future standing among the supporter's immediate peers, his or her prospects for a high standing among the wider sub-culture of travelling fans, and personal reactions to these predictable consequences such as possible regret, indifference, relief etc. Once made the decision to attend or 'give it a miss' becomes in turn, a decision already made and one to be "lived with" regardless of the way things actually turn out. Indecision and frequent changes in plans themselves have definite consequences among other supporters who may "never know where they stand". In making such a projection, I can see myself as the one having decided, and then still "sticking to my decision", still having to live with its consequences. This living-with-the-consequences can itself be projected as being accompanied by further more distantly directed and far less certain anticipations. Again this "shading off" of the future appears ONLY THROUGH RECOURSE TO ALREADY ESTABLISHED DISPOSITIONS.

The future circumstances surrounding the projected subject are necessarily contingent. For essential reasons nobody can know what will happen during any football match. We can however characterise the FORM of the subject's projection as its continual coming towards itself, and the future as that which comes towards via the projection. No projection COULD take a different form. Again in reckoning with our present selves we have to reckon with our future by making plans about travel arrangements, parking the car "somewhere safe", sitting in a certain part of the ground, not wearing scarves or other identifying signs, working out who supports which team before making loyalties apparent, calculating risks, grading these risks in a hierarchical order etc. These outcomes are consequences of the particular interests and concerns of the particular fan and their contents would vary depending upon whether trouble was actively sought or not. Neither this derivation from practical interests or concerns, nor the FORM of the subject's anticipatory structure itself WOULD THEMSELVES FLUCTUATE.

The possible future is only accessible to the projecting fan on the basis of the essentially future-directedness of his or her conscious life, founded upon the temporal structure of consciousness itself. Neither of these essential structures can themselves have a merely factual history involving the recall of a period where these structures of subjectivity were somehow absent and then emerged. Any effort to construct such a factual

history via a recall of the past, WOULD ITSELF necessarily be an example and display of this pre-given temporality. What is not self-contradictory is a self-conscious disclosure that addresses the origins of our OWN AWARENESS of being the subjects of time; (cf. Husserl, 1936/70).

On the basis of lived tradition that includes past anticipations of soccer violence, supporters create an "I" which persists for itself as habitually the same "I" that develops through this tradition. As a result this "coming towards" of future confrontations includes necessarily a "coming back" to previous clashes between these two sets of fans, terminating in a specific "having occurred". These two essential moments, derive their very sense from their relation to the future; (Heidegger, 1926/80, s.65). These connections appeared during Sheffield Wednesday's home tie with Newcastle in 1983 when large parts of the home fans' end of the ground became increasingly bare. The previous game between these two teams had seen some violent confrontations between supporters immediately after the game. A number of home supporters I spoke to before the game confirmed that it was the memories of that last game that had motivated their decision to attend the game but to leave early.(12)

Self-consciousness of this intermingling and mutual dependence of past, present and future soccer violence shatters the tendency of supporters to immerse and lose themselves in the present moment of a game. Such immersion can be generalised within the natural attitude into an easy going, complacent attitude of "taking life as it comes". If this attitude becomes ingrained, then this "letting go" of responsibility for the present will make the emerging trends in soccer violence immune from any possible shaping or conscious influence. Frequently responsibility for soccer violence is shifted on to an amorphous "society as a whole" with expressions used by Leeds United's Chairman and others to the effect that it is "a social disease" with its roots outside football. This present state of affairs which inhabitants of the natural attitude "lived for" in cosy tranquility, is shattered by the making present of the subject's presence as already dead in anticipation.

Only by living AGAINST this emerging terminus do supporters and those involved in the administration and policing of the game, obtain a clear idea of exactly what it is that they have time FOR. Appeals to reform the game and eliminate the threat of crowd violence which are perceived as putting off many people attending, are often made "so that our grandchildren

still have a game to watch".(13) These appeals thus implicitly evoke the death of those they address as a "spur to action".

The subject of perceived hooliganism thus emerges into its own self-conscious presence as a time-traveller who passes through a time which itself passes through its conscious life and self-awareness. As supporters we are not simply "in" time - like a game is "in" a football ground. Instead we are essentially permeated with time. Temporality therefore appears firstly as the site where the time we are conscious of passing during and between perceived crowd confrontations; secondly, in the essential temporality of their continuing and projected presence for our awareness; and thirdly, of ourselves as temporal subjects for whom this presence appears is determined and reiterated.

Reflection upon temporality in self-consciousness is possible only in consequence of the retention of the immediate past in the present. We can free ourselves from blind reiteration of past sedimentations, only by renewing contact with our temporal meaning buried underneath, ie. by deliberately instituting it as the present sense of our lives. Through self-awareness of our anticipating and retaining of our temporal passage we are actively turned and directed towards our life as a distinct supporter of a particular club; (Husserl, 1913/31, s.169).

Yet self-consciousness of acts is barely a possibility as typically we merely "live" in our acts; (Husserl 1913/31, s.37). In the immediate here and now, my self-apprehending activity emanates from my consciousness in the original mode of "holding myself in grasp". Although this emerges out of the present phase it is not directed to my present state, but to my presence as a whole sequence enduring in utilised time. Our self-apprehension extends from the present to phases that are just-past but remain in focus, by retaining modifications that "still maintain myself in grasp" and "myself as still to come into grasp". These past and future directed partial acts cohere together into the unity of one act of self-comprehension which itself ACCUMULATES OVER TIME. As a result it is to the self-apprehending AS A WHOLE in its temporal development, rather than to any particular phase, that the word "subject" applies.

This flow of immanent time is governed by rigid laws whose workings require no prior consent from ourselves. We seem to be "had" by time as much as "having" it. It cannot be assumed that every exercise of conscious powers over a certain time span is necessarily a

result of "free will". Also external necessity governs our need to attend to food, drink and other such basics in order to survive. There is nothing in our experience of ourselves to suggest that acutely attentive and active self-monitoring is somehow the model for the subject of soccer hooliganism. Here the whole world surrounding the subject as "background", ie. immediate family, locality, friends etc. does not appear as actively "turned to". When a new aspect is attended to, this background may alter in content without the experience of any "effort" on the part of the subject. We may actively release from grasp a past incident, relegating its contents to the margin of our consciousness. To retain itself requires no activity on the part of the subject, while to maintain in grasp does require such activity; (Husserl, 1948, s.23).

S.57: THE SUBJECT OF INTERSUBJECTIVE TIME.

The question of intersubjective time is initially raised by the disclosure of the temporal character of subjectivity that is already social in character. Once raised a number of issues appear: What is the relationship between intersubjective temporality and common sense talk about football hooliganism? If within soccer culture, intersubjective temporality IS an essential structure, then how does this square with the historically changing and contingent factual manifestations of both private and public realms? Why can't this "structure" be changed by concerted practical action within football tradition? How can intersubjective temporality be said to "endure over time" as an "essential structure" when we have already unfolded the FINITUDE of every subject's time? Given that temporality within soccer culture is already clearly determined by referees watches, calendars, seasons etc. why not leave it at that? IF intersubjective temporality IS a real issue, then how is it constituted in the everyday life of those involved with football? Does not talk of "intersubjective constitution" and temporality spuriously imply an operative social consensus and therefore conceal structural inequality as to wealth and power within the reproduction of football's tradition? How can a concern for "experience" even begin to address the reproduction and truth of these wider mediations and others such as masculinity, nationalism etc. that typically escape the net of phenomenological studies?

Such questions are part of the routine stock in trade of academia in its defence of an "objective" sociological form of theoretical life based upon a series of dichotomies. These include; individual/society, personal freedom/social determinism, fact/structure, finite/infinite and constituted culture/ constituting culture. Although interesting recipes for the reproduction of that which is "obvious" to this bizarre little sub-culture, these dichotomies do not themselves disclose what the experience of football hooliganism means, or how and for whom this meaning appears. Nevertheless our inquiries remain relevant, although subversive, for common sense both inside and outside academia.

Although in its everyday talk about football hooliganism common sense takes for granted the meaning of time and operates with a purely average level of intelligibility, it still cannot help but determine what time is. Determination consists of NOW THAT an incident, say the

attack on two visiting players in the 1984 Celtic v Rapide Vienna game, HAS happened, THEN official retribution WILL occur WHEN the relevant official body NEXT meet. Even where such determination is a "private matter" between the three parties involved, the time meant is still intersubjective and within "anyones" reckoning. Here public time has already been implicitly disclosed as already meaningful.

What is more, every thoughtful study OF common sense within football culture must itself reckon with intersubjective time. This reckoning takes place in the course of its very act of studying football culture, and directs any inquiry into its significance. The meaning of all evidence of soccer violence used in any study, will be encountered and gathered only within public time. All interviews, notepads, pens, tape recorders, documents and texts, will present themselves for use only according to the "appropriateness" of public time and place. Here as everywhere, time-consciousness presupposes self-consciousness of temporality as an enduring structure of intersubjectivity.

The analysis so far has considered only the appearance of time to a single subject and implicitly, the temporal appearance of such a subject to itself. Yet previous inquiries into the essential structures of soccer culture revealed that each member is always already intersubjective; (Husserl, 1936/70, s.50). It follows that further explication of this intersubjective subject as a system of concern, governed as it is by the will to recognition / power, is at the same time, an explication of the scope of intersubjective temporalisation.

Every fan's "own" self-consciousness appears mediated by the language, tradition and culture of football. Even the "individual's" innermost recesses can only appear articulately and make a lasting impression through these most public of realms. The life of individual fans only makes sense for others and in self-consciousness as an essentially related subject. Individuality IS the sum total of the subject's ways of being related to others as friend, enemy and stranger. This "total" is only the present TOTALISATION of a continuing fluid process of relating and breaking off relations concerning that club, the present team, a place in the ground, a local pub, preferred company during and after the game etc; (cf. Hegel, 1807/1949, p.223). No single quality - hooligan, supporter, labourer, husband, friend of X, cockney etc. constitutes the individuality of any fan or group of fans. Instead, at any particular moment each is the junction of a series of distinctions, relations and

interrelations. Even to focus upon one determination alone, ie. "hooliganism" is to lose that which makes this determination what it is. Intersubjective temporality is both the medium for this flow of relations and any reflection upon their structure.

Personal life within soccer culture is therefore already impersonal in the sense of being communalised as "I" and "We" within a ready-made sense of their "appropriate" domains. Culture has already instituted, recognised and communicated his or her continuing identity as the "same" within each supporter's consciousness and "living-present". Thus intersubjective constitution of identity is prior to each fan's coincidence of self-identity on whose basis others derive their synthesised sense of being "other supporters", and other supporters of the "same" club. Prior to their constitution as "other supporters" of the "same" club, there is a relationship of intersubjective temporality within the confines of each fan's own implicit self-awareness. Whether one of "us" or "them", all other fans can be encountered, recognised and understood in the identity of the living-present of any fan's experience.

For the subject to take these cultural determinations of meaning as "personal" is therefore comical, as if these had privately been invented in a fit of poetic creativity! Instead, the intersubjectivity of temporality reveals itself in the necessary recognition of say, a small hardcore of Millwall fans' distinct self-identity such as "We're the hardest in London", through confrontation with others. The significance of this for these fans cannot become concrete without learning these significations and their implications from others. Their presence within football culture and its members' boasts, chants and rivalries presupposes a prior process of their progressive and social initiation into this culture. Again this is not to swallow up and dissolve the particular characteristics of supporters and incidents of crowd violence. Rather it is to see the individuality of each as made possible through the prior presence of other fans and incidents to which it stands that define it as "something special".

If we examine individual supporters who comport themselves towards the world of football on the basis of their concerns for recognition, something remarkable appears. The CIRCULATION of intersubjective temporality in and among all members of football culture, provides the ground and "form of sensibility" of all connections between rivalries and loyalties; (Husserl, 1948, s.38; 1929/69, s.100). This process of unthematic, pre-objective and inexact temporalisation lies at the heart of experienced togetherness among any set of fans; (Husserl, 1933/77, ss.48,

49, 52, 62). Now we can see that no contradiction stems from asserting the following: intersubjective temporality has a unified structure even though the individuals who participate as its elements are already multiple and interrelated. The universality of intersubjective temporality is that which holds together and develops itself through this flowing complex of relations, distinctions and interrelations; (Hegel, 1807/49, p.224).

The fundamental motivation of the social subject cannot but be a temporalising of intersubjective time. Self-consciousness reveals the struggle for recognition of oneself in other fans and the elimination of non-recognition through conflict. Thus knowledge of the activities of different fans based on reflecting upon perceived violence, already pre-supposes knowledge as understanding its historical meaning at the intersubjective level. As supporters we appear to ourselves through the recognition we receive from others who are willing to make thematic our presence. Such a doubling of self-consciousness is not a contingent historical event; it is the necessary pre-condition for hooliganism to appear with a shared sense of "a problem". Football culture's time requires sites for the timing of its time, for the constructing of violent passions, local identity, pride and recognition. As supporters we ARE this site individually as well as collectively. This situatedness allows all members to confront the presence of the "same" world as a participant of a continuing club's identity, with the "same" tradition, emblems, colours etc.

Non-recognition is a threat to an unrelated aspect of an accidental feature of a supporter's life; it is felt as endangering total personal integrity and soiling the significance of other surrounding relations. Funerals can be more cheerful than the atmosphere on supporters' coaches following a humiliating defeat. It is the reverse side of the effect of "our team" winning the FA Cup in which fans feel vindicated, not in part but IN TOTAL. The fact that such vindication is so rare but the orchestrated desire for it so great is one clue to the motivations behind crowd violence where a form of notoriety, media recognition and unofficial status is available most weekends.

In confrontations on and off the pitch, self-affirmation through recognition received from others requires the annulment of the challenge of all challengers. It is no accident that chanting from fighting gangs takes the counterfactual form of "there's only one team in London / Yorkshire / Wales etc; or pledges to follow their team over land and sea including a special

reference to their local rivals home ground. Conversely, some songs defiantly invite other supporters to challenge them; "Where were you at (our ground)?" is a common taunt while others include lines asserting that "We'll never be mastered by no (Chelsea) bastard" is another with the mentioned team varying with every set of supporters. Typically added is the name of a set of supporters whose name otherwise constitutes a threat to fans' own claims for recognition.

Like the "doubling" of supporters' consciousness in their self-awareness, the priority of their intersubjective nature is not a merely an accident of factual history. It does not depend upon the degree of "privacy" or "publicity" that is currently possible for any particular club, team, player or set of supporters. Instead, it is the possibility condition for ANY experience within football's glory seeking world to be understood in terms of "treasured privacy" or "welcome publicity". Any factual situation is comprehensible because of the ESSENTIAL NATURE OF THE SUBJECT AS BEING-IN-TIME-WITH-OTHERS. ONLY on the basis of this structure is football culture's consciousness of its threatened tradition as "the national game" possible. Only social subjects COULD grasp what their non-recognition as fans of "their" team means, and have come to understand this in socially determined ways.

Because of this essential nature, subjects' timing of their shared time is always already a co-timing. Its utilisation or neglect is necessarily determinate for their shared destiny within soccer's tradition. Therefore the co-timing of football's tradition by fans is not constituted out of previously isolated individual parts, but is AN ESSENTIAL FORM THAT HAS ALREADY HAPPENED IN EVERY PERIOD OF ITS HISTORY. It is only with and through this co-timing that consciousness of effective history and future action becomes possible upon the violent legacies of that tradition; (Heidegger, 1926/80, s.74, Nietzsche, 1873, s.3).

But even if it is accepted that the structure of the subject is a motivated totalisation of cultural time, how can the finite time of individual fans be said to be an "essential structure" of subjectivity when this must itself endure in the face of all finitude? It has already been seen that the time of the individual fan is undeniably finite as is the "day" which is recognised as "my own"; one that passes away even before the fan whose character and evaluations it shaped. Yet intersubjective time is undeniably in-finite; it provides the medium through which individual fans, players, teams and supporters can secure a sense of

immortality. There is a sense in the claims made by fans of "stars" that their idols such as Stanley Matthews, Jimmy Greaves and George Best "live on" through a collection of memories, scrapbooks, team-posters and television recordings. The time directly lived-through by the subject of soccer culture is finite. This finitude makes it POSSIBLE for the unifying time of culture TO BE infinite; to temporalise itself as an "unending thread" through all its member's "natural" or violent "untimely" deaths. Our finitude as members gains its very sense by its contrast to cultural time's immortality; (Heidegger, 1926/80, s.66).

Equally "stars" such as Greaves and Best can, in a cultural sense, "die" and be "born again" through alcoholism and petty crime, long before any death that medicine could duly administer. Each new fall from grace appears as an affront to our memories of their former greatness and an insult to our tradition and therefore ourselves. During January 1984, ITV screened an old film of Manchester United v Spurs with the habitual talk of "immortal memories", "once great names", eg. Bobby Charlton, Martin Chivers and Denis Law. Even here the exchange of blows between team mates Denis Law and Brian Kidd, re-kindled football's "life" of violence on and off the pitch.

This shared time allows for a dating of soccer's violent and noteworthy incidents in a form that is common from day to day; (cf. Taylor, 1980). These public measures of time are DERIVED FROM and MOTIVATED BY a more primordial contact with socially lived-time that these public measures merely quantify and articulate. Dating makes possible calendars and clocks and therefore cannot itself be reduced to them for any "explanation" of hooliganism" in terms of an order of succession. Instead, dating is that which makes possible the discoveries of ANY SUCH "historical explanation".

So far it has only formally been shown that football culture is necessarily constituted through intersubjective temporality, but not HOW its form of life is concretely reproduced through a combination of active and passive constitution. Neither has the the relation between constituted habitualities and temporality in the form of tradition, sedimentation and the projection of future possibilities for "being-a-fan". The aim of rest of this section is to disclose these constituting processes.

Accepted and prevailing styles of considering a game, arguing about rival supporters or teams, valuing some players, teams, grounds, cities and supporters above others, planning away

trips and acting together to realise these plans all operate anonymously. They produce ways-of-being-a-fan whose author is no-one in particular and whose highest authority is that its sense is "common". Typically, as projections of definite pre-understandings, the results constantly re-affirm what "everyone knows" about the team, supporters, cities and grounds under discussion. What this "everyone" really knows is that there is no higher authority than the blind certainty of common sense. Even the prized individuality and unique "hallmarks" which are widely judged to characterise particular fans - the "sporting" reputation of Merseyside supporters for example - derive their special character only from what "everyone knows" to be ordinary and extraordinary about "football fans in general".

Even those out to "improve football's image" necessarily take over a ritual series of preferred colours, mascots, traditional rivalries and songs from a common warehouse of pre-understandings. Parading these at the "right" time and place re-constitutes and re-entrenches a traditional sense of what "everyone" understands being a supporter means. This understanding is both an acquisition and a cultural achievement that presents temporality as its form in both its developed and developing contents. Once originally constructed, what being a fan means endures through re-constitution from one season to another and even from one generation to another. "Endurance" here is not "static", but the outcome of a PERPETUAL TEMPORAL SYNTHESIS THAT UNIFIES THIS CULTURAL CONSTRUCT AS THE "SAME" PHENOMENON THAT ENDURES. Through a mass of such anonymous performances a common world of football is established and forever still being accomplished. Intersubjectivity then provides a TEMPORAL INDEX for the string of visual, auditory and tactile experiences that are socially combined by synthesis. Through synthesis all fans are oriented towards a common world of cultural objects, the field of all the activities united in the common "we".

In this constituting process, self-consciousness of fans reveals that there is no pre-social self of perceived soccer culture in which the significance of crowd confrontations are primarily assembled as its "knowledge"; (Heidegger, 1926/80, s.60). Rather, it is only through a pre-existing state of being-involved with a team and the local area which it represents that habitualities CAN be constituted for any supporter. A detached passionless and purely theoretical "knowledge" cannot begin to reflect upon this phenomenon. Reflection presupposes a prior grasp through direct experience of what entrenched partisan commitment

means. Being unthematic means that the constitution of supporters' habitualities is usually lived-through in a taken-for-granted way as part of the routine reproduction of what appears to them as "obvious".

Constitution is not merely a derivation from tradition. Constituted habitualities "feed back" into their originating tradition via sedimentation. Sedimentation of present activities of supporters back into their originating tradition does not just "re-enact" a traditional way of being-a-fan; it SOLIDIFIES FURTHER THAT ESTABLISHED TRADITION AND OPENS UP THE POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER ACTIONS. Reproduction of habitualities is not therefore the birth of something "new", nor is the creation itself "news"; it is the re-enactment of what has already been entrenched as "obvious".

This acquisition itself appears partly as the result of a SEDIMENTATION OF SENSE, so that every step of receptive experience, every step of predicative judging about the fighting capacity of rival supporters, has its LASTING RESULT. For example, constituting the significance of occasionally fatal violence by specialist gangs such as West Ham's "Inter-City Firm" as a "new phenomenon", takes place only against the present - always taken for granted - backdrop of soccer's heritage. Their next victim will be perceived as less "newsworthy". Constitution is therefore always re-constitution, birth of habitualities always re-birth.

By way of intersubjective temporality, football culture thus works to constantly establish an inviolable unity of a complex web of settled meanings for crowd violence that includes a changing threshold of misbehaviour and violence. Although at the end of the last century there is much evidence of fighting and what by present standards would be seen as "riotous scenes" at football games, The Times reported these events with an amused, almost anthropological, detachment.(14) It was as if the roughness of the industrial working classes was an almost zoological phenomenon and in no way a "national disgrace". Such a habitual way of perceiving crowd violence presupposes consciousness of "One Nation" that aligns itself with all classes and ONLY THEN can identify positively or negatively with the activities of any segment. In purely domestic matters the wider culture of Victorian Britain was no such society.

Thus through habitualities in expectations and identifications, hooliganism is constituted as much by the changing sensitivities of our culture as by changing levels of violence itself.

E. Dumphry, an ex-Millwall player has been quoted as saying that: 'Society's values are such that one man's football hooligans are another's heroes'. To the extent that this implies a series of unrelated value systems it is inaccurate. However it is correct in disclosing the interrelationship of supporters' actions and their audiences reactions. Thus the very unfolding over time of intersubjectivity shows itself to be internally structured and stratified by the power of sedimented habitualities.

It is therefore quite contradictory for studies such as Marsh's to be satisfied with the phenomenon of hooliganism only in its already-constituted form. Part of the essential meaning of this form is that it is a clue to an intersubjective constituting process whose medium of presentation is intersubjective temporality; (Husserl, 1927/81, s.5). Only through such a deepening of inquiry can any account that claims to follow the phenomenological imperative be "true to the phenomenon" and avoid being falsified by the temporal nature of the phenomenon itself.

The constitution of football culture involves a multiplicity of two-way relations between actual persons that are lived and confirmed by their actions within it. This culture has many levels and strata which unify supporters, teams, clubs, institutions and local regions in relations of harmony and opposition. The sense of what hooliganism and being-a-supporter means is synthesised across these strata, out of their various traditions and for their impending futures. Through the constant realisation of this local belonging-together on the home terraces a "real world" is reiterated; it is constituted as a permanent presence, concrete and vividly given as already "there" as the context for all possible actions directed towards supporting a football club. All the overlapping levels and strata are interwoven to form a general unified cultural sense.

Through initiation into this unified sense of local identity via the ceremonies, attitudes and concerns of surrounding culture, members become distinctive persons in their own right; (Husserl, 1952, p.191). For example, one Millwall fan hoping to break away through higher education from what he described as the "economic deprivation" of south east London, referred to the various modes of established familiarity. These constituted him as: son of an ex-docker who is now unhappily displaced as a messenger in the City of London; son of a mother who would not want to live in any other part of London - let alone another city; traditional working class; supporter of the Labour Party; sixth former at a local grammar school; fan of jazz and soul music, a fan who "dies" when he hears a report of Millwall's defeat, south Londoner and possible university student.

Such determinations and "We-relations" are pre-given to his consciousness and therefore precede any individualistic or collectivist "convictions" of any member; (Schutz, 1963, vol. 3, p.82). They imply a host of directly and indirectly related and unrelated interrelations of local identities, work, leisure, political and class traditions, educational hierarchies at both interpersonal and institutional levels. Some of these are confirmed in face-to-face contacts within a wider context of unseen social interactions occurring among contemporaries. So for this supporter to positively identify himself as "working class" and the son of an ex-docker, is to define himself as distinctly different from most of those involved in higher education and even most of the working population outside academia. Yet these are given as constituents of what he, AS AN INDIVIDUAL, sees himself to be.

The contents of his own self consciousness were therefore the outcomes of a perpetual assembly, maintenance and demolition of meanings in a cultural realm of a particular de-industrialising social order. Such explicit experiences of oneself re-create and sustain at a cultural level, the very relations of hierarchy from which they originated. Here constitution and constituted levels overlap so that the defiant assertion of established local identity through supporting the club provides a setting into which others are initiated; (Husserl, 1925/77, s.16). For example, the supporter mentioned above had been taken down to The Den at two years of age on his father's shoulders. Now initiated he could say: "Supporting Millwall is not like anything else. It's a way of life, a cult".

The same constitution/constituted interrelationship applies for the father, mother, school mates, teachers and other Millwall supporters who, in their own distinctive ways based upon different "placements", continuously direct themselves towards the "same" local community of South East London. This can be turned to and re-constituted again and again as an ingrained aspect of the surrounding world.

Regardless of particular friendships, indifference and downright feuds between members, each one experiences all the others as also directed towards this local world from various positions of embeddedness within it. As such there is a mutual "pooling" and "tuning in" of various subjectivities in a distinctive localised way of life into which the concerns and practical actions of members are invested. As centres for practical directedness towards our immediate community, each of us shares in its interrelations as part of "our world" and as points around whom this world is structured. Such togetherness precedes the collective chanting, singing, shouting and yelling on the terraces that solidifies it and continues to suspend doubt that life could be otherwise.

In the repetition of time honoured chanting and partisanship in an overlapping biographical situation, we are strangely in touch not just with our contemporaries but our predecessors and successors. Contact occurs in a passionately shared traditional and emotional way of relating to local life via the club. Once inside the ground people who condemn hooliganism outside cheer if rival fans challenging "our end" are driven out by home supporters. The supporter mentioned earlier told me:

"Inside the ground it's a different world altogether. People act differently altogether. The violence becomes almost a sport in its own right with people cheering us against them. I know from first hand experience that some of my mates from school only go for possible trouble and violence. People still talk in pubs about the West Ham game when some had lumps of wood with nails sticking out of them. That's what I call hooliganism. Not fighting with fists but when people start carrying knives and all that. They still go on about who hit who. Ipswich in 1978 sticks in my mind - where a linesman got hit over the head with a lump of concrete and everyone invaded the pitch when they had the cameras down at The Den. Then you get seen by thousands and thousands and not just a few hundred visiting supporters. Portsmouth? They're just the enemy along with West Ham and Chelsea. It's all about reputations. Now at Orient, Charlton, Palace there's no real trouble. They've got no reputation and no-one needs to prove anything against them".

This fan disapproved of what his sense of hooliganism embraced - regarding this as 'out of order' and disrespectful for other people's right to hold different views and support a different team. His liberalism also came over in his concern for the racism which 'is endemic in South East London'. Another related local conviction is the form of assertive masculinity that had made Peter Tatchel's homosexuality such a telling issue in the 1982 Bermondsey bye-election:

"People round there did not want to know anything about him because he's gay, not because of his policies or anything".

He considered his own liberal position against intolerance, racism and career projectory to be untypical and as setting him apart from ingrained local traditions. Again his self-conception was mediated through how he thought other south Londoners would see him.

What is implicit in the communal elaboration of a common world is the formation of an order in which each person is a member and in which the network of exchanges constitutes a surrounding world of communication. In this local world the club provides a focal point of shared experiences, passions, memories, hopes and disappointments allowing supporters to

comprehend themselves mutually in order to understand and reaffirm the same localised world together. In it we become a collective subject, desiring the same outcome and are jointly represented by the same team.

As a result, it is always "what WE did to THEM", rather than the success of one particular team over another. In contrast to the instrumental relations of everyday life in which supporters as workers, claimants, husbands, consumers and tenants, are typically means to someone else's ends. Involvement in a club offers a less alienated way of being together. This takes the form of participation in a form of life in which flair, individual genius, creativity, physical strength and effort are sources of potential glory that is desired together, and when it comes, shared together.

The ground is a place where fans can freely express shared joy and dejection over the game, secure that others too are going through the same emotions. After a goal is conceded one feels free to look perfect strangers in the eye and have one's own feelings reflected back at one without any words being spoken. Here there is a silent outpouring of self to others without the defences usually surrounding the expression of emotion in daily life. Unique among social relationships involving deep commitment - and in sharp contrast to marriages, trade unions, politics, friendships and employers - betrayal of confidence and trust is neither possible nor expected between fans in their dealings as fans. Between supporters of the same club there can be an opening out to others who reciprocate shared concern for the club with no strings attached. In such shared joy or dejection others are not simply there as objects to be used, or as agents threatening to use us as their objects; but as potential sources of shared unreserved togetherness involving the bodily contact of a swaying crowd without a hint of homosexuality.

Unlike sexual relations there is a union between fans without any necessity for jealousy or possessiveness. The club cannot switch to another set of supporters. Its closure is unthinkable. I asked a Millwall fan how he would react to the closure of his club. He said:

"You hear of it happening but you think it'll never happen to yours. It's not thinkable. You think it'll always be there for you come what may".

Other supporters can share your strong feelings and love for the club without being rivals.

In fact the more there are, the more fans feel their attachment is vindicated. There is a remarkably primordial resonance in chants of "we'll support you evermore". Chelsea fans favourite song in 1984 - repeated over and over again - sums this up:

"We love you Chelsea we do,

We love you Chelsea we do,

We love you Chelsea we do,

Oh Chelsea we love you".

With repetition instead of jealousy there is a moving away from everyday worries and pre-occupations in a bonding together in a common presence of the singers. This re-constitutes a strange fidelity-pledge asserted in the teeth of rival fans:

"We are the famous CFC, we don't give a fuck whoever you may be, cos we are the famous CFC".

The shared threat of humiliation on and off the pitch and the need to rely on those around one to hold their ground and not leave you stranded adds further to this sense of being available for one another. (15)

As supporters we are already participating within a form of collective life that itself participates in higher order connections. Other supporters and members belong together in the realisation of that sense of community. We have already seen that this tuning in includes a bio-rhythmic convergence in the swaying of bodies together and the simultaneous origination of chantings and responses to other fans' chanting.

Reaffirmed, the local world appears here as an entity which is more than the sum of its parts.

Each supporter, parent, school-mate, teacher etc. is both a source and a claimant of potential recognition from all others. By contrast, despite all the deep cultural associations of local buildings, pubs and the football club itself, these are not experienced as directly demanding recognition. As supporters they may mean a lot to us but we presumably mean nothing to them

and they mean nothing to each other. As a result a foundational account of their local significance and its constitution precedes any "materialist" explanation in terms of "causes"; (Husserl, 1925/77, s.16). Thus other people are more determining for a local world - encapsulated in its football club - than any material objects such as the anonymous tower blocks of council flats that surround Millwall.(16)

Community identity presents itself with a mass of affective, emotional and practical properties that are unknown to technologies of "town planning" and the administered supply of "housing units". Such social synthesis of sense is therefore based upon and governed by conflicting interests, concerns and practical comportments towards the club and its local community. The conflict between Ken Bates, Chairman of Chelsea FC and the News of the World over the reporting of his fans part in crowd violence is only a more dramatic example of a more general structure of concern. For taxi drivers I've interviewed working near Chelsea's ground, hooliganism is constituted as a "transport problem" because of the police barriers across roads to segregate rival supporters. For publicans it can be both a welcome source of lunchtime revenue and a risk to the property, regular custom and physical safety. For Asian shopkeepers it can be constituted as a risky source of income from newspaper and soft drink sales, racial abuse and possible attack. For police forces it is constituted as a public order problem that gives useful experience in crowd control, a source of revenue and possible injury to officers who may be expected to intervene in confrontations and risk violence from both sets of fans.

Although this process of realisation is a possibility condition and thus an essential structure of ANY localised life at any time or place, its factual manifestations are subject to real historical changes. Surrey and Millwall docks closed down in the 1970's and much of the work was moved to the more "efficient" container dock at Tilbury. This closure took with it not only the tightknit set of social relations founded upon strong trade unionism and organised thieving within the docks but also much of the local industries and shops that depended upon the wages of dockers. Millwall was no longer represented by the docks that founded it and whose very workings on the Isle of Dogs provided Millwall FC with their first "pitch". After closure for many the club became the main representative of a once thriving way of life and source of belonging, meaning and recognition.(17) Supporting the club was a

way in which many displaced dockers and their sons retained a sense of cultural continuity with their roots whose economic foundations had given way.

Such changes and break up of the economic sources of the identity of "dockland" can threaten local identity and result in an increasingly defensive attitude towards "outsiders". Dockland culture in London was especially prone to police, "scab" workers, immigrants and "cheap labour" from competing ports within England and overseas. A degree of toughness in the face of an often harsh and physically demanding life was traditionally a survival skill in dockland. "Outsiders" here includes rival supporters who seek to ridicule and capture significant local sites such as "home pubs" and parts of the "home" terracing of this traditionally dockland club.

All these forms of cultural life are interwoven elements that have a particular significance at specific times and places. Over-arching nationalism's can be considered in the unity of their temporal life, the very form of that life itself. Again this is not clock time, but the time lived and lived through by the members. Beyond this national level are the constitution of those identities and differences linking Western, South American and Third world football - their traditions, origins and prospects, their habitual evaluations, laws and convictions, shared conflicts over what involvement in the game is all about. These are historical and teleological achievements of the meaning of ultimate humanity, one human spirit whose structure and truth claim still await serious study.

The combined operation of "transcendental subjectivity" is the engine that drives the "intersubjective constitution" of the meaningful social world which embraces sub-cultures of football hooliganism, soccer, spectator sports, leisure, politics, work and so on - the TOTAL COMPLEX of ways of being and modes of validity for members of all these worlds within a world. Through this interlaced constitution of the world of football, it becomes understandable as a structure of constituted-meaning formed out of elementary meaning-relations including - as we have already seen - local identity, assertive combat masculinity, entrenched localism dovetailing into nationalism and racism of all kinds. Supporters' habitual chauvinism can then be stratified further into overlapping levels of gender, locality, region and nation.

Supporters, as social beings, are always within the horizon of an established wider social world and communication community that incessantly reproduces and projects its culture into

the sub-cultures of soccer crowds. The being of these meaning-relations themselves is ONE TOTALISED MEANING-FORMATION OPERATING TOGETHER WITH ANOTHER TOTALISING LEVEL TO CONSTITUTE NEW MEANING THROUGH SYNTHESIS. By being thrown into the conflicts and rivalries of that historical period, supporters re-produce and totalise IN A DISTINCTIVE WAY its specific historical characteristics.

As supporters being-together within local social life, we have the world of football pre-given in this "together" as a possible world existing for us, and to which we, together belong. The world with this factual meaning as a world for all; (Husserl, 1948, p.160). Obviously this does not imply harmony or equality in crowd violence THAT WE actually experience; (Times, 25/1/85). Rather, whatever degrees of experienced conflict and inequalities of wealth, status and media recognition allocated to clubs and supporters, this monopolisation is not their experience alone.

In the constitution of the wider cultural world, intersubjectivity objectifies itself as an element producing significant, mutually defining and interconnected worlds of football, sport, leisure and work. Even the understanding of weapons as transcendent and dangerous is an achievement of a shared sense of "transcendence" and "danger". These are achieved within soccer consciousness as it expresses and externalises itself over time in its material world.

The temporal manners of appearance of constituted meanings - anticipated, perceived and recollected football culture and crowd behaviour - belonging to unifying multiplicities of other meanings and elements of meanings, ARE THEMSELVES UNITIES OF MULTIPLICITIES. They lie deeper and constitute these different senses of hooliganism as anticipated, perceived and recollected problems through temporal appearances. As a result we are led back to the obscure horizon of OPERATIVE INTERSUBJECTIVITY CONSTITUTING ITSELF THROUGH THE FLOW OF TIME.

"Operative" constitution is a mode in the conscious life of different subjects that remains unthematic, undisclosed and removed from explicit attention and conscious focus. Despite its concealment it still carries us forward in both our theoretical and practical relationships. Its operation is evidenced more from its achievements and end-products than any disclosure of the anonymous processes that underscored these; (Husserl, 1929/69, p.208).

The outcomes of operative constitution are visible in the groups of rain and windswept supporters huddled together - hundreds of miles from home - surrounded by home fans baying

for their blood and treating them as the objects of the most profound abuse and disgust. Such loyalty to a team, club and area are apparent, but the explicit structure of the desire which it satisfies is not at all obvious. The same applies to the release of tension by jumping up and down, clasping one another and directing triumphant gestures of defiance to rival supporters when their team scores. The question why be loyal, jubilant and defiant, are as inexplicable to those involved as outsiders. On a number of occasions when travelling with Millwall fans to some desolate outpost of civilisation and watching them lose in the last minute, I've heard fans say to one another "Just why do we bother?". I've felt that way myself while still feeling impelled against all logic to go to the next away game. Others' reactions to defeat and the subsequent ridicule of home fans can be more impassioned:

"Shitcunts! I wanna really do one of them real bad, bite their ear off, strike them and everything!".

It is apparent that the rising of these pre-conscious elements are not acts of consciousness like perceptions of crowd behaviour, nor are they cognitive like judgements about the chance of violence occurring at any given fixture. Nevertheless they have contributed and continue to contribute to the sense constitution of soccer violence as a problem, as excitement, as a means of revenge and recognition. The level of their contribution towards sense-synthesis is primordial and pre-conscious, yet paradoxically we have already seen that they lie at the very root of more active, conscious and wilful constitution. Whatever their deep structure, their effect is to give a unity to the world of football and our lives as supporters within it at pre-predicative and almost instinctive levels.

The only actual and genuine way of "explaining" soccer violence, of making it intelligible, is to go back to the origins of hooliganism's sense-constitution. This is to proceed towards a total comprehension which in an ideal case would leave no question unanswered concerning its local chauvinism, combat masculinity, will to recognition etc. Every genuine move from one of these constituted elements back to its sense-origins gives us, in respect to uncovered and clarified meanings, a partial understanding of present soccer violence.

All the constituted meanings of soccer violence are never anything but meanings in various modes of relative validity, that is, as directed to conscious subjects who can effect validity operations and confirm through perceptual evidence. The expression "don't you agree?" is implied into all assertions about the phenomenon. Therefore although bound to definite interests, concerns and practical commitments towards the social world, each determination points beyond its relativity towards a higher level consensus about "the problem". This higher level consensus may be a mirage but it is still implied as a goal to orient all concerns. This goal of a total determination that embraces all perspectives is a non-real presence and pre-supposes a shared concern for discussion oriented towards truth through rational discussion in which the power and authority of evidenced arguments - as distinct from the power and social position of speakers - that guides debate.

In short, the movement towards the intersubjectivity of the temporal subject extends and complicates still further the analysis of the temporal synthesis of what hooliganism is all about. It addresses the constitution of specific fans' personal horizon out of the space of humanity as a whole. Complications concern the temporal constitution and reiteration of football's profound meaning for fans' lives, the essential forms of localised belonging in ANY society, "appropriate" sex roles, institutions and higher order communities such as states through sporting culture and intersubjective temporality itself; (Husserl, 1936/70, s.54).

S.58: INTERSUBJECTIVE TEMPORALITY AS THE MEDIUM FOR SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS / TRUTH.

This section considers the complex relation between self-consciousness, intersubjective time and truth. An investigation of the subject pole of experienced hooliganism by a subject is necessarily placed in the domain of social self-consciousness. Here the presence of the subject's temporality / sociality presents itself to self-consciousness as an outcome of the communal temporalising of the very same intersubjective time under study. This temporalising can itself be unfolded as an exemplification of time itself, ie. a temporalisation of time as an absolute self-constituting flux which is the ultimate foundation for any experience of hooliganism. Self-consciousness of the necessary structures of experienced hooliganism is the truth of that experience because here the subject and object of knowledge coincide.

In self-consciousness, foundational research can go no further. Here we realise that our experience of hooliganism as a problem meant for an experiencing subject through the various presentational acts this subject inhabits, is ultimately knowledge of ourselves as transcendental constituting intersubjectivity. Only a (self)consciousness that knows hooliganism as constituting subjectivity knows itself as constituting subjectivity. Thus for the truth of hooliganism to be actualised, noematic consciousness of experienced hooliganism must be grasped together with noetic / egological consciousness of our BECOMING CONSCIOUS of hooliganism. Short of comprehending the temporalisation of time within constituting intersubjectivity our knowledge of hooliganism remains incomplete. This manifold of complex relations will be considered separately.

If an incident of crowd violence is to be perceived in its temporal extension, then as each phase of the episode appears successively as now, there must be present a corresponding phase of the perception THROUGH WHICH it is so grasped. Perceptions that present an event's temporal structure must themselves endure or develop successively as long as the event itself continues to appear. In short, if the passage of time appears in the now-perception and its overlapping horizon of protentions and retentions, then this implies a series of TIME APPREHENDING ACTS which grasp this horizon. Insofar as these three modes of time consciousness are differentiated, they must be assembled by distinct moments of apprehension. To the extent that they are all PERCEPTUAL presentations of the incident, their presentation

must also be perceptual; (Husserl, *Husserliana X*, p.39).

Referring to the bricking of a bus incident at the 1984 Rotherham v Derby game previously described in S.36, the middle perceptual phase of the bus window as an immediate threat was constituted through the animation of its visual and tactile hyle content by a "now apprehension". This was accompanied by a "past comprehension" of the same window as a convenient means of looking out, which animated a gradually shaded content of apprehension. The shading of this earlier "lapsed" phase means that it no longer had the quality of impinging upon our senses through hyletic data. Time-apprehension therefore occurs in a fundamentally different sense from the apprehension of material objects or persons. This apprehension will be temporally neutral material for time apprehension. The perception of objects as "offensive weapons" could not exist apart from time apprehensions insofar as they always appear as temporal. Yet the grasp of the "offensive weapon" temporality does not itself have this character.

Immanent time is the site where the time of the perception and the perceived event coincide. The temporal determination of the external object's attributes as an umbrella, as partly wooden, as having a sharp point, as a possible club or spear, as an "offensive weapon" etc., are presented through those of the perception. For both the apperception of the umbrella and the umbrella that is presented by perception, time is the irreducible form of their reality. The immanent time in which the apperception occurs must not be confused with the clock time of the actual umbrella as a real physical object. This is because it cannot be measured by physical means. The relation between the two is like that between an objectively extended colour and a subjective sensation of colour. Because of the perceiving subject's embodied character, an indirect relation with clock time is still retained.

These above considerations force us to abandon the view that hooliganism-as-meant, ie. as an intentional object is somehow timeless. We discover that it is actually contained in the momentary phase of perceptual consciousness as "on hand" and experienced as now. No time apprehension could possibly alter hooliganism's temporal character. Since it cannot appear to perception other than through time-apprehension, then it could never appear as static. As now moments of the actual phase of consciousness, perceptions cannot serve as representatives for elapsed or future phases.

The temporality of experienced soccer violence is presented here as the medium of perceptual and other intentional acts, and as itself a theme presented through such acts. We are faced with apparent paradox that the medium of time is constituted as a theme for our inquiry in and over time; the very act of taking this theme as an object to be investigated risks losing hold of the assembly of the time of our own phenomenological inquiry. However, it is not a question of focusing either on hooliganism as meant or the act of apperceiving experiences as hooliganism, but of holding fast to its full sense that finally embraces the logic of its assembly. In this way the time of experienced hooliganism can be seen as much the producer as the product, as itself both constituting and constituted, as SELF-CONSTITUTING in moments of objectivating apprehension.

Self-constitution involves a constitution of its own unity, ie. the flux's continuous coincidence with itself, by virtue of acts/intentions belonging to itself. As every primal impression changes into a retention, a new impression comes to be co-joined to that retention and likewise in the third moment, a new impression comes to be co-joined to the retention of the retention of the first and retention of the second. Each and every stage intends its originating point / impression. Through the continual reiteration of the fixed form-structure of now-retention-protention, time temporalises itself without requiring a another temporal flux in which to appear. The ultimate flow of time-consciousness, although known in a marginal way, is not then itself grasped through any more profound or primal dimension of consciousness. There is no possibility of infinite regress.

As a result we seem in retrospect to be retracing a teleological process of experiencing consciousness which Hegel described in his *Phenomenology of Mind*. Here, the reflexivity of our phenomenological account of experienced soccer violence in its later stages presents itself. Perceptual consciousness seems to point beyond itself towards self-consciousness of the social processes through which apperception occurs; and then on to the intersubjective dynamics underlying and driving this process. A move from perceptual consciousness to cultural self-consciousness is required because our perception of hooliganism as a temporal theme is itself a temporal theme. It also develops within a succession of phases, one of which will be now, others will have elapsed or not yet appeared; (Husserl, *ibid*, p.39).

Increasingly this inquiry is becoming implicated into an analysis of self-consciousness,

ie. that in which the infinity of distinctions which make up the total relationship of objectivity are united. This implication is no accident. In the natural attitude we ascribe hooliganism to the activities of hooligans who themselves are seen as moronic, mindless, animals, a national disgrace and so on. Such attributes are therefore seen as the passive receipt of the "obvious reality of the situation". As a result, common sense consciousness does not RECOGNISE itself as actively contributing to what it sees. Through suspension of the naive realism of this attitude, our analysis has progressed without accepting or denying the validity of these common sense judgements. It has become increasingly clear that the intelligibility of perceived hooliganism does not lie in the biological, psychological state, material environment etc. of "hooligans" themselves. Instead, "hooliganism" itself is the outcome of an apperceptive process in which visual, tactile and sound sensations are animated with a pre-given meaning content. Animation includes the ascription of certain predicate senses such as moronic, mindless, a "good" day out and so on.

As a result, an investigation of the character and possibility conditions of perceptual consciousness itself became essential if the experience was to be fully unfolded. Perceived hooliganism is the founding strata of its other modes of appearing through recollection, imagination, signification and so on. Perceptual consciousness as a founding act, must have its contribution to those incidents it perceives as "hooliganism" revealed to itself. Such a revelation will itself provide the grounds for recollected hooliganism, imagined hooliganism and other re-presentations of an originating presence. The revelation of this contribution is itself a conscious activity in which consciousness ultimately takes itself as its theme. This is what we have been doing in our examination of the subject-pole's embodied, intersubjective and temporal character. Here we discovered that the subject is a sort of centre of reference for its own awareness. No wonder the question of self-consciousness has been raising its disturbed head since the subject appears twice - as that which is being conceived and determined, and that which is doing the conceiving and determining. The subject as a centre of reference for perceived hooliganism and as an awareness of this are not distinct. Here another synthesis of unification BY the subject is taking place with the self-consciousness of this analysis; (Hegel, 1807/1949, p.219).

Yet our own enquiries have not until now reflected upon this implication of consciousness

and self-consciousness. In this sense our previous enquiries have taken place at a level necessarily below that of full self-consciousness. Our present concern for self-consciousness is in no way an abandonment of hooliganism as a concrete experience in favour of a retreat in an isolated realm. Rather, it is only the outcome of an effort to grasp, accumulate, unfold and follow through to the limit our experience of hooliganism; (Hegel, *ibid*, p.212). This fidelity derives from the realisation that our consciousness of hooliganism only makes sense when identified with self-consciousness. Therefore any truth dormant in our previous analysis can only come to show itself IN self-consciousness and AS self-consciousness.

Truth now becomes a question since only in self-consciousness can the contingency between the real events which are perceived as football hooliganism and the consciousness of the subject doing this perceiving be reflected upon. When consciousness understands the dynamics through which those real events that concern it are culturally constituted as "social problems" on the basis of definite social interests, then the subject for whom there is hooliganism as a social problem is grasping its own character, situation and experiences. Analysis that unfolds the character and possibility conditions for the subject's awareness of perceived hooliganism is producing NECESSARY TRUTHS TO WHICH CONTINGENT INCIDENTS MUST CONFORM IF THEY ARE TO APPEAR AS PERCEPTIONS AND AS PERCEPTIONS OF HOOLIGANISM.

Although initially the trail of experienced soccer violence led us on to appeared uncertain, never more so than at the subject-pole, we can now become conscious of what it is to be the subject of perceived hooliganism. Now we can see that the unfolding of apperception, its predicate senses, subject-relatedness and temporal possibility conditions are THEMSELVES MOMENTS OF SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS AND THEREFORE TRUE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE HOOLIGAN EXPERIENCE. An awareness of the founding act through which hooliganism appears as something-meant is not merely one type of abstract philosophical knowledge. It is the foundation for ANY factual, scientific account, criminological "explanation" or sociological "theory" that claims to have already grasped what hooliganism is and account for its presence.

It should now be clear that self-consciousness is by no means a merely tautological statement $I = I$. Instead, there is a gradual process of progressively unfolding perceived hooliganism, the apperception of "raw" experience as that of "hooliganism" and the subject for whom there is hooliganism perceiving it as something meant.

What has driven our enquiries onwards is the realisation of the tension between the presence of hooliganism within the natural attitude and its self disclosure in perceptual consciousness. Such tension between experienced content and conscious form has driven analysis beyond sense investigation of what hooliganism means, beyond noetic enquiry into the different presentations of these meanings to the subject's consciousness, beyond an exposition of the embodied and social character of that subject; until finally we have arrived at a point where consciousness of the necessity for this entire process has dawned. What drives the resolution of this tension is the will to recognition of consciousness, ie. to negate all that is not its own in order to fully see itself recognised in its world. Thus the inability to rest with the tension between content and form is motivated by the desire and passionate will to fully assimilate and possess our total experience of soccer violence across all its levels; (Hegel, *ibid*, p.220). Perhaps Nietzsche was right after all when he claimed the subject of knowledge is a warrior that tortures the truth out of his subject. Because the subject that is recognised is transcendental subjectivity, self-consciousness entails the actualisation of reflexivity not as one person's "state of mind" but as a self-determining social institution that is both in and for itself. Such social recognition requires positive collective action to produce and sustain it; (Hegel, *ibid*, p.238, p.420). That which is "produced" as the truth of experienced hooliganism is not invented, but is rather a re-production and re-creation within self-consciousness of that which was previously temporally constituted by transcendental subjectivity without self-awareness. Nevertheless the self-knowing of cultural constitution remains the basis of all true knowing. Thus consciousness of the necessary processes of consciousness is both self-consciousness and true consciousness of experience.

The will to power / recognition has presented itself initially as a motivational structure within hooligan sub-culture and then as the primary character of the operative system of concern which IS the (mundane) subject of experienced soccer violence. Here it is revealed as essentially implicated in any possible "break out" by mundane consciousness from both the self-oblivion of the natural attitude, and the counter-reflexive and deeply chauvinist motivations of violent soccer fans.

The difference between the subject of self-consciousness and the mundane consciousness of football culture within the natural attitude, appears in the "we" which is "I" and "you" as another I, ie. the discovery of oneself and others as members of constituting subjectivity. The struggle for recognition IS the movement which achieves this recognition. Self-consciousness is only possible as double - something it learns from its own experience. This striving outwards for recognition of itself as someone by the subject of hooliganism, essentially requires the disowning of itself as somehow self-sufficient - a state of being shut-up-in-oneseif-and-from-oneseif. As we have seen, such a state essentially characterises the deeply chauvinistic combat masculinity of soccer's fighting gangs and the counter-reflexive societal reactions to their violence. (In fact it could be said to be the distinctive feature of the form of social consciousness most appropriate to our present era of institutional positivism; (Husserl, 1936/70)).

Only by overcoming itself and consciously being-for-others can the subject confirm itself. What is confirmed is the subject as someone who recognises and is recognised in the being of others, whose recognition means something only because of their option to withhold recognition. This possibility appeared earlier both in the internal competitiveness of fighting gangs, and in the keen contest between some Millwall and West Ham fans for recognition / vindication of their claims to be "the hardest in London". Conversely, what has also become apparent is the absence of any perceived "need" for violence when up against teams such as Wimbledon, Rotherham or Fulham whose fans have no "reputation" at all. Here the use of violence could be seen as a sign of weakness. Whether among fighting gangs, players, club officials, shopkeepers or whoever, the withholding of recognition and the lack of vindication

of one's distinctive form of life exhibits a common structure. It necessarily presents itself as a threat-to-be-eliminated, a demand for the crushing of the others' independence.

This struggle for domination - to be the hardest in London or wherever - is an essentially unstable and hence unsatisfactory form of consciousness. Paradoxically any actual domination achieved through vindicating one's supporters' reputation deprives them of genuine as distinct from forced recognition. It also forces the dominator to attend to the state of affairs this domination has created. By contrast, the dominated form of life could quite easily derive its recognition elsewhere. Only by actually overtaking this state of domination so as to become "worthy opposition", can the subject be able to grant the authentic recognition that others seek. However this breaking away threatens the dominated subjects with the loss of established self-consciousness. To make good the escape, it may even require the domination of other fans, players etc.

Thus reciprocal relations between subjects appear as both necessary and absent. This can be seen even in the most ordinary form of meeting between fans where each greets the other in the way it demands of the other. A one-sided gesture would be useless here. They recognise each other as recognising reciprocally. "Reciprocity" here means a battle between equals as much as some utopian harmony. In confrontations each party is expected and expects from the other a degree of "face" and no premature "loss of bottle". It is these aspects as much as fighting skills that are valued in hooligan sub-culture - and not just hooligan sub-culture. The willingness to battle itself supplies a recognition of the other party as a worthy opponent, as someone whose defeat is something of significance to be fought for, as someone capable of granting recognition. The subject may even risk life and property in order to achieve this sense of personal significance through overcoming itself as merely average, as just another one amongst many.

The elusive object of all this struggle is never guaranteed as the annihilation of the other is the end of the other's recognition. The killing of rival fans even when deliberate does not appear to be the ultimate aim. The submission of rivals is equally self-defeating, since the respect of the defeated is devalued recognition. Even with the creation of a new relation of mastery at the others expense, only grants the dependency of a servile consciousness - a faulty truth. The truth of self consciousness appears instead in the

consciousness of the mastered as the one who bestows mastery. For example, within a club hierarchy or that of fighting gangs, those dominated by the "top boy(s)" may live initially only through the leader(s) and be "self-less" in devotion and lack of "self regard". With the coming of a more reflexive attitude and an awareness of its own position, a necessary conflict emerges between the demands of self-consciousness and the existing order of domination. As servile it cannot but know the value of self determination and mastery and the esteem this enlists from others. With the outbreak of self-awareness, the servile consciousness must see that the truth of consciousness lies in its independence and self-determination. This appears as something which the leader(s) flaunts against those below but which this very dependency upon the dominated subjects makes impossible.

With this essential character of self-consciousness we find ourselves as already entwined in the dialectic of recognition driven by the contradictions of all social domination. A distinctive form of social life is sustained through this and one which in turn appears through this dialectic. This continuing conflict can take on the urgency of a life and death struggle and is driven onwards by the tension between the two forms of consciousness.

Fear of death here is the absolute master as the consciousness of contingency which haunts the cause of all subordination, like the way a play always appears as towards-an-end that provides the horizon and makes possible the presence of any sense contained within it. The surrender of the servile consciousness to the domination of the leader is like that of the audience to the play, it never escapes the ending of its part, or the consciousness of this limited span. This rests uneasily with the self-subordination of servility. Death is the ABSOLUTE master because it limits servility forcing it to take stock of itself and judge itself by the standards of self-determination that it so values in its devotion to the master-consciousness. Because nothing else which one could hang on to withstands the fear of death, both conflicting forms of consciousness must come to reckon with it. Servility must now come to think its contradictory form of life while thinking cannot itself rest content with contradictions in its situation and in itself.

This coming to reflexivity of consciousness is hardly a purely theoretical affair; rather it is "worked off" so that through actively and strenuously shaping its immediate surrounding world it comes, as consciousness of being a member of constituting intersubjectivity, to see

itself in its surroundings. This seeing is a mediate reflection of itself that combines with others to build into an potentially human(ised) surrounding world. What appears is self-consciousness of ability-to-shape appearing as confirmed through the things, events and persons that have been shaped. This shaping enlarges the area in which the subject feels at home in familiar local surroundings which vindicates its own tradition; it postpones the fear of the unfamiliar that bears no imprint of ourselves, nor any recognition of ourselves as somehow necessary to it. Here is a form of recognition and recognised self-consciousness which is a possibility even for servile consciousness

Only now does it become clear that the passage to self-consciousness is pre-supposed one of freedom from blind domination and the achievement of mutual recognition. It can now be seen that successful self-assertion in opposition to blind determination and dependency, self-consciousness can discover a new sense of self-recognition as an independent consciousness.

This passage is not an automatic consequence of work since labour can be servile, senseless, and thoroughly disconnected from any sense of self-expression. Yet this very disconnection associated not only with the production line, can breed a state of being in which the options appear as limited to dependency or obstinate purposeless rebellion against authority for its own sake, ie. counter-dependency. Recognition here can take the form of highly "newsworthy" terrace battles or between underworld gangs among those whose social position / capacities restricts access to other forms of "celebrity" status.

In contrast to all this is work which allows for a consciousness of ability to deal with death and all that emerges within itself. These can be handled as a site for constituting intersubjectivity to consciously and endlessly reform itself according to its own rational possibilities.

The experience of death through anticipatory acts of consciousness, presents the presence of dependency in our existence and a sense of an alien reality still to be cancelled through rational projects of planned development. Such a development can free consciousness from blind dependency towards a sense of being a part of a rational set up, as well as being one of the sites where this rationality is recognised as such. Here the intersubjective character of freedom and reflexivity appears as the need for collective practices to make reality realise its possible rationality. The possibility of the self awareness of reason appears as based

upon this humanisation of our social life so that the community can come to see itself in its surroundings as it is, constituting intersubjectivity.

Are not once suspended "policy interests" now "breaking out" of their suspension? Does not the attempted escape from the real world of political struggle reveal the "phoney neutrality" of foundational research situated in a reality of class conflict and revolutionary possibilities?; (Adorno, 1970/82, p.176-7). This and other Marxist "critiques" hinge upon a particular sense of "class", "neutrality" and "revolution", along with a series of acts of belief by a subject with Marxist convictions to carry on investing these themes with these particular senses and to place them high on our list of priorities. Yet foundational research IS the science of these meanings, acts and subjective modes of comportment which make possible its own "critique". It reveals their disguised foundations and makes available the means through which a rational account of "class conflict" can be assembled - one which takes seriously the actual sense of class which those who are classed use to make sense out of their lives; (Roche, 1975). The suspension of policy interests that naively aim to unify "theory and practice" without establishing what these actually mean, precisely allows their significance to surface. Without such a science "theory" can be reduced to the endless repetition of expedient "party lines", whose rational sense rots in some labour camp or psychiatric "hospital". The general inability of Marxism to actually READ phenomenology other than through a series of dichotomies in which theory is set against practice, subjectivity against objectivity and "idealism" against "materialism", reveals to us a betrayal of its thoughtful roots in Hegelian Phenomenology.

With these considerations we can now make some sense of this process through which the "substance" of our material and surrounding world comes to move away from an estranged form in relation to our intersubjectivity towards the reflection of our rational workings upon it. For Hegel the essence of foundational investigation thus involves:

"Grasping the ultimate truth not as substance but as subject as well... the living substance is that being which is truly subject, or, what is the same thing, is truly realised and actual solely in the process of positing itself, or in mediating with its own self its transitions from one state or position to the opposite... It is the process of its own becoming, the

circle which presupposes its end as its purpose, and has its end for its beginning; it becomes concrete and actual only by being carried out, and by the end it involves"; (1807/49, p.42).

What is involved in this is the complete and therefore absolute knowledge of ourselves in our world by our constituting intersubjectivity. That self consciousness is involved is clear only when culture that enmeshes and provides for our sense of our lives has reached a certain stage of development that allows for reflexive institutions to emerge. This coming-to-mind is then itself a process in which self-consciousness enriches itself; Hegel:

"To begin with, therefore, it is only the abstract moments that belong to self consciousness concerning the substance. But since these moments are pure activities and must move forward by their very nature, self-consciousness enriches itself till it has torn from consciousness the entire substance, and absorbed into itself the entire structure of the substance with all its constituent elements... produced these elements out of itself and thereby reinstated them once more as objects of consciousness"; (1842/1969, s.161).

Here, instead of taking our consciousness of soccer violence as a "gift" from real events and persons, we come to take responsibility for our creation and maintenance of this sense as "our own". We move from consciousness of hooliganism to consciousness of our consciousness of it meant as X, Y and Z through the presentational acts of a subject, ie. from the product to the process. As Hegel states: "It is the emptying of self-consciousness which establishes thinghood". No doubt this rings false in ears still tuned to positivism. Yet the alternative is some mystical belief that what things mean to us is something they alone determine - presumably after having learnt to speak and what is more in everyone's own language.

Here, we have to think the difference that the reasoning of a theme makes to that which is reasoned and thematised. Noematic and noetic analysis work at the level of the understanding of sense and the acts through which they appear to consciousness. Self-consciousness reason in no way makes this level redundant; reason is nothing without it. Together though we find that reason raises itself above understanding insofar as it recognises the contradictory relationship between apparently separate objects and the corresponding entwined web of

essential relations and groups of relations. Every act of reasoning both confirms and abolishes the sense found and constructed by descriptive phenomenology. For this level form and content, universal and particular need not have any intimate relation; yet reason finds that the contents produces the form from itself and that the universal and particular are each dependent upon the other.

In one sense our journey into the many layered experience of soccer violence is now over - the experience of soccer violence's presence has been accounted for in terms of its being experienced through various social and thus mediated meanings, presentation acts and modes of compartments. This was after all our intention from the start. In another sense though analysis is only now in a position to begin to tackle the question in a practically oriented way. Such an approach would spell out in detail what is involved in the establishment of less counter-reflexive forms of social life that could offer a more stable type of recognition - and hence satisfying existence - to those presently engaged in soccer violence. Much of what has already been revealed does not give grounds for optimism. The depth of those multivaried symptoms of institutional positivism - the loss of meaningful life under evermore administered life, deepening tribal and nationalistic reactions to this loss and fragmentation of tradition, the entrenched thoughtless of the natural attitude and the so called "expertise" of positivist social science, etc. It is to this truly depressing state of affairs that our concluding comments address.

5.60: CLOSING COMMENTS.

Within foundational research there are no final words that "conclude" thoughtful reflection - only resistance to its premature closure/abortion. The truth of hooliganism lies in its full and complete determination in self-consciousness embodied in a self-determining institutional form of life. Within an era of escalating institutional positivism, both hooliganism and its surrounding culture of football are implicated in a counter-reflexive form of life. For example the local, regional and national chauvinism of hooligan sub-culture elaborate a deeply unself-conscious mode of being-in-the social-world and, at the same time, re-produce an equally counter-reflexive social world. Not only does the combat-chauvinism of soccer violence directly re-institute counter-reflexivity in its immediate surrounding world; it also strengthens a strong "law and order" knee-jerk response that understandably strikes a positive response amongst actual and potential victims. Such highly publicised and emotional reaction / response - "war on hooligans" - further entrenches the militarised consciousness that underscores the combat-chauvinism of the phenomenon itself. This counter-reflexivity reiterates self-oblivion through a self-defeating exemplification of the will to recognition / power. Yet paradoxically the will to recognition IS the possibility-condition for the passage to reflexive forms of life.

The only "solution" within current counter-reflexive forms of life, lies in the channelling of combat-chauvinism in other directions; yet the prospect of a greater institutionalisation of combat-chauvinism - perhaps in weekend conscription for convicted fans under the "supervision" of the armed forces is like "treating" ingrowing toe-nails by amputation.

Intellectually here as elsewhere, the prospect for reflexive foundational research to promote a more general self-consciousness - as distinct from the surveillance of internal security - is bleak. Education is being subject to short term "cost-efficiency" criteria as the crisis in institutional positivism seek to mobilise and "rationalise" intellectual curiosity within an all-conquering technocracy. Here thoughtfulness is being projected as applied technology geared towards definite technological ends. This technocratic consciousness amounts to epistemological, ontological and ethical nihilism. Truth is relegated to the accurate duplication of a counter-reflexive rationale in which the ultimate

rationality of the ends becomes a scientifically "irrelevant" question. The remaining task is to cheerfully and without resentment explicate the ways in which the ever greater organisation of the statistical average of sociality has its life administered out of it.

In his final and greatest work - The Crisis Of European Sciences - Husserl agreed with Nietzsche when he saw that our greatest danger lies in the weariness of resignation to this "matter of fact order of things" and the resulting decay of the will within passive nihilism. In this social crisis, the active nihilism of hooliganism evidenced in the NEED to reassert the most brutal / brutalising road to recognition is more than A sign of the times - it is THE sign of our "Order".

NOTES:

PART ONE: CHAPTER ONE.

1. "Firstly it is a social problem because society is a bit sick. Violence is occurring on the picket lines and within society itself criminal activity is going on amongst the young". (Extract from an interview with John Carlisle, MP for Luton, in a dissertation by P Landleberg for Birmingham University.

2. "97% of supporters were genuine chaps who want to go along and watch a game and enjoy their Saturday afternoon sport. They have nothing to do with the violence". (ibid).

3. "Well running about shouting's all very well, I suppose it's harmless enough really most of the time, but it puts people in fear. You can't say it's okay cos nobody's getting hurt cos they're in fear that they might be hurt. I mean it's natural isn't it? If an old dear sees a gang of idiots running at her shouting "We're Barnsley's Barmy Army", the first thing she thinks isn't that they're going to help her across the road is it? She's frightened and it's our job to protect the public from that sort of thing. And foul language is okay in a working men's club, I mean I can turn out a few choice phrases myself, but if you take young kids to a match you don't want them to have to listen to all that do you? If I hear lads cursing and swearing in town, whether there's a match on or not, I tell them to keep their language down. No I don't suppose that's hooliganism really, it's a case of there's a time and place for everything". (Extract from an interview with a Police seargeant in Barnsley by T Savage as part of a dissertation

for Birmingham University).

4. See Pratt and Salter, *ibid*.

5. See *The Times*, 15/3/85; *The Daily Telegraph*, 15/3/85, *The Sun*, 15/3/85. In fact it was due to the front page recognition given by the media to the hooliganism at the Luton v Millwall cup tie which made Margaret Thatcher's success in Moscow relegated to the inside pages. Hence the Prime Minister's high profile role in "solving the problem" by setting up a "special cabinet committee".

6. "People stay out of town, shops close, some pubs close. One bloke down the road bought a couple of them there Rottaweillers, them big ugly looking dogs - he's had no trouble since I can tell you. I've thought about it but I'd have nowhere to keep 'em. You're just protecting yourself, your business, I mean if you're running a business you can't be doing with idiots nicking your stock and smashing the place up - sooner lose an afternoons trade". (Extract from an interview with a Barnsley shopkeeper by T Savage, *ibid*).

7. See "Portrait Of A Football Hooligan" by G Burn, describing how the "fan" in question kept press cuttings in his wallet concerning violence in which he had been involved. (*Sunday Times Magazine*, 20/9/81).

8. Indeed following the violence at the Birmingham v Chelsea game in May 1985, undercover detectives subsequently mingled among the fans on the terraces at Stamford Bridge in an effort to ascertain who the "real hooligans" were. (Ken Bates, Chairman of Chelsea FC)

9. See also "Saving Soccer From Its Supporters" by M Yaffe; (New Statesman, June 1974, p.790).

10. See also The Sun, 14/8/83.

11. "The average thug on the terraces has a poor IQ, but he has grown up in a society which values the brainy more than the physically strong. He might have a girlfriend and a satisfactory sex life but an overabundance of male hormones in his body have the side effect of producing aggression". (Dr G Wilson, Institute of Psychiatry, London, quoted in The Sun, 31/5/85).

12. "Contrary to popular stereotypes of chaotic and gratuitously violent behaviour, social action at soccer grounds is extremely orderly and constrained within a framework of social rules, conventions and rituals". (See "Life And Careers On The Soccer Terraces" by P Marsh, *ibid*).

NOTES.

CHAPTER TWO:

1. As described by Barry Cook in "Football Crazy" stating that threatening behaviour is the charge brought by the police in 76% of cases. (New Society, 15/6/84).
2. In this instance West Ham's "Inter-City Firm" courteously left a note on the dead body of a young Millwall fan stating "nothing personal". (See "Fathers Tell Their Sons About The Police" by Paul Pickering, New Society, 28/3/85).
3. See "Accidents Involving Fans At Football Games" by Vrettos et al, giving a merely quantified analysis of football injuries; (Turkish Journal of Sports Medicine, Vol.16, No.3, 1981).
4. In "The Treatment Of Football Hooliganism In The Press, Stuart Hall discusses how the media tend to sensationalise the news and amplify the phenomenon being reported thus influencing the general public and precipitating the calls for "tougher measures". (In Ingan, 1978, ibid).
5. Indeed James Callaghan in his post as Home Secretary had stated: "I agree that wanton destruction is perpetrated by a relatively small number of people who call themselves football fans. They are nothing of the sort and the clubs will be well rid of them. The authorities who try to stamp this out have the full support not only of myself but of the overwhelming majority of the public". (See "Football Since The War: A Study In Social Change and Popular Culture": an occasional paper by C Critcher; Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham University, 1975).

However this was contrary to the Harrington Report which found that hooligans regularly attend matches and are very knowledgeable about the game. ("Harrington Report. A Preliminary

Report on Soccer Hooliganism", 1968).

6. We await to see whether independent and police investigations as to the causes of the Tottenham riots in September 1985 show any relation to the causes of soccer violence. (See also "Society Of Youth Culture" by M Brake, *ibid*).

7. The motto of Millwall Football Club is "DO IT TO THEM BEFORE THEY DO IT TO YOU!"; which has been translated into reality on the terraces between rival fans. (Paul Pickering, *ibid*).

8. See "Football Hooliganism In England": by R Carroll, (p.80).

9. Even at Millwall, black player John Fashinau was given a hero's ovation by Millwall fans for the part he played in his clubs defeat of first division Leicester City in the Milk Cup, February 1985.

10. "These cutbacks which at present have hardly begun will result in a complete inability to control scenes such as happened at Luton". (See "SOMETHING Must Be Done - (SOME DAY)"; POLICE - monthly magazine of The Police Federation, April 1985.

11. However Peter Bird found that such popular scapegoats such as hooliganism, poor football, televised soccer games and poor weather! had statistically little effect on attendances but that newer opportunities for leisure had. (See "Why The Trends Are Against The Turnstiles"; Financial Times, 24/2/82).

12. When Chelsea were relegated to the second division their new all seater stand was half empty - thus making worse their financial situation whilst the opposite was intended. (See "Football, Crowd Behaviour And The Press In Media, Culture And Society" by G Whannel, 1979, *ibid*).

13. See "Football Trying To Score With Absentee Fans: Marketing and Advertising. The Selling

Of Soccer" by T Douglas; The Times, 2/3/82).

14. See note 12, *ibid*.

15. "They call us hooligans, but who'd cheer them if we didn't come. You have to stand there and take it when Spurs are losing and the others are jeering at you. It's not easy. We support them everywhere and get no thanks". (Quote from a Spurs fan in "The Glory Game" by Davies, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972).

16. See "Leeds, The Lads And The Meeja": giving a catalogue of incidents of hooliganism by Leeds fans at home and abroad and how this has effected the club's finances by M Harris; (New Society, 25/11/82).

17. "There are now as many black Bushwackers, well almost, as there are white. All that about racial prejudice is rubbish. The Front don't even sell their newspaper at Millwall anymore. Everyone gives a big cheer when a big black player called Fashanu gets the ball". (Paul Pickering, *ibid*).

18. "He's only a poor little yiddo.

His Face is all battered and torn.

He makes me feel sick.

So I hit him with a brick.

And now he don't sing anymore".

A verse from a record by a punk rock group called The Sex Pistols which could be bought outside the Highbury Stadium. (See "Football As A Political Arena": Moonman and Bradley, 1984; Centre for Contemporary Studies, London).

19. "It is a well known fact that many clubs, particularly in big cities, carry with them traces of ethnic or religious divisions. Hearts and Hibs in Edinburgh, Rangers and Celtic in Glasgow, City and United in Manchester, Liverpool and Everton on Merseyside are traditionally

by being respectively Protestant and Catholic". (See "Television - Football - The World": by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith).

20. See note 17, *ibid.*

21. "Finally, there is what one might call the Bedouin Syndrome. The enemy of your enemy is your friend. So Bristol supporters had come along to cheer United, and Manchester City fans to support Cardiff. But your friend of one moment can become the enemy of your next - so while Barry and Cardiff fans unite against the English, they'll be at each others throats when they play each other". (Extract from "Soccers Tribal Wars": by Paul Harrison; *New Society*, 5/9/74).

22. See "Sports Crowd Disorder In Britain 1870-1914. Causes and Controls": by Wray Vamplew, *ibid.*

23. See "Football And Working Class Fans: Tradition And Change" by J Clarke; (p.54,55, *ibid.*).

24. See "The Social Roots Of Football Hooligan Violence": by E Dunning et al, *ibid.*

25. In "Football Hooliganism In The Press", Stuart Hall states that it is not suprising that a militarised style of reporting should spill over on to the terraces; "Here, the line between the sports reporter glorying in the battle on the pitch, and expressing his moral indignation at the battle on the terraces is a very fine one indeed"; (*ibid.*).

26. "Not that commentators are neutral. They may be so in league games but in international games involving one British and one non-British they are often grossly chauvinistic - relying on their existing reputations for "authority" and on the fact that identifications are on the whole not divided and most viewers are prepared to go along with supporting "our lot" against the "other lot".

27. See "Football Hooliganism" by J Pratt and M Salter; *ibid.*
28. See *The Times*, 16/2/85, p.25.
29. See *Sheffield Star*, 16/11/82.
30. See *Portsmouth News*, 26/4/84.
31. See *Portsmouth News*, 23/2/84.
32. See *Sheffield Star*, 18/12/83.
33. See *Portsmouth News*, 13/3/84.
34. See *The Guardian*, 10/12/82, 16/1/83. See also *Portsmouth News*, 25/2/84; *Rothmans Year Book* (1982/83) p.34; *Manchester Evening News*, 11/2/81).
35. See *Sheffield Star*, *ibid*; see also *Portsmouth News*, 23/2/84.
36. See *Sheffield Star*, 16/11/82.
37. See *Sheffield Star*, 6/10/82, 14/10/82.
38. See *Sheffield Star*, 1/3/83.

NOTES.

PART TWO.

1. See "Football, Crowd Behaviour And The Press": by G Whannel, *ibid*.

2. "Firstly it is a "social problem" because society is a bit sick. Violence is occurring on the picket lines; within society itself criminal activity is going on amongst the young. But it is also a problem that is attended to football itself. Football is a medium for the violence - it is an unfortunate recipient of what is a sickness of society"; (John Carlisle, *ibid*).

3. "The most common one is when fans actually jump with emotion, when you actually receive the glory, like winning an important game, then in terms of controlling your emotions, it's almost impossible, for me anyway. The common jumping up and down, which some people complain about, for me is... just a natural expression of the joy that you've achieved something that you went to the ground hoping to achieve. The police may see it as endangering other fans in terms of the crowd tumbling, but the fans that are jumping don't see that and they just take it as the police wanting to spoil that fan's fun and obviously they will resist that and sometimes retaliate to it". (Extract from "Life And Careers On The Soccer Terraces" by P Marsh, *ibid*).

4. Also the police can react very violently and indiscriminately to a comparatively minor fracas at a match; "The Italian police were slow to react, but made up for that by the extreme nature of their reaction. First squads of police ran out of one of the tunnels and waded into any English fan within reach, regardless of whether they were involved in the affray or not". (See "The Sewer Rats", *ibid*).

5a. "Despite public disquiet following the comparatively few but widely publicised incidents when matters have got somewhat out of hand, it is probably unrealistic to demand severe sentences for the majority of football hooligans. However much public anxiety is expressed, it is inconsistent with the principles of natural justice to impose heavy sentences on an offender for an act of misbehaviour which may attract little more than a word of warning if the same incident occurred in some other connection". (P Marsh, *ibid*).

5b. "As far as shouting and chanting go, you could not call the singing of the "Pompey Chimes" or "You'll Never Walk Alone" hooliganism. However when shouting and chanting becomes threatening or abusive - such that trouble may occur, then the police act. As far as tolerating some behaviour the practical difficulties of the situation have to be considered. If you've got two thousand people all chanting "The referee's a wanker" you obviously can't pull them all in. We try to look for "ring leaders" but this too can pose problems".
(Extract from an interview with a senior police officer who is responsible for arranging Portsmouth's home games by Simon Woolfendon, as part of a dissertation for Birmingham University).

6. "A feature of football hooliganism is the importance of quotes - giving reactions to it and the influence these have on the perceptions of the general public. These quotes generally come from six main sources.

1. CLUB SOURCES: managers, secretaries, directors and supporters' club officials.
2. GAME AUTHORITIES: officials of The Football League and Football Association, UEFA officials (on incidents in European matches).
3. LAW AND ORDER: public comments, and in follow up stories, Magistrates comments.
4. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL: usually comments from either Minister for Sport, the Home Secretary or local MP's.
5. TRANSPORT etc: London Transport, British Rail, coach operators and other institutional groups who come into contact with football supporters.
6. PUBLIC: occasionally members of the crowd, but more often "outraged bystanders"; (G Whannel, *ibid*).

7. "When we were at (Midlands club) there was a lot of trouble. The police jut pushed all the visiting fans into their home supporters' end. It started off a lot of fighting. The fans have got it in for Midland supporters now. They really battered the fans. We don't play them til next year, but about two weeks before they'll be thinking of it. The ones that went to (Midlands team) and got battered; they'll be thinking of it and tell their mates. When they (Midlands supporters) come down they'll get their own back". Quote from a Northern fan in "The Soccer Hooligan's Honour System" by C Murray; (New Society, 6/10/77).

8. "The lads revel in newspaper coverage, it gives them a sense of importance to see their activities in print even though it's something they should be ashamed of. They want other supporters to read how hard they are!". (Extract from an interview with a Community Police Officer in Barnsley by T Savage, *ibid*).

9. E Husserl, (1928/64).

10. *Ibid*.

11. E Husserl, (1907/64, s.15ff).

12. E Husserl, (1913/31, p.149).

13. *Ibid*, (p.145).

14. *Ibid*, (p.164).

15. Miller, (1984, p.128ff).

16. E Husserl, (1933/77, s.19, s.27); (1925/77, s.33).

17. E Husserl, (1925/79, s.34, s.40). E T J Findlay, (1970, p.790-791).

18. E Husserl, (1913/31, p.149).

19. E Husserl, (1933/77, s.20).

20. E Husserl, (1925/77, s.40).

21. E Husserl, (1933/77, s.51).

22. "In addition to making reports and exploring causes, the press also has a unique role in articulating public opinion about an issue of concern. It mobilises support for certain lines of preventive, remedial or controlling action. The press can temper public opinion by supporting moderate or rational prescriptions - as it has done in the case of capital punishment. But it can also be a catalyst for public opinion by calling for firm steps to be taken, with respect to a particular problem; or by lending its support to measures of punishment and social control. In this respect, the press - whose private, commercial character gives it greater freedom to comment - is a more active agent than television or national radio, which are governed by stricter rules about impartiality". (S Hall, *ibid*).

23. E Husserl, (1933/77, s.28).

24. See "Football Clubs As Neighbours": by J Bale, *Town and Country Planning*; (March, 1980).

25. E Husserl, (1933/77, s.25).

26. *Sheffield Star*, 12/10/82.

27. Some were prophesying violence at and away match against Bournemouth. A 5 deposit per ticket, refundable if there was no violence was seen as an insult. "Don't worry, we'll have

our money's worth' one man said. "Chelsea wreck trains, Millwall wreck people".

28. The Times, 15/9/83; Sheffield Star, 26/11/82; Daily Star, 19/2/83; The Times, 19/10/84;
Sheffield Star, 22/10/84.

29. Daily Mirror, 14/9/83.

30. Guardian, 20/10/82; Daily Mirror, 12/11/82.

31. Sheffield Star, 24/4/82.

32. Ibid, 18/2/82.

33. Reading Evening Post, 28/4/83.

34. Sheffield Star, 1/9/82.

35. Ibid, 31/8/82.

36. Radio 4 News, 15/11/83.

37. Daily Mirror, 25/1/83; The Times, 10/10/83.

38. Ibid, 10/5/85.

39. Ibid, 14/2/83.

40. Sheffield Star, 4/10/82.

41. Ibid, 7/2/83.

42. Guardian, 11/10/84.

43. See "The Social Roots Of Football Hooliganism", *ibid.*

44. This is illustrated in the conversations between football fans recollecting past instances of hooliganism. (See "Life And Careers On The Soccer Terraces" by Peter Marsh, *ibid.*).

45. "In Scotland the Secretary of State has the power to designate a sports ground, and once designated, if you are caught in possession of so much as a small can of lager, either in the designated sports ground, or attempting to gain admission to it, or on the bus going to the ground, you may be jailed for up to 60 days or fined 200 or both. (See "Unfair To Hooligans" by Ferdinand Mount; *Spectator*, 26/7/80).

46. See "Soccer's Tribal Wars" by Paul Harrison; (*New Society*, 5/10/84).

NOTES.

PART THREE.

1. "Another "innocent weapon" is to sew razor blades under the lining of a soft trilby hat. Up to fifty can be held in place at a time. The front brim is left free as a "handle". The hat is then "wiped" across the face of the victim or attacker". (P Pickering, ibid).
2. See "Life And Careers On The Soccer Terraces", ibid.
3. "Yeah, the little ones, you know, they all come up thinking they're hard, you know, and say if the big ones come in you know and start singing and that, you see all the little kids running off, starting to sing with them. If the big ones start to run they'll start to run just to act hard, you know, and they wait outside the pubs for them and that and this is true, they do, some of them wait outside The Silver Sword for them, and they walk up with them just to think they're hard, just to talk and sing with them", ibid.
4. "Good supporters don't like a team getting beat, so we wait for the other supporters to come out and give it to them. Show them who's boss". (Quote from a young northern fan in "The Soccer Hooligan's Honour System", ibid).
5. See "The Invisible Girl. The Culture Of Femininity Versus Masculinism" by M Brake, (p.149).
6. "Millwall are the biggest poseurs of the lot. Some of them will spend 50 on a Sergio Tocini T-Shirt". (P Pickering, ibid).
7. See "Football And Working Class Fans", ibid.
8. "From these shared values arose a particular culture of football support, containing

specific ways of watching and participating in football - passed on through families, neighbours and friends to each new generation. Each generation received its own "baptism" at the match, was introduced to the history of its club and the game as a whole, was taught the importance of football in their way of life, and was taught how to watch football. (Extract from "Football And Working Class Fans: Tradition And Change", J Clarke, *ibid*).

9. An article in point is "The Sewer Rats" which states how English fans in Turin had been repeatedly menaced and attacked by Italian gangs prior to the game and that at the match the police reacted very drastically and violently to English fans without actually ascertaining who the minority of trouble makers were. (Stuart Weir, *New Society*, April 1980).

Also in what has now been termed "The Brussels Disaster", little was publicised about the fact that 27 police officers were treated in Brussels for injuries from missiles thrown by Italian supporters PRIOR to the attack by the Liverpool fans on their rivals. (See "In Search Of The Hooligan Solution" by John Williams, *Social Studies Review*, November 1985).

10. Indeed this was part of the Queen's speech delivered on 6/11/85; and the subsequent life sentence given to a Chelsea fan who smashed a glass in the face of a publican; (*The Times*, 10/12/85).

11. West Ham fans were even contemplating a league game with Millwall the following season when themselves threatened with relegation from the first to the second division at their defeat by Sheffield Wednesday, April 1985.

12. However, a number of fans will also have left the game early in order to take strategic positions from which to attack the Newcastle supporters as they made their way back to the railway station.

13. A Marplan Survey published in *The News Of The World* showed that 48% of potential supporters blamed their non-attendance on violence at football grounds. (14/8/80).

14. For examples of these riotous scenes see "The Social Roots Of Football Hooliganism - Fan Disorderliness before 1914": by Dunning et al, ibid.

15. "The prime value is loyalty to the team and to your fellow supporters. This means you must retaliate to any insult against the team and you must unquestionably go to the aid of a fellow fan in trouble, regardless of the rights and wrongs of the situation. One cry like "They're beating one of us up in the toilets" and a hundred people would charge towards the scene". (C Murray, ibid).

16. "The first effect of the high density, high rise schemes was to destroy the function of the street, the local pub, the corner shop, as articulations of communal space". (Extract from "Subcultural Conflict And Working Class Community", by P Cohen, from a working paper in Cultural Studies, Vol 2).

17. "Long standing meeting places which remained consequently took on extra significance - one of these was the football ground", ibid.

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GLOSSARY.

ACT: Any lived experience directed to an object; later restricted to actualized as opposed to habitual experiences.

ACTUAL: Noematic correlate of perceptual certainty.

ANALYSIS, intentional: 1. Analysis of experiences into mental processes and their contents. 2. The method for showing how objects are constituted in modes of intentional consciousness.

ANALYTIC: Term applied to formal structures in, for example, logic or mathematics; the usual opposition is "synthetic" or "material" as opposed to "formal".

APPERCEPTION: The interpretative act of sense-bestoyal crucial to perception through which everything which "is" exists for consciousness as something meant; seeing-as-something-meant.

A PRIORI: Universal: holding throughout a fixed domain and necessary as forming a transcendental condition. Formal: delineates structural characteristics of objects independent of the material content. Material: delineates the necessary features of a range of objects in respect of their content.

CONSCIOUSNESS: Originally presentive consciousness as "seeing" always related to the world. Consciousness as a stream of mental processes which are explicit and implicit. Consciousness in the ~~intentionality~~ Transcendental

consciousness: transcendental consciousness as phenomenological residuum.

CONSTITUTION: The act or process whereby an object is created as meaningful; the origin of all sense.

EGO: The identical subject pole of several acts.

EGOLOGY: Study of ego, especially the transcendental ego; phenomenology as egology adopts the first person point of view.

EIDOS, (adj. eidetic): Essence or invariant structure exhibited in but not reducible to the noema.

ESSENCE: What a thing cannot lack and be what it is; whatness as opposed to thatness (existence).

EXPERIENCE: Experience as an Originally presentive act of actuality in nature. Experience as the ultimate source of the general positing of the human world.

EXPLICATION: Explicative (analytic) synthesis and signification forms of formal logic; the idea of explication different from that of the statement in that it unfolds (rather than constitutes) an established understanding in terms of its ready-formed meaning.

FULFILMENT: The confirmation of positing involving an intuitive

of a projected meaning-form with intuitive content.

HORIZON: The context for experience which provides the fringe of marginal acts and contents which surround the thematic core of the field of intentional consciousness. Inner: other aspects of the one thing. Outer: other compatible objects which could be experienced alongside. Temporal: other experiences within the one stream of consciousness.

HYLE, hyletic: Unintentional stuff; the sensory immanent material of lived experience which through the apperceptive element of intentional acts is transformed into meaningful phenomena.

IDEALISM, transcendental or phenomenological: The doctrine that the meaning constitutive of all objects is the production of transcendental consciousness.

IDEATION: The process that begins with particulars and imaginatively varies their content until invariant essence or eidos is obtained.

IMMANENT: Forming an intrinsic component of an experience, as opposed to that which goes beyond it.

INTENTION: The property of an act whereby the act refers to objects.

directed toward something other than itself.

INTERSUBJECTIVITY: Several subjectivities existing for one another so as to form a community sharing a common objective world.

IRREAL: Not belonging or being a part of the real world; for example, phenomena.

NOEMA: The object-face and referent of a noetic act or series of acts.

NOESIS, (adj. noetic), (adj. noetic): Any mental act or process directed to noema; cogito.

NOW: The absolute originary mental process phase.

OBJECTIVITY, (adj. objective): The property of being accessible to everyone; there not just for me but for all.

ONTOLOGY: Study of the general a priori structures of all possible objects or worlds. Formal: that part of pure logic which provides a general theory of any object which exists. Material or regional: theory of the essence of a region of entities.

PHENOMENOLOGY: Eidetic: study of essences and their relations. Genetic: study of the genesis of phenomena, the dynamic processes whereby objects are constituted. Mundane: study of worldly objects prior to transcendental reduction. Transcendental: based

on the phenomenological or transcendental reduction.

PHENOMENON: What is revealed by the phenomenological reduction; the object purified of naive presuppositions.

PROTECTION: The immediate forward reach of consciousness in its expectation toward the future; futural counterpart of retention - the immediate backward reach of consciousness towards the just-past which thereby "lingers" temporarily within consciousness becoming a retention of a retention and so on.

REFLECTION: The act by which consciousness turns inward toward itself and its immanent contents of experience; a reverse internal glance compared its usual outward orientation.

SUBJECTIVITY: The sphere of the subject and his or her consciousness.

SUSPENSION: Phenomenological or transcendental: the act by which the general thesis of belief in factual existence characteristic of the natural attitude is inhibited, suspended, bracketed or turned off, and which uncovers in transcendental subjectivity the acts which constitute pure phenomena.

TELEOLOGY OF CONSCIOUSNESS: The purposive structure of consciousness.

THEME, (adj. thematic): The focus of the field of consciousness.

1

TRANSCENDENT: Status of an intentional object constituted by intentional acts and lying beyond their immanent constituents.

TRANSCENDENTAL: Term designating the sphere of consciousness which is not affected by the phenomenological reduction; the transcendent is constituted by transcendental consciousness.

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GAMES ATTENDED.

1981-1982 Season.

MILLWALL v READING; 13:9:81.

DONCASTER ROVERS v MILLWALL; 17:10:81.

HUDDERSFIELD TOWN v MILLWALL; 31:10:81.

PORTSMOUTH v MILLWALL; 21:10:81.

MILLWALL v PORTSMOUTH; 25:10:81.

MILLWALL v GRIMSBY TOWN; 5:1:82.

SOUTHEND UTD v MILLWALL; 1:2:82.

MILLWALL v WIMBLEDON; 24:2:82.

MILLWALL v SWINDON TOWN; 28:3:82.

BRENTFORD v MILLWALL; 9:4:82.

MILLWALL v FULHAM; 25:4:82.

CHESTERFIELD v MILLWALL; 27:4:82.

MILLWALL v PORTSMOUTH; 8:5:82.

PORTSMOUTH v MILLWALL 21:5:82.

1982-1983 Season.

SHEFFIELD WEDNESDAY v LEEDS UTD; 11:9:82.

SHEFFIELD WEDNESDAY v CHELSEA; 25:9:82.

PORTSMOUTH v MILLWALL; 28:9:82.

MILLWALL v WALLSALL; 23:10:82.

SHEFFIELD UTD v MILLWALL; 30:10:82.

MILLWALL v LINCOLN CITY; 4:12:82.

DONCASTER ROVERS v MILLWALL; 18:12:82.

CARDIFF CITY v MILLWALL; 8:1:83.

MILLWALL v PRESTON; 15:1:83.

MILLWALL v PORTSMOUTH; 6:2:83.

HUDDERSFIELD TOWN v MILLWALL; 12:2:83.

OXFORD UTD v MILLWALL; 19:2:83.

DERBY COUNTY v SHEFFIELD WEDNESDAY; 19:3:83.

ROTHERHAM UTD v SHEFFIELD WEDNESDAY; 2:4:83.

MILLWALL v LINCOLN CITY; 9:4:83.

LINCOLN CITY v MILLWALL; 21:4:83.

MILLWALL v DONCASTER ROVERS; 24:4:83.

OXFORD UTD v MILLWALL; 27:4:83.

READING v MILLWALL; 30:4:83.

MILLWALL v NEWPORT COUNTY; 2:5:83.

MILLWALL v BRENTFORD; 17:5:83.

1983-1984 Season.

MILLWALL v SHEFFIELD UTD; 1:10:83.

ROTHERHAM UTD v MILLWALL; 18:10:83.

WIMBLEDON v MILLWALL; 27:10:83.

SHEFFIELD UTD v ROTHERHAM; 26:12:83.

MILLWALL v BRENTFORD; 18:1:84.

SHEFFIELD UTD v MILLWALL 4:2:84.

MILLWALL v LINCOLN CITY; 20:4:84.

SHEFFIELD WEDNESDAY v CRYSTAL PALACE; 28:4:84.

1984-1985 Season.

CHELSEA v MILLWALL; 26:9:84.

ROTHERHAM UTD v MILLWALL; 6:10:84.

ROTHERHAM UTD v ORIENT; 24:10:84.

WALLSALL v CHELSEA; 30:10:84.

SHEFFIELD WEDNESDAY v CHELSEA; 1:1:85.

ROTHERHAM UTD v HULL CITY; 16:2:85.

MILLWALL v LEICESTER CITY; 19:2:85.

ROTHERHAM UTD v MILLWALL; 21:3:85.

ROTHERHAM UTD v DONCASTER ROVERS; 23:3:85.

LUTON TOWN v MILLWALL; 13:3:85.

DERBY COUNTY v MILLWALL; 3:4:85.

HULL CITY v MILLWALL; 6:4:85.

SHEFFIELD UTD v LEEDS UTD; 23:3:85.

SHEFFIELD WEDNESDAY v WEST HAM; 20:4:85.