

# Hooligan Writing and the Study of Football Fan Culture: Problems and Possibilities.

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## ABSTRACT

This essay looks at problems and possibilities associated with research into football hooligan memoirs, or what has been called hit and tell literature. It captures material from a continuing research project on the link between football hooligans writing their own (his)stories and the history of British football hooligan subcultures, especially with regard to 'casual' youth culture. Interviews with the writers of these football hooligan memoirs illuminate a number of complex issues around oral history and working class writing. The research is situated at the intersection between oral history, leisure studies, cultural criminology, and post-subcultural studies. The essay considers some implications for the study of male dominated youth subcultures and the methodologies to be employed. The essay claims that the study of hooligan literature might lead, ultimately, to better informed ethnographies of subcultures.

## KEYWORDS

Casuals, Youth Culture, Deviance, Skinheads, Football Hooliganism, Subculture, Masculinity, Post-Subculture, Hit and Tell Lit, Low Sport Journalism.

The best cinematic account of football hooliganism and its connection to British youth culture and popular music is in a film version of Kevin Sampson's debut novel *Awaydays* (Sampson, 1998), based around the Pack, a group of Tranmere Rovers football casuals who strutted their stuff in the late 1970s. The film was released for the cinema in 2009 with an evocative post-punk soundtrack. But, rather than cult fiction, it is football hooligan memoirs, or hit and tell (Redhead, 2004c) stories, which have to some extent displaced, for mass media moral panics, the incidents of football hooligan violence that seemed to punctuate the football match reports of the late 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. These print tales of 'low sport journalism' (Redhead, 2010), are also showcased now in all kinds of other media. In 2007 Carlton Leach (Leach, 2003, Leach, 2008) witnessed his story of the transition from Inter City Firm (ICF) football hooligan at West Ham United in the 1970s and 1980s to Essex gangster in the 1990s fictionally portrayed in Julian Gilbey's film *Rise of the Footsoldier* which stands as the most pervasive and extreme use of the crossover football hooligan/gangster style to date (Redhead, 2010). In 2008 another prominent former member of West Ham's Inter City Firm, Cass Pennant, saw his own story (Pennant, 2008) committed to celluloid in the film *Cass*. Also in 2008 a cool modernist, artistically produced edition of Dave Hewitson's classic casual memoir *The Liverpool Boys Are In Town: The Birth of Terrace Culture* came onto the UK streets, designed by the Eleanor Suggett Studio and published by Liverpool's Bluecoat Press.

The 'hit and tell' football hooligan literature certainly sells, to an extent. Large formats A-L and M-Z of Britain's Hooligan Gangs published in 2005 sold out within a year and went into new paperback editions in the 2007-2008 British football season (Lowles and Nicholls, 2007a, 2007b). A hardback historical account of Leeds United's football hooligan gangs written by a female BBC journalist (Gall, 2007) published in December 2007 sold out by the New Year 2008 and set the fans' forums and websites buzzing with gossip and rumour as one of its top boy interviewees, Eddie Kelly, was arrested by West Yorkshire police within days of the book's release. This football hooligan literature is mostly unashamedly partisan and boastful, recounting up to forty years of aggressive male football fandom associated with a particular British league club, music and fashion obsessions and the behaviour of its mob, firm or crew. There is fierce debate amongst academics about how useful they are as narrative texts (Dart, 2008, Gibbons, Dixon and Braye, 2008, Redhead, 2004c, 2010). The texts are written in the form of fan memoir. Few of them have any pretensions to academic style or journalistic convention. The hooligan fan writings are often formularised and couched in deliberately trashy formats. Quotations and conversations are seemingly made up at will. The authors are almost always male and in their late thirties, forties or fifties, old enough to have been there, done that and bought the T shirt in the so-called Golden Age of the 1970s and early 1980s. Much of the writing is untutored, and sometimes even bordering on illiteracy. By virtue of their age and their subcultural practices, however, the 'deviant' hooligan writers have become self-styled oral historians and archivists of a period when post-industrial Britain, and its football culture, was said to be undergoing fundamental modernisation. International academic research, and social and cultural theory, can learn from these documents. But the hooligan literature writers, for the most part, balk at expertise, criteria for measurement and learning. Indeed academia, like the media, is the enemy, seen as partly responsible for the myriad misrepresentations of football fan culture and its history which these books perceive as a fundamental problem and consequently seek to put to rights. In the late 1960s new criminologists wrote 'speculative sociology of soccer hooliganism' for the National Deviancy Conference (Cohen, 1970) and debate about accuracy, authenticity and realism in hooligan research has persisted ever since.

### **Sweet and Tender Hooligan**

The football hooligan memoir authors' interest in the male violence and male bonding of what were once labelled in pulp fiction 'terrace terrors' is wrapped up in an almost camp fascination with hardness in male youth culture (1) most famously exhibited by Morrissey of The Smiths as he pursued his solo career in the 1990s and 2000s (Brown, 2008). The link between gay and skinhead subcultures is certainly worth reconsidering (Healy, 1996) in this context. The connection between football hooligan literature and football hooligan subcultures needs to be taken seriously within contemporary studies of deviance and this

essay suggests some theoretical and methodological signposts for the study of subculture with an emphasis, though not exclusively forged, on casual youth culture. This research work into British football hooliganism literature also rethinks earlier work on rave culture (Redhead, 1990, 1993a, 1993b) and football hooligan subcultures (McLaughlin and Redhead, 1985, Redhead, 1987, 1991, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 2000) in the light of appreciation and critique of such work in recent youth subcultural theory debates (Blackshaw and Crabbe, 2004, Blackman, 2005, Hesmondalgh, 2005, Bennett, 2005, Greener and Hollands, 2006, Hall and Jefferson, 2006). The research of which this article forms a part maps, through a collection and reading of football hooligan fan memoirs, the history of the moments of the birth of casual in the late 1970s and the coming together of the football hooligan and rave subcultures in the late 1980s/early 1990s and the later re-mixing of these moments. The present research shows that although these football hooligan subcultures disappeared from the mainstream media gaze for a time, there remain elements or traces of these real subcultures today. The argument is that there is something of a comeback, or slight return of football hooligan subcultures in the twenty-first century (Redhead, 2008b, 2008c) buried in the retracing of the histories of the football hooligan subcultures of the past. Some hooligans who have returned to the fray after the 1990s have died (see dedication in Lowles and Nicholls, 2007b) or are in long term imprisonment after militaristic police operations and relatively severe court sentences frequently stimulated by media hyper-moral panics (Giulianotti, Bonney and Hepworth 1994: 229-261, Stott and Pearson, 2007). However a trawl through the football hooligan memoirs reveals a sustained contemporary commitment to fighting firms, especially in the lower leagues in Britain. Gilroy Shaw in his history of Wolverhampton Wanderers football crews suggests that:

A lot has been said over the last few years about the decline of the football hooligan, and the police through the media every now and then release a statement to say that they are winning the battle in the fight against hooliganism. With more banning orders, more police and stewards and CCTV, they claim that the football hooligan will soon be eradicated. That may well be in the big, mega-bucks world of the Premiership, but down in the lower leagues, believe me, nothing's changed. You look at the unfashionable, so-called smaller clubs like Shrewsbury, Hereford, Aldershot, Newport County, Hull, Luton and Wrexham, who can all, on their day, pull a mob that would put their Premiership cousins in the shade. They're still doing it week in, week out, and it mostly goes unreported. (Shaw and King, 2005: 130)

The research project reported on here engages contains some insights for the disciplines of cultural studies on the one hand and criminology on the other, and the respective sub-disciplines of post-subcultural studies and cultural criminology. Indeed this essay is intended as a signpost towards what I call a post-subcultural criminology. A certain rethinking of the concept of subculture, as if we are now 'after subculture' (Bennett and Kahn-Harris, 2004) or 'beyond subculture' (Huq, 2006), has taken place over the past decade

(Blackman, 2006, Greener and Hollands, 2006). The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) seminal work at the University of Birmingham in the 1970s (Hall and Jefferson, 2006, Hebdige, 1979) is infrequently given its due but much of its critique of earlier work on subcultures remains pertinent. A second edition of its classic collection of essays on youth subcultures in post-war Britain, *Resistance Through Rituals*, re-emphasises the pioneering nature of the work whilst coming to terms with more recent approaches such as postmodernism (Hall and Jefferson, 2006: xix-xxi) and postfeminism (Hall and Jefferson, 2006: xxiv-xxv). As has been noted elsewhere (Free and Hughson, 2003), Angela McRobbie's strictures about gender blindness in subcultural research are as relevant to what have been called the 'new ethnographies' (Hughson, 1998) of football hooligan subcultures as ever they were. The specific work on football hooligan subcultures at the CCCS by writers like John Clarke (Hall and Jefferson, 2006: 80-3) linking skinheads, football hooliganism and the magical recovery of community was always exemplary. The origins of the concept of subculture' in the Chicago School criminology (Jencks, 2005, Blackman, 2006) of the early part of the twentieth century risk being erased as new generations of scholars emerge in a new century, and new subcultures such as emo - from emotional punk (Simon and Kelley, 2007) - as well as older subcultures like goth (Brill, 2008), punk and northern soul (Wilson, 2007) present themselves for sustained new ethnographic and theoretical analyses. Nevertheless, the emergence of 'clubcultures' and 'post-subculture' (Redhead, 1997c) as fresh concepts and the subsequent imagining of the figure of the 'post-subculturalist' (see Muggleton in Redhead, 1997c) and the development of a sub-discipline of post-subcultural studies have rapidly gained pace (Muggleton, 2000, Muggleton and Weinzierl, 2003, Bennett, and Kahn-Harris, 2004, Greener and Hollands, 2006). A symposium held in Vienna, Austria shortly after the turn of the millennium in 2001 entitled 'Post-Subcultural Studies: New Formations within Popular Culture and their Political Impact' (Muggleton and Weinzierl, 2003: 3) helped to kick-start this new international sub-discipline which is situated at the intersection of criminology, socio-legal studies, sociology and cultural studies. Yet studies of football hooliganism have tended to eschew this sub-discipline in favour of more established views of subculture and hooliganism, however theoretically varied (Ingham, 1978, Cohen and Robins, 1978, Robins, 1984, Dunning, Murphy and Williams, 1984, Dunning, Murphy and Williams, 1988, Dunning, Murphy and Williams, 1991, Armstrong, 1998, Giulianotti, 1999, King, 2002, Dunning, Murphy and Waddington, 2002, Frostdick and Marsh, 2005, Stott and Pearson, 2007). The discussion of contemporary football hooligan literature and subcultures illuminates the general state of the sub-discipline of cultural criminology (Katz, 1988, Redhead, 1995, Ferrell and Sanders, 1995, Ferrell, Hayward, Morrison and Presdee, 2004, Presdee, 2000, Presdee, 2004, Young, Ferrell and Hayward, 2008, Hayward, 2004, Young, 1999, Young, 2007), and also theories of subculture, youth culture and popular culture overall, an amalgam I once labelled popular cultural studies (Redhead, 1995, 1997b, 1997c.). Especially, this is important in terms of the conceptions of

modernity employed (Young, 2007). The idea of late modernity, employed by Jock Young in a stimulating cultural criminology discussion of the ‘vertigo’ of the current conjuncture (Young, 2007) is one version. In the lonely hour of the last instance, however, late modernity seems forever present. The notion of postmodern tribe, deriving from the work of Michel Maffesoli, has received considerable discussion in the context of football and its fan communities (Crabbe, 2008) as has the idea of liquid fandom inspired by the work of Zygmunt Bauman (Crabbe, 2008, Blackshaw, 2008). In a recent series of debates, a binary division between subcultural theorists and post-subcultural theorists has appeared (Greener and Hollands, 2006, Blackman, 2006). For some theorists (Blackman, 2006, Bennett, 2006) a general postmodern subcultural theory has been identified in these debates which includes post-subcultural theory, drawing on such theorists as Jean Baudrillard, on subculture, rave and football hooliganism which has been seen to be part of this cluster of postmodern subcultural theory (Hollands, 2002, Chatterton and Hollands, 2003, Greener and Hollands, 2006, Blackman, 2006, Bennett, 2006) where youth styles are seen to be ‘depthless, transitory and internally fragmented’ although both the theoretical endeavour and the subcultures themselves have proved to be rather more enduring.

What about the explicit connection between football hooligan subcultures and subculture in general? A recent book covering subculture as a whole fails to mention football hooligan subcultures at all (Gelder, 2007). Significantly, too, work on football hooligan subcultures has not featured in this rethinking of subculture in post-subcultural studies, or in the related sub-discipline of cultural criminology (Redhead, 1995, Ferrell and Sanders, 1995, Ferrell, Hayward, Morrison and Presdee, 2004, Presdee, 2004), though related studies of contemporary rave culture have figured strongly (Presdee, 2000, Muggleton and Weinzierl, 2003: 101-117, Bennett and Kahn-Harris, 2004: 65-78, Gelder, 2007: 64-5, Nayak and Kehily, 2008: 56-9). Perhaps the reason for this omission is that little sustained sociological and anthropological theorising and rigorous academic ethnography of football hooligan subcultures has been conducted over the last twenty-five years. Honourable exceptions to this rule are relatively rare (Armstrong, 1998, Robson, 2000, Sugden, 2002, Sugden, 2007, Slaughter, 2004). In these and a few other cases long term participant observation work has been carried out. Clubs’ whose football firms have been involved include Sheffield United, Millwall and Manchester United. In many other instances, it is clear that fans winding up gullible authors and journalists with hooligan stories have become almost a full time job. Another reason is that the specific intertwining of football hooligan subcultures and rave culture was generally a UK phenomenon rather than an international one (Redhead, 1990, 1991, 1993a, Anderson and Kavanaugh, 2007). A further reason is that football hooliganism has become something of, in Jean Baudrillard’s terms (Pawlett, 2007, Merrin, 2005, Redhead, 2008a), a simulacrum through media simulation. The extreme form of football hooligan subculture has

manifested itself in the strange pulp faction of the once underground football thug writing scene. Much of this is now online. One way into a realm of better informed ethnographies of contemporary football hooligan subcultures is through this simulacrum (Redhead, 2008a, 2008b, 2010).

### **Tooty Fruities, Wacky Youth and the Spotty Dog Crew**

As opposed to the relative dearth of recent cultural studies accounts of football hooligan subcultures, low culture amateur journalistic accounts continue to proliferate; what I see as ‘low sport journalism’ (Redhead, 2010). They are now extensive in number and together form a vast library of hooligan stories in the fashionable, confessional form of sports fan memoir (Hornby, 1992, Redhead, 2004c, Redhead, 2010, Cowley, 2009). Part of the ongoing research work is archival, involving a comprehensive collection and reading of over twenty years worth of football hooligan memoirs in book form. Other parts of the work involve studying the extensive cyberspace hooligan wars. Yet other parts involve interviewing the authors themselves about their writing. There are collected in the research archive in the Chelsea School at the University of Brighton eighty-nine books written by self-confessed hooligans about their hooligan exploits or by writers who have interviewed them about these activities. These books are listed in A-Z form in Appendix 1. Some of the football hooligan memoirs are hardback only, some were issued originally in paperback, yet others have gone into paperback after hardback editions ran out. The firms, crews and gangs covered in these books are associated with current professional Premier or Football League football clubs in England and Scotland, or clubs who have once been League members (although it is true that the general non-league scene also has firms associated with it). The clubs involved are listed in A-Z form in Appendix 2. The earliest football hooligan memoir can be dated from 1987 and there are still published memoirs in the pipeline today.

In 2002 a considerable boost to the ‘low sport journalism’ genre was given by the Writing on the Wall Festival in Liverpool, organized by author Phil Thornton, whose paperback history of casual youth culture is simply peerless (Thornton, 2003) and has sold over 30,000 copies to date. The Festival that year focused on the rise of the hooligan gang memoir. Authors Cass Pennant (West Ham United), Martin King (Chelsea) and Tony Rivers (Cardiff City) were panellists at the event. Pete Walsh of Milo Books represented the publishing arm (John Blake publishing was the only other independent competitor and was not represented). Subsequently Walsh commissioned many more hooligan books at Milo, concentrating on the angle of ‘aggro’ rather than culture to sell the texts to eager consumers. Pennant and King saw there was an opportunity to set up independent publishing ventures and Pennant books and Headhunter books

were created within a year or so of the Liverpool writing event. At the time of writing the increase of football hooligan memoirs since 2002 has now slowed considerably. In the 1980s and early 1990s these hit and tell football thug authored writings appeared in underground fanzines or very limited edition, poorly distributed, hastily printed books (Redhead, 1987, 1991, 1997a). But by the late 1990s a distinctive market had been created and a number of tiny independent publishers with a finger on the pulse of the vagaries of football fan culture responded by commissioning a host of new books with relatively small margins for profit. The best example of the hit and tell genre are the true confession writings published since 1997 by the independent venture Milo Books based in North West England with its own internet website, but other small independent publishers, (also now equipped with internet sites) mainly shipping product to eager individual virtual customers, as well as high street book and music shops, have, as we have seen, been emerging in recent years. The most prominent apart from Milo are: John Blake Publishing, begun in the 1990s by the journalist John Blake, Headhunter Books, begun in 2004 by the former hooligan and writer Martin King, and Pennant Books, begun in 2005 by the former hooligan and writer Cass Pennant. Milo, a small scale Lancashire publishing business, originally located in Bury and subsequently removed to Lytham St Annes and then Wrea Green, is the brainchild of journalist Peter Walsh, who, in his forties is the same age as the ‘old boy’ hooligans who write the memoirs that he publishes. Walsh, who was educated in Blackpool, worked as a reporter for various newspapers in his career including the *Manchester Evening News*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Sun* and the *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, and also the BBC. He has produced provocative investigative journalism on contemporary gang violence for various different media. In particular his study of the Manchester gang wars in the 1990s is an outstanding, well researched journalistic account of organised and disorganised crime in a contemporary urban setting (Walsh, 2003). His publishing company has also showcased other sharp journalistic portrayals of the historical contours and current shape of the British underground economy. Walsh, the publisher, has also worked jointly with his authors in some cases, especially in the writing of the histories of Manchester United (O’Neill, 2005) and Manchester City (Francis and Walsh, 1997) football gangs. Walsh has subsequently expanded his publishing enterprise to include books on boxing, street fighters, bare-knuckle fighting, anti-fascist left wing violence, histories of city gangs and biographies of American gangsters but it is the hooligan memoirs which fill the bookshelves and gain most lurid publicity for his company. As a small, hand to mouth operation, Milo has gained from moral panic on the one hand and the mixing of music and football culture on the other. Milo Books, along with Pennant, John Blake and Headhunter Books, have rapidly become part of a ‘cult’ publishing category. This style has now become so familiar that it has provoked publishers to produce their own comic parodies of the genre (Fist and Baddiel, 2005, Cheetham and Eldridge, 2006) extending to contents pages, ‘Chapter Fucking One’, ‘Chapter Fucking Two’, and so on, and general subcultural argot. Academic analysis of this media form by

Emma Poulton has resulted in the label fantasy football hooliganism (Poulton, 2006, 2007, 2008a, 2008b). In 2008 Pete Walsh of Milo Books dramatically announced that the company was not commissioning any more of what it termed ‘hoolie’ books due to the saturation of the market. Other publishers have had public fallouts with the potential authors of these confessions further increasing the likelihood of fewer books being published. Moreover, bookshops such as Waterstone’s in the UK have been involved in controversy over the sale of hooligan memoirs – the shop in Cardiff for example was inundated with complaints after ‘hit and tell’ books on Welsh football gangs were included in a section in the shop entitled ‘Pride of Wales’. Many authors are now turning to self-publishing websites like lulu.com in order to get their memoirs published. Legislation may however bring the low sport journalism genre to a premature end. In late 2008 the Labour government announced a bill which, if passed, would criminalise the publishing of confessions of criminals for profit. Both John Blake and Milo publishers condemned the proposals as unworkable and unreasonable.

Added to the myriad websites, blogs, e-zines and fans’ forums on the internet, these memoirs can be rigorously studied for an oral history contribution to the study of football fan culture. These archived memoirs are, if appropriately employed, able to add to the pre-existing body of knowledge produced in the late 1970s and 1980s (and to some extent 1990s) about football hooligan subcultures especially in the context of moral panics about football hooligan gangs in the mainstream media. The mass media moral panics about soccer jobs are still prevalent, although not as numerous as they were in the 1970s and 1980s (Ingham, 1978, Whannel, 1979, Redhead, 1987, 1991, 1997a) but the press and TV news stories are even further removed from the street culture that they portray than they were twenty or thirty years ago. Predictably they trumpet a drug fuelled new soccer violence. For instance, a *News of the World* crime investigation (Panton, 2008) in 2008 labelled a ‘new breed of football louts’ as ‘hooli-sons’. It claimed that they were ‘causing mayhem at matches’ and that ‘there was an alarming rise in the number of teenage soccer jobs’ many of whom it alleged ‘were the offspring of football thugs from the 1970s and 1980s’, the same ‘old boys’ who write the football hooligan memoir books. *The News of the World* confidently asserted that:

‘Teenage louts, some as young as 13 and fuelled by cocaine and other drugs, are using mobile phones to organise through group texts. Punch-ups between rival fans are also arranged via Facebook and You Tube. Cops have been forced to raid burger bars to break up gangs because the teenage tearaways are too young to be served in pubs. Millwall’s young thugs call themselves the WACKY YOUTH, Liverpool’s teens louts are called the URCHINS and Barnsley’s are known as 50 UP. Arsenal’s young hooligans used to be the TOOTY FRUITIES, slang for cocaine, but dropped it after getting stick from rival louts who branded the tag effeminate. A police source said “these youngsters have been brought up to take on the mantle from their fathers and are groomed to have the same hatred for their team’s rivals”. Banning orders have helped slash levels of football violence from its



peak 20 years ago. The police source said “these kids don’t respect officers. Most older generation supporters call it a day when the cops arrive but the young ones will stand and argue”. Police are convinced cocaine is behind the new soccer violence. The source said “the worrying thing is coke makes people unpredictable and more prone to violence.’

In the context of this kind of journalism the ‘amateur’ hooligan memoirs make a lot more sense than the accounts of the so-called professionals.

As has been noted (see Appendix 1) there are many dozens of low sport journalism published accounts by so-called ‘top boys’, with a variety of club firms, crews or gangs involved. There are also A-Z edited volumes of hundreds of hooligan firms, mapped historically and geographically throughout the nation. As one book’s dust jacket proclaimed, it ‘covers the whole spectrum of gangs from Aberdeen to Luton Town...the Barnsley Five-O and their vicious slashing at the hands of Middlesbrough...the combined force of Dundee Utility...the riots of the Leeds Service Crew...Benny’s Mob, the Main Firm, the Lunatic Fringe, the Bastard Squad – they’re all here, together with numerous photos of mobs, fights and riots’ (2005 first edition of Lowles and Nicholls, 2007a). The majority of these ‘hoolie lit’ books by self-styled ‘hooliologists’ (Pennant, 2008) have been published in the last few years and are mainly about events in the era of the 1970s and 1980s, and, to some extent, the 1990s, and even less about the 2000s. ‘Facts’ about these events, and conversations during them, are seemingly treated in a cavalier way and in a completely un-chronological order, though many of these texts are adorned with photographs and newscuttings kept contemporaneously by the authors in their hyper-diarising of their hooligan activities and media notoriety. The ritual stoking of the historical and geographical rivalries between fans, clubs and gangs, however, is always the aim and this purpose is more or less achieved (King, 2004). Through this methodology, drawing on football hooligan memoirs and extrapolating from the clubs they mention, there are now narrative testimonies of the existence of 151 British football hooligan gangs over the last forty years with a connection to the fans of these particular clubs (see Appendix 3). It is noteworthy that the authors of two volumes on British football hooligan gangs history (Lowles and Nicholls, 2007a, 2007b) claim to have interviewed 200 hundred former hooligans from different gangs. The number of 151 gangs is likely to be a considerable underestimate as many football hooligan gangs come in and out of existence very quickly or simply change their names. Another complicating factor is that main firms are frequently made up from smaller gangs in the local area. For instance it has been suggested in web forums that Middlesbrough’s infamous main firm Frontline comprised, at least in the past, local gangs known as B-Farm Boys, Border Boot Boys, Park End Crew, Newport Gang, Dogg Mob, Stockton Firm, Stockton Wrecking Crew, Redcar Reds, Port Boys, Haverton Hill Mob, NTP (actually Netherfields, Thorntree and Park End estates mob), Block 2, Bob End Crew, Ayresome Angels, Eston Boys, and Whinney Bronx Boys. The same goes for most other hooligan firms.

On an additional methodology (see Appendix 4) there are estimated to be 245 other firms, distinct from the ones talked about in football hooligan memoirs. That is in addition to the 151. These British hooligan gangs have been in existence at some time over the last forty years. Some are still in existence. The approximate total of football hooligan gangs in Britain since the watershed year of 1967-1968 (when skinheads were first emerging as a youth culture on British streets) can be calculated, adding the previous 151 identified. The overall total is 396.

### **Glamorous Hooligans and Terrace Culture**

This interim audit of football hooligan gangs for ethnographic and historical research purposes for post-subcultural studies and cultural criminology is thus aided and abetted by the extensive hit and tell, low sport journalism literature and its oral history of football, culture and modernity. The books are self-reflexive about their contribution to an oral history of football, hooliganism and youth subcultures. The introduction to one of them entitled *Villains* claims:

‘Aston Villa FC is one of the biggest and best-supported football clubs in Britain...The story of their terrace army, however, has never been told – until now. Like all major clubs, Villa have had their hooligans and hardmen, who have been involved in some of the fiercest battles of the past four decades. *Villains* traces their gangs from the 1960s up to the present day. Through first-person testimony, it reveals for the first time the antics of the Steamers who, led by a band of colourful and fearless characters, put Villa on the hooligan map. Eventually they were superceded by the C Crew, a multi-racial gang who came together during Birmingham’s Two-Tone period and the parallel casual era.’ (Brown and Brittle, 2006: 10)

Some of the old boy authors have published more mainstream (but still well documented alternative) accounts of football fandom and working class histories around certain clubs (Allt, 2007, King and Knight, 2006). The public launches of the hooligan memoir books have effectively been celebratory gatherings of dozens of old boy hooligans who twenty or thirty years ago would have been leading their firms into battle but who now swap authors’ stories over a few beers yet there is a self-reflexivity present which would possibly surprise academics. Mark ‘Jasper’ Chester, ant-gang campaigner and author of two Milo books plus a website which offers his services for hire as a speaker to university courses, recalls the media moral panic over the launch of one of them, his twenty-year story of ‘life with the naughty forty football firm’ attached to Stoke City. Chester says (Chester, 2005: 1-3):

‘The initial outrage...turned to a full outcry of anger and disbelief when the authorities discovered my intended launch venue and so a media campaign against the book gained momentum. Despite once being a fiercely private person, I had spilt my guts on to the keyboard of a laptop over

the previous twelve months and I now found myself toe to toe with the media, the police and Stoke City Council... The fact that I was one of those “mindless thugs” who could actually hold an intellectual conversation, instead of frothing out abuse and foul-mouthed obscenities, meant the council raised no objection... The event was something a bit special even by our standards. The Kings Hall in its heyday was a concert venue, and that’s exactly what we had, a rowdy concert. In excess of 1,300 people crammed into the venue from two in the afternoon until mid-night... Between bands, DJs kept the mood moving with guest appearances from the author of *Casuals*, Phil Thornton, and Farm front man Peter Hooton. The whole place was enveloped in testosterone as ninety per cent of the congregation was male and most full-on football hooligans of all ages and experience.’

The hit and tell genre, recounts, indeed celebrates, hyper-violent male football fandom associated with a particular British league club and its mob, crew or firm. However, the authors are frequently at pains to emphasise that they are no longer involved in illegality and other forms of social deviance. An ‘author’s note’ to one book reads: ‘We would like to straighten out our fundamental position at the start of this book, which is that we are no longer football hooligans. We don’t believe in or condone any form of football violence on or off the pitch today. This is just a public documentation of our past’. (Brown and Brittle, 2006) Frequently the books come with a health warning about violence and read almost as moral tales. As Carlton Leach on watching the autobiographical film *Rise of the Footsoldier* recalls of his days with the Inter City Firm of West Ham United and Essex gang life it was hardly the life of a ‘glamorous hooligan’(2):

‘It was hard for me to watch how I fucked my life up and hurt those around me – Denny, my partner, a really lovely lady, never did me any harm, good mum, good housewife and I put her through all that shit when I went on the doors. I saw that in the film and felt quite ashamed of myself. Back then I was frightening... I want kids to realise you have to fucking look before you get into things, really go into what it’s all about, the real world, how deep, dark and nasty it is. They’re not all good people you’re going to meet. You can’t walk into a world of selling drugs and hurting people and expect it to be glamorous.’ (Leach, 2008: 302)

The rivalry between the crews or firms (the main content of the books: who did what to whom and when) is now compounded by the rivalry between the books, and authors, themselves. The books are written in the form of fan memoir but nothing could be further from the literary style and social function of the original ‘soccerati’ writing of Nick Hornby (Hornby, 1992) who helped to make football culture fashionable after Italia 90 (Redhead, 1991, 1997a, King, 2002, Guilianotti, 1999). Few of these books have any pretensions to formal style or literary protocol, though two (Gall, 2005, 2007) are fully authored by a female professional journalist who made contact with the Birmingham City and Leeds United gangs in question. The books adopt deliberately trashy formats. It is a self-conscious punk, Do-It-Yourself trash aesthetic which is pursued. Titles are long and winding. Even if the headline is snappy, the effect is a parody of a blend of tabloid journalism and hard boiled crime fiction. Although there were female football casuals, the authors are almost always male and in their forties or fifties, the ‘old boys’ in Patrick Slaughter’s term (Slaughter, 2004). Originally

what was once referred to by Nick Hornby and his media cheerleaders as the ‘new football writing’ (King, 2002) steered clear of hooligan stories. But later in the 1990s and early 2000s, as gangster chic British movies flooded the cinemas, a market was created for the hooligan hit and tell, or what the late Steven ‘Seething’ Wells (Wells, 2003) once called ‘kick lit’, accounts which were often fictionalised - in form if not in content. These non-fiction commodities were effectively pulp, appearing for sale in True Crime sections of bookshops and libraries rather than sport journalism shelves. They became so ubiquitous that it started to be a badge of honour for firms to refuse to co-operate with publishers to produce the authorised ‘old boy’ memoir of their crew. That was the only way for the contemporary mob to look distinct and different from its rivals. Leeds United hooligans were an example of this for some time but succumbed eventually to a Leeds Service Crew memoir (Gall, 2007). ‘Smaller’ clubs, ostensibly without well know firms, have often been covered in these texts. For example, the Brimson brothers Dougie and Eddie, in particular, have contributed numerous hit and tell accounts, initially about Watford but eventually over the years on British football hooliganism in general (Brimson and Brimson, 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 1998, Dougie Brimson, 1998a, 2003, 2006, 2007, and Eddie Brimson, 1998b, 2001). Dougie Brimson was also responsible for the script for a football hooligan gang feature film directed by Lexi Alexander and starring Elijah Wood, originally called *The Yank* but renamed *Green Street* (after the film’s fictional football firm the Green Street Elite) when released for the cinema in 2005 (*Green Street 2* was released in 2009). Colin Ward (Ward, 1996, 1998, 2004, Ward and Henderson, 2002, Ward and Hickmott, 2000), one of the first of the hooligan authors, publishing an early memoir in the late 1980s before Nick Hornby had cornered the market for football fandom, has argued that there are a number of reasons Millwall, among the most notorious clubs for hooliganism whose away cup tie clash with Hull City in early 2009 created banner headlines, has not had a memoir published:

‘Who wants to read about days in Grimsby, Stockport, etc? They spent so long in the lower leagues and they only took a few hundred fans most weeks. They took a few to Cardiff and other places, but they never mustered the numbers like Chelsea or others. Millwall had a famous day out at Everton when they took the Everton end (1970) and ran the place ragged (a Millwall fan lost his life that day) but you could never find anybody who could talk eloquently about it. I remember them coming into The Finsbury Park Tavern before an FA Cup tie and absolutely beating everybody to a pulp. They were hurting people because it was their fun. Who wants to read about that? I was in The Shed that day when Millwall came in and after doing well initially they took a bit of a spank as they didn’t have the numbers. I was also outside The Shed one cold evening after an FA Cup replay when 200 Millwall waited for a bust up and got caned outside The Gunter Arms. A strange bunch, but they didn’t have the numbers to really make it work regularly. They had some memorable pitched battles with Chelsea and West Ham over the years and they used to hang out waiting for known faces late on a Saturday night at Charing Cross station, but they were far too tribal and always wanted to get back to the Old Kent Road as quick as possible. Luton was their favourite day out as they loved to ambush Luton around the subway tunnels, but their violence was always about violence not the laugh element. The ICF were funny because they were so arrogant, but they were a tight knit group who gained notoriety which is why Cass has done so well. No One Likes Us, We Don’t Care Millwall sung and the fact is that I doubt many of them have learned to write.’

Despite the strictures about ‘not trying this at home’ the hit and tell books celebrate and generally romanticise the history of football hooligan subcultures which began in the late 1960s with skinheads’ emergence as a British youth subculture. The late 1970s witnessed the development of casual youth culture (Redhead, 1987, 1991, Thornton, 2003, Allt, 2007: 59-100, Hough, 2007) and mutated to some extent into rave culture in the late 1980s. Designer labels and soccer have gone hand in hand since the late 1970s and early 1980s subcultural moment of casual, becoming mainstream sometime in the mid 1980s and an international youth style ever since. Casual history, or history of ‘the casual’ (3) is the missing key to the sociology of British soccer hooligan culture over the last forty years. Casual has in fact been far from a transient youth culture predicted by some postmodern criminologists in the 1980s and 1990s. Merseyside was the birthplace of what became casual youth culture (Hewitson, 2008, Allt, 2004, 2009), although that particular Northern city would not have recognised the label, preferring the monikers ‘Smoothies, Straights, Squares and Scallies’ at the time (Hewitson, 2008: 17). Merseyside was quickly followed by Manchester and then, after a time, London, and eventually by the middle of the 1980s almost all other UK cities and major towns. As Milo Books, the publishers of Ian Hough’s initial memoir of the ‘casual gangs of Manchester and Salford’, proclaimed:

‘The Perry Boys are one of the great untold stories of modern youth culture. They emerged in the pivotal year of 1979 in inner-city Manchester and Salford, a mysterious tribe of football hooligans and trendsetters united by a new fashion. Their only counterparts at the time were the Scallies of Liverpool, who became their biggest rivals both on and off the terraces. As a young follower of Manchester United, Ian Hough witnessed first-hand how the bootboys of the infamous Red Army were slowly usurped by a small but fast-growing group of unlikely-looking pretenders. They sported Fred Perry polo shirts (hence the name), Lee cords, Adidas Stan Smith trainers and wedge haircuts. With their eclectic soundtrack and appetite for amphetamine-fuelled excess, they would transform their city into the clubbing and style capital of the country.’ (back cover blurb, Hough, 2007)

Manchester then had its ‘Perry Boys’, Merseyside had its ‘Scallies’ (and London, eventually, had its ‘Chaps’). But as Hough recalls, and Hewitson emphasises, ‘the nameless thing’ pervasively mushroomed outwards from the North West of England. Hough says that he had ‘seen it writ by another, namely Andy Nicholls in his book *Scally*, that Tottenham brought the first cockney teams up in the early Casual days’. Hough agrees ‘100%’ with this picture. He argues ‘Tottenham came to OT in green windjammers, Doc Martens and skinheads in late October 1981, in the League Cup, and then we played them again in mid-April 1982 in the league and there they all were, in Ellesse and Tacchini trackies, black guys sporting gold and top training shoes...Leeds and Tottenham were properly the first lads to formulate a semblance of style outside the north-west but the rest blundered along soon enough.’ (Hough, 2007:116)

It is possible, through these various football hooligan memoirs, to situate casuals in a youth subcultural timeline from the scuttlers (Davies, 2008) of the late nineteenth century through teds, rockers, mods and skinheads of the 1950s and 1960s and suedeheads, rastas, rudies, Bowie boys and girls, and punks of the 1970s until they join up with ravers in the 'acid house' years of the late 1980s and early 1990s (Redhead, 1990). Casuals began as a 'post-mod' (Hewitt and Baxter, 2004, Hewitt, 2000), post-skinhead subculture in the 1977-1978 football season in Britain, initially in the North West of England. By the time Eugene McLaughlin and I wrote our seminal essay on what we called 'soccer's style wars' (McLaughlin and Redhead, 1985) on the eve of the 1985-1986 soccer season, several years of growth of soccer casual culture had meant that a majority of professional league soccer teams in Britain could boast their own casual firm, or very often, multiple casual firms.

In the intervening twenty-five years many of the most active football hooligan gang members have spent considerable amounts of time in prison, convicted usually of 'football-related offences'. Football legislation, beginning with the Football Spectators Act, 1989 followed by aspects of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, increased state intervention on football hooliganism in Britain and created a climate of militaristic policing and draconian prison sentences in the courts which extended to forbidding travel outside the country. The hit and tell memoirs often have a section of court trial and prison diaries. Increasingly, too, football hooligan subcultures overlapped in these years with a range of illegal activities in the underground economy (Sugden, 2002, 2007) from using and dealing recreational drugs, through gun running, planning heists, organising ticket touting and horse racing scams, to the routine 'bunking in' to stadiums and 'jibbing' train rides all over the world (Allt, 2007: 1-9). Again it is clear that the hooligan memoirs trace the common biography of men now in their late thirties, forties and fifties who heavily involved themselves in the rave scene of the late 1980s and drifted into various criminal activities in the 1990s (Allt, 2004, Blaney, 2005, Hough, 2007) only to frequently return to active British football firms in the 2000s. Tony O'Neill (O'Neill, 2004, O'Neill and Walsh, 2005) who entitled one of the chapters in two books on four decades of Manchester United gang hooliganism 'They Think It's All Over' has claimed that his books 'were written as I received a jail sentence and it was a way of me saying to the authorities "it's over" but they being vindictive will ignore the point'.

Methodologically the hit and tell, low sport journalism genre allows academics to add events, stories, language and colour to a history of youth culture which was already partly written at the time in the 1970s and 1980s. It provides material for reflection and correction of previously mistaken assumptions. It adds to a rough popular memory around sport studies and subcultures and further identifies crews, faces and top boys,

however partially, so that sustained ethnographic, participant observation, work can be undertaken with ‘old boy’ hooligans in various contemporary firms. Lastly, it makes possible the repair of the gaps in contemporary knowledge of football hooligan subcultures within post-subcultural studies and sport/leisure culture(4).

## Appendix 1

In A-Z alphabetical order of author, the books collected in the football hooligan memoir research archive over a twenty two year period are:

*Diary of the Real Soul Crew 2* (Abraham, 2009)  
*Diary of the Real Soul Crew* (Abraham, 2008)  
*Bloody Casuals* (Allan, 1989)  
*Flying With the Owls Crime Squad* (Allen and Naylor, 2005)  
*A Smashing Little Firm* (Allt, 2009)  
*The Boys from the Mersey* (Allt, 2004)  
*Playing Up With Pompey* (Beech, 2006)  
*Hibs Boy* (Blance and Terry, 2009)  
*March of the Hooligans* (Dougie Brimson, 2007)  
*Kicking Off* (Dougie Brimson, 2006)  
*Eurotrashed* (Dougie Brimson, 2003)  
*Barmy Army* (Dougie Brimson, 2000)  
*The Geezer's Guide to Football* (Dougie Brimson, 1998)  
*God Save The Team* (Eddy Brimson, 2001)  
*Tear Gas and Ticket Touts* (Eddy Brimson, 1998)  
*Derby Days* (Brimson and Brimson, 1998)  
*Capital Punishment* (Brimson and Brimson, 1997)  
*England, My England* (Brimson and Brimson, 1996a)  
*Everywhere We Go* (Brimson and Brimson, 1996b)  
*Villains* (Brown and Brittle, 2006)  
*Booted and Suited* (Brown, 2009)  
*Bovver* (Brown, 2000)  
*A Casual Look* (Brown and Harvey, 2001)  
*Among The Thugs* (Buford, 2001)  
*Bully CFC* (Buglioni and King, 2006)  
*Rangers ICF* (Carrick and King, 2006)  
*Inside The Forest Executive Crew* (Clarke and King, 2005)  
*Sex, Drugs and Football Thugs* (Chester, 2005)  
*Naughty* (Chester, 2003)  
*Divide Of the Steel City* (Cowens and Cronshaw, with Allen, 2007)  
*Blades Business Crew 2* (Cowens, 2009)  
*Blades Business Crew* (Cowens, 2001)  
*The Rise and Fall of the Cardiff City Valley Rams* (Davies, 2009)  
*The Brick* (Debrick, 2005)  
*England's Number One* (Dodd and McNee, 1998)  
*These Colours Don't Run* (Dykes and Colvin, 2007)  
*Bring Out Your Riot Gear - Hearts Are Here* (Ferguson, 1987)

*Guvnors* (Francis and Walsh, 1997)  
*Service Crew* (Gall, 2007)  
*Zulus* (Gall, 2005)  
*Good Afternoon Gentlemen!* (Gardner, 2005)  
*Apex to Zulu* (George, 2006)  
*Patches, Checks and Violence* (Gough, 2007)  
*Perry Boys Abroad* (Hough, 2009)  
*Perry Boys* (Hough, 2007)  
*Soul Crew* (Jones and Rivers, 2002)  
*Rivals* (King, 2004)  
*A Boy's Story* (King, 2000)  
*The Naughty Nineties* (King and Knight, 1999a)  
*Hoolifan* (King and Knight, 1999b)  
*Rise of the Footsoldier* (Leach, 2008)  
*Hooligans: A-L* (Lowles and Nicholls, 2007a)  
*Hooligans: M-Z* (Lowles and Nicholls, 2007b)  
*Hardcore* (Lutwyche and Fowler, 2008)  
*It's Only a Game* (Marriner, 2006)  
*The Trouble with Taffies* (Marsh, 2009)  
*Soul Crew Seasideers* (Marsh, 2007)  
*After The Match Begins* (McCall and Robb, 2007)  
*Scally* (Nicholls, 2002)  
*Come On Then* (O'Hagan, 2007)  
*Celtic Soccer Crew* (Kane, 2006)  
*The Men in Black* (O'Neill, 2005)  
*Red Army General* (O'Neill, 2004)  
*6:57: The Story of Pompey's Hooligan Crew* (Payne, 2006)  
*Top Boys* (Pennant, 2005)  
*Cass* (Pennant, 2008)  
*Congratulations: You Have Just Met the ICF* (Pennant, 2002)  
*Thirty Years of Hurt* (Pennant and Nicholls, 2006)  
*Want Some Aggro?* (Pennant and Smith, 2004)  
*Terrace Legends* (Pennant and King, 2003)  
*Rolling With the 6.57 Crew* (Pennant and Silvester, 2003)  
*Suicide Squad* (Porter, 2005)  
*The Young Guvnors* (Rhoden, 2008)  
*Congratulations, You Have Been a Victim of Casual Violence* (Rivers, 2005)  
*MIG Crew* (Robinson, 2007)  
*Waiting For Glory* (Routledge, 2008)  
*Sharpe as a Blade* (Sharpe, 2008)  
*Gilly* (Shaw and King, 2005)  
*Sully* (Sullivan, 2008)  
*Tottenham Massive* (Tanner, 2006)  
*The Frontline* (Theone, 2003)  
*Swansea Jacks* (Tooze with King, 2007)  
*City Psychos* (Tordoff, 2002)  
*Steaming In* (Ward, 2004)  
*Well Frogged Out* (Ward, 1998)  
*All Quiet on the Hooligan Front* (Ward, 1996)  
*Who Wants It?* (Ward and Henderson, 2002)



*Armed For the Match* (Ward and Hickmott, 2000)  
*Blue Murder* (Worrall, 2007)

## Appendix 2

As well as the England national football team (Pennant and Nicholls, 2006) the following British football clubs are represented in the most comprehensive list that can currently be compiled from the football hooligan memoir archive. In the following audit they are listed in A-Z order of football club:

Aberdeen (Allan, 1989, Rivers, 2005)  
 Arsenal (Ward, 2004)  
 Aston Villa (Brown and Brittle, 2006, Lutwyche and Fowler, 2008)  
 Birmingham City (Gall, 2005, George, 2006)  
 Brighton and Hove Albion (Brown and Harvey, 2001)  
 Bristol Rovers (Brown, 2009, 2000)  
 Burnley (Porter, 2005)  
 Cardiff City (Jones and Rivers, 2002, Marsh, 2007, 2009, Gough, 2007, Abraham, 2008, 2009, Davies, 2009)  
 Carlisle United (Dodd and McNee, 1998)  
 Celtic (O' Kane, 2006)  
 Chelsea (King and Knight, 1999a, King and Knight, 1999b, Ward, with Hickmott, 2000, King, 2000, Ward and Henderson, 2002, Buglioni and King, 2006, Worrall, 2007)  
 Dundee United and Dundee (McCall and Robb, 2007)  
 Everton (Nicholls, 2002)  
 Hearts (Ferguson, 1987)  
 Hibernian (Dykes and Colvin, 2007, Blance and Terry, 2009)  
 Huddersfield Town (O'Hagan, 2007)  
 Hull City (Tordoff, 2002)  
 Leeds United (Gall, 2007)  
 Liverpool (Hewitson, 2008, Allt, 2004, 2007, 2009)  
 Luton Town (Robinson, 2005, Robinson, 2007)  
 Manchester City (Francis and Walsh, 1997, Rhoden, 2008, Sullivan, 2008))  
 Manchester United (Buford, 2001, O'Neill, 2004, 2005, Blaney, 2004, Hough, 2007, 2009)  
 Middlesbrough (Theone, 2003, Debrick, 2005)  
 Nottingham Forest (Clarke and King, 2005)  
 Portsmouth (Pennant and Silvester, 2003, Beech, 2006, Payne, 2006, Sinclair, 2008)  
 Preston North End (Routledge, 2008)  
 Rangers (Carrick, 2006)  
 Sheffield United (Cowens, 2001, 2009, Cowens and Cronshaw, 2007, Sharpe, 2008)  
 Sheffield Wednesday (Allen and Naylor, 2005, Cowens and Cronshaw, 2007)  
 Stoke City (Chester, 2003, 2005)  
 Swansea City (Tooze and King, 2007, Marsh, 2009)  
 Tottenham Hotspur (Tanner, 2006)  
 Watford (Brimson and Brimson, 1996b)  
 West Ham United (Leach, 2003, Gardner, 2005, Pennant, 2002, 2008, Pennant and Smith, 2004)  
 Wolverhampton Wanderers (Shaw and King, 2005)  
 Wrexham (Marsh, 2009)

## Appendix 3

The following crews or firms are 'represented' (or, by extension, implicated because of the club history) in

the football hooligan memoirs collected in the research archive. The list is in A-Z order of football club:

Aberdeen Soccer Casuals (Aberdeen)  
 Gooners and The Herd (Arsenal)  
 The Steamers, C Crew, Villa Hardcore, Villa Youth and Villa Hardcore Apprentices (Aston Villa)  
 Zulu Warriors, Zulu Juniors and Junior Business Boys (Birmingham City)  
 Headhunters, North Lancing Firm, Bosun Boys and West Street (Brighton and Hove Albion)  
 The Pirates, Tote Enders, Gas Hit Squad and Gas Youth Squad (Bristol Rovers)  
 Suicide Squad, Suicide Section Fives and Suicide Youth Squad (Burnley)  
 Soul Crew, Inter Valley Firm, Valley Commandos, Valley Rams, Pure Violence Mob, Dirty Thirty, D Firm,  
 The Young Boys, B Troop and C-Squad (Cardiff City)  
 Border City Firm and Benders Service Crew (Carlisle United)  
 Celtic Soccer Crew (Celtic)  
 Shed Boot Boys, North Stand Boys, Pringle Boys, Anti Personnel Firm and Headhunters (Chelsea)  
 Dundee Utility and Alliance Under Fives (Dundee and Dundee United)  
 Scallies and Snorty Forty (Everton)  
 Gorgie Boys and The Casual Soccer Firm (Hearts)  
 Capital City Service, Young Leith Team and Baby Crew (Hibernian)  
 Cowshed Enders, Khmer Blue, Kenmargra, The Pringles, Huddersfield Young Casuals and Huddersfield  
 Youth Squad (Huddersfield Town)  
 Mad Young Tigers, Kempton Enders, Hull City Pyschos, Silver Cod Squad, City Casuals and The Minority  
 (Hull City)  
 Leeds Service Crew, Infant Hit Squad, Intensive Care Unit, Yorkshire Republican Army and Very Young  
 Team (Leeds United)  
 Annie Road Crew, The Ordinary Mob, Huyton Baddies, Scallies and The Urchins (Liverpool)  
 The Oak Road, The Harry's, Castle Bar, The Hockwell Ring, Steamers, Men in Gear, The Riffs, Bury Park  
 Youth Posse and M12s (Luton Town)  
 Guvnors, Young Guvnors, Cool Cats, The Borg Elite, Motorway Crew and Mayne Line Service Crew  
 (Manchester City)  
 Red Army, Men in Black, Cockney Reds, Perry Boys and Inter-City Jibbers (Manchester United)  
 Frontline, Ayresome Angels, The Beer Belly Crew, NTP and Boro Joeys (Middlesbrough)  
 Red Dogs, Naughty Forty, Forest Executive Crew, Forest Mad Squad and Forest Young Lads (Nottingham  
 Forest)  
 Pompey Boot Boys, 6.57 Crew (Portsmouth)  
 Spotty Dog Crew, Town End Mob, Preston Para Soccer, Leyland Boys and Preston Foot Patrol (Preston  
 North End)  
 Inter-City Firm and Her Majesty's Service (Rangers)  
 Shoreham Republican Army, Suicide Squad, Blades Business Crew, Bramall Barmy Army and Darnall  
 Massive (Sheffield United)  
 East Bank Republican Army, Owls Crime Squad, Inter-City Owls and Owls Flying Squad (Sheffield  
 Wednesday),  
 Naughty Forty and Under Fives (Stoke City)  
 Swansea Jacks, Jack Army, Jack Casuals, Stone Island Casuals, Swansea Youth Squad and Swansea Riot  
 Squad (Swansea City)  
 The Yids, N17s, Tottenham Casuals, The Paxton Boys, and Tottenham Massive (Tottenham Hotspur)  
 Watford Boot Boys, Category C, The Watford Men, Watford Youth, Drunk and Disorderly Firm and Watford  
 Away Raiders (Watford)  
 Inter-City Firm, Teddy Bunter Firm, Mile End Mob and Under Fives (West Ham United)  
 Yam Yam Army, Bridge Boys, Subway Army and Temple Street Mafia (Wolverhampton Wanderers).  
 Frontline (Wrexham)

## Appendix 4

Other volumes in this considerable football hooligan literature cover numerous other firms, or ‘faces’, or ‘top boys’ of single clubs, as well as namechecks of countless British professional football clubs (Ward, 1996, 1998, Brimson, 2000, Pennant and King, 2003, Pennant, 2005, Lowles, 2005, Lowles and Nicholls, 2007a, 2007b) often from the lower leagues. Other crews or firms listed in this cultural mapping exercise, which exclude the firms which have so far had specific memoirs written about them include, in A-Z order of football club:

Section B and the Red Army Firm (Airdrie United)  
 A Company and East Bank Boot Boys (Aldershot)  
 Soccer Crew (Arbroath)  
 Inter-City Tykes, BHS and Five-O (Barnsley)  
 Darwen Mob, H Division, Tool Bar, Mill Hill Mob and Blackburn Youth (Blackburn Rovers)  
 The Rammy, Benny’s Mob, Bisons Riot Squad, The Muckers, Seaside Mafia, Blackpool Tangerine Service, The Mob and Blackpool Service Crew (Blackpool)  
 Mongy’s Cuckoo Boys, Tonge Moor Slashers, Billy Whizz Fan Club, Horwich Casuals, The Omega and Astley Boys (Bolton Wanderers)  
 Boscombe Casual Elite (Bournemouth)  
 The Ointment and Bradford Section Five (Bradford City)  
 Hounslow Mentals and TW8 Casuals (Brentford)  
 City Service Firm, Inter City Robins and East End (Bristol City)  
 Interchange Riot Squad and Interchange Crew (Bury)  
 The Main Firm, Cambridge Casuals, Pringle Boys and The Young Irish (Cambridge United)  
 B Mob (Charlton Athletic)  
 Cheltenham Volunteer Force (Cheltenham Town)  
 Beer Belly Crew, Chester Casual Army and The 125 (Chester City)  
 Chesterfield Bastard Squad (Chesterfield)  
 Colchester Riot Squad and Barsiders (Colchester United)  
 The Legion, The Coventry Casuals and Coventry Legion Youth (Coventry City)  
 Railway Town Firm, Crewe Youth and Gresty Road Casuals (Crewe Alexandra)  
 The Whitehorse, The Wilton, the Nifty Fifty, Naughty Forty and Dirty Thirty/Under Fives (Crystal Palace)  
 Sheddy Boot Boys, Bank Top 200, Wrecking Crew, Game As Fuck Association, Darlington Casuals, The Gaffa, The Townies and Under Fives (Darlington)  
 Pot-Bellied Lunatic Army, Derby Lunatic Fringe, C Seats, C Stand, Bob Bank Lunatic Army and The Orphans (Derby County)  
 Doncaster Defence Regiment (Doncaster Rovers), Dundee Soccer Crew (Dundee), Tannadice Trendies (Dundee United)  
 Carnegie Soccer Service (Dunfermline Athletic)  
 H Troop, City Hit Squad and The Sly Crew (Exeter City)  
 Falkirk Fear (Falkirk), SW6  
 Thames Bank Travellers, Green Pole Boys, H Block and Fulham Youth Crew (Fulham)  
 Gillingham Youth Firm (Gillingham)  
 Park Street Mafia, The Nunsthorpe Lads, Ice House Lads, Scartho Lads, Grimsby Hit Squad and Cleethorpes Beach Patrol (Grimsby Town)  
 The Casuals (Halifax Town)  
 Pooly Till I Die, Hartlepool In The Area, Hartlepool Wrecking Crew, the Greenies, The Moose Men and Blue Order (Hartlepool United)  
 Inter City Firm (Hereford United)

Ipswich Punishment Squad and North Stand Boys (Ipswich Town)  
 The Wise Men, Matthew and Marks Alliance, Thurnby Republican Army, Inter City Harry Firm, Braunstone  
 Inter City Firm, Long Stop Boys, Market Traders, Baby Squad and Young Baby Squad (Leicester City)  
 Orient Transit Firm, Iced Buns and Doughnuts (Leyton Orient)  
 Clanford End Boys and Lincoln Transit Elite (Lincoln City)  
 Moss Rats (Macclesfield Town)  
 Psycho Express, SAS, Carrot Crew, The Cucumbers and Mansfield Shady Express (Mansfield Town)  
 Halfway Liners, Nutty Turn Out, Treatment, F-Troop and Bushwhackers (Millwall)  
 No Casuals and Portland Bill Seaside Squad (Montrose)  
 Motherwell Saturday Service, Tufty Club, Soccer Shorties and Nu-Kru (Motherwell)  
 The Leazes End, The Bender Squad, Mental Central, Newcastle Mainline Express and the Gremlins  
 (Newcastle United)  
 County Tavern Mob, Elly Boys and Northampton Affray Team (Northampton Town)  
 C Squad, C Firm, Barclay Boot Boys, NR1, The Trawlermen, Executive Travel Club, Steins, Magnificent  
 Seven and Norwich Hit Squad (Norwich City)  
 Executive Crew, The Bullwell Crew, The Lane Enders and Roadsiders (Notts County) Sewer Mob, Sholver  
 Leathers, Crossley Skins, Werneth Mob, Glodwick and Fine Young Casuals (Oldham Athletic)  
 The Business, South Midlands Hit Squad, Warlords, Headington Casuals, The 850, Oxford City Crew and  
 Oxford Youth Outfit (Oxford United)  
 Peterborough Terrace Squad, Saturday Service, Under 5s and Blue Division (Peterborough United)  
 A38 Crew, The Central Element, Devonport Boys, We Are The Lyndhurst, Plymouth Youth Firm and  
 Plymouth Youth Element (Plymouth Argyle)  
 Vale Lunatic Fringe and Vale Young Casuals (Port Vale)  
 Ladbroke Grove Mob, Fila Mob, C Mob, The Hardcore and Naughty Forty (Queen's Park Rangers)  
 Kirkcaldy Soccer Casuals and Kirkcaldy Baby Crew (Raith Rovers)  
 New Inn Steamers, Berkshire Bovver Boys, Dirty Thirty and Reading Youth (Reading), East Dene Mafia,  
 Tivoli Boot Boys, The Friday Crew, Rotherham Casuals, Rotherham Express Crew and Section 5  
 (Rotherham United)  
 NN10 (Rushden and Diamonds)  
 Fair City Firm and Mainline Baby Squad (St Johnstone), Love Street Division (St Mirren)  
 The Ironclad and True Irons (Scunthorpe United), English Border Front (Shrewsbury Town)  
 Milton Mob, The Warrens, the Inside Crew, Suburban Casuals and The Ugliest Men (Southampton)  
 Southend Bootboys, CS Crew and Southend Liberal Front (Southend United)  
 The Hit Squad, The Company and Edgeley Volunteer Force (Stockport County)  
 Redskins, Boss Lads, Vauxies and The Seaburn Casuals (Sunderland)  
 Swindon Town Aggro Boys, Gussethuntingers, Southsiders, South Ciders, South Side Crew and Swindon Active  
 Service (Swindon Town)  
 Torquay Mental Mob, Bayline Firm and Torquay Youth Squad (Torquay United)  
 Free Library Boys and Tranmere Stanley Boys (Tranmere Rovers)  
 Street Enders, Special Patrol Group, Barmy Army and Junction 9 (Walsall)  
 Clubhouse Mob, Smethwick Mob and Section 5 (West Bromwich Albion)  
 Wigan Thieves, Wall Gang, Vulture Squad and Goon Squad (Wigan Athletic)  
 York Nomad Society (York City)

## Notes

1. *Terrace Terrors* is one of the many titles of books by the 1970s 'pulp fiction' author Richard Allen (real name James Moffat) who had considerable influence on the football and youth culture fiction of John King in the 1990s and 2000s (Redhead, 2000, 2007b, 2010). John King includes references to Moffat's characters in his fiction – see King, 2008. The books were distinctly pre-casual, concentrating on skinhead and post-

skinhead styles. *Suedehead* (Allen, 1971) was the second in the series and inspired Morrissey (a staunch fan of the books) to name his first solo single after The Smiths' break-up in 1987 'Suedehead'. 'Sweet and Tender Hooligan' is the title of a Smiths' song and exemplifies this camp 'hardness'. The Smiths, as Johnny Marr has noted (Robb, 2009), manifestly emerged as a group from inside Manchester's early 1980s gay culture. Other titles by Moffat include *Skinhead*, *Boot Boy*, *Skinhead Escapes*, *Glam*, and *Punk Rock*. The final book was called *Mod Rule*. For notions of masculinity in this 'cult fiction' see Healy, 1996: 87-101.

2. Glamorous Hooligan was a Bradford dance culture duo in the 1990s comprising Enzo Annechinni and Dean Cavanagh (aka DJ Sal). Dean Cavanagh who contributed 'Mile High Meltdown' to Sarah Champion's anthology of 'fiction from the chemical generation' (Champion, 1997) became the writing partner of Irvine Welsh (Redhead, 2000, 2008d); see for instance Welsh and Cavanagh, 2007.

3. Casual youth culture began, as this essay emphasises, in the late 1970s in the North West of England. It is still going strong today. In particular the website <http://www.80casuals.co.uk/stories.html> has contributions to the oral history of casuals since the 1977-78 British football season by Kevin Sampson, Phil Thornton and Ian Hough. Views on casual history <http://www.80scasuals.co.uk/interviews.html> including interviews with Peter Hooton, Nick Love and others by author Dave Hewitson (Hewitson, 2008) are essential reading. There are also websites on casual music, football fandom and fashion - see <http://www.thenamelessthing.com/Perry+Boys+and+Football+Casuals>, <http://www.swinemagazine.co.uk>, <http://www.countylads.com> and <http://www.footballcasuals.com>.

My own illustrated books from the 1980s (Redhead, 1987, 1991) are replete with images of casual style from Merseyside and Manchester.

4. I would like to thank Ben Horne, postgraduate research student in the Chelsea School at the University of Brighton, for his tireless research work on the football hooligan memoir project. Original interview material from the project is quoted throughout this essay.

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